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# Transnational spaces and communal land tenure in a Caribbean place: "Barbuda is for Barbudans"

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**TRANSNATIONAL SPACES AND COMMUNAL LAND TENURE  
IN A CARIBBEAN PLACE:  
“BARBUDA IS FOR BARBUDANS”**

A dissertation  
Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the  
Louisiana State University and  
Agricultural and Mechanical College  
in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy

In

The Department of Geography & Anthropology

by  
Amy E. Potter  
B.S., University of Kansas, 2004  
M.A., University of Kansas, 2006  
December 2011

For Mom and Dad

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## Forward

### BARBUDA

You may negotiate as freedom dictates to no avail  
But Barbuda is no Longer for sale.  
What can I say?  
Should I put it another way?  
How about – the fat sheep mentality  
Is no longer our reality.  
For a people, we revisited our past  
And at last  
Reclaimed our identity,  
Re-defined our vision – now we can clearly see  
The importance of legacy.  
They stripped us of our culture  
Robbed us of our language  
Dehumanized our men – demoralized our women  
Now in the name of sand and land we must stand.  
Stand against modern day masses  
Uncle Toms and Aunt Jemimas  
Flaunting thirty pieces of silver  
In an effort to buy gold  
Tell them for me  
What we had to sell have already been sold.  
If Africa is for Africans then Barbuda is for Barbudans too.<sup>1</sup>  
No disrespect intended, my apologies to the offended

But as Sankofa woman, I must stand firm, you see  
To defend, protect and secure my ancestor's legacy.  
On this land we will re-establish righteous community living.  
No devil-up-ment to cause further discontent  
Our people will invest in self-empowerment

So access denied – all systems fail  
Barbuda is no longer for sale.

Authentic 2008  
Maureen Lee – The Authentic Sankofa Woman

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<sup>1</sup> This line inspired the title of this dissertation.

## Table of Contents

Acknowledgements.....	iii
Forward.....	xii
List of Tables.....	viii
List of Figures.....	ix
Abstract.....	xi
Chapter One	
Introduction .....	1
Chapter Two	
Renegotiating Barbuda’s Commons: Recent Changes in Barbuda’s Land Tenure.....	29
Chapter Three	
Migration and the Barbuda Commons .....	58
Chapter Four	
Mapping Barbuda.....	93
Chapter Five	
Barbuda’s Transnational Spaces.....	138
Chapter Six	
In Between: <i>Barbuda Voice</i> as a Transnational (Communicative) Space (1969-1974).....	174
Conclusions.....	215
References.....	223
Appendix I Collection of Mental Maps.....	237
Appendix II Age-Group Breakdown.....	272
Appendix III Gender Breakdown.....	274
Vita.....	277



## List of Tables

3.1 Birthplace.....	61
3.2 Age Breakdown.....	61
3.3 U.S Land Applications.....	69
3.4 Canadian Land Applications.....	70
3.5 U.K. Land Applications.....	70
3.6 Caribbean Land Applications.....	70
3.7 Interview excerpts about family land and family home.....	80
4.1 Participant breakdown and assigned pseudonyms.....	99-100
4.2 Breakdown of age groups based on gender.....	100
4.3 Barbudan place names included on 25 percent of participant maps.....	104
4.4 Mental map follow-up interview excerpts.....	105-106
4.5 Mental map follow-up interview excerpts with a tourist focus.....	112-113
4.6 Codrington/Colonial Period References.....	128-130
4.7 Indigenous References.....	130-131
5.1 Berleant-Schiller Census, 1971.....	149
6.1 Breakdown of Newspaper Content, Dec. 1969-Dec. 1970.....	181
6.2 Barbuda's Heritage.....	199-200

## List of Figures

1.1 Location of Barbuda relative to the Caribbean region .....	3
1.2 Map of Barbuda.....	3
1.3 Windmill at Betty’s Hope Plantation, Antigua, W.I.....	5
2.1 Cow Awaiting Slaughter .....	34
2.2 Olin Well.....	35
2.3 Sir Eric Burton tending to eggplant in 2008.....	38
2.4 Barrel from the United States .....	41
2.5 Remnants of the Village Wall .....	45
2.6 Dilapidated Home in Codrington Village .....	46
2.7 Yearly records of applications for Barbudan lands from 1977 to present with trend line.....	51
3.1 Land Applications: United States and Canada.....	66
3.2 Land Applications: United Kingdom.....	67
3.3 Land Applications: Caribbean.....	68
3.4 Village Expansion.....	71
3.5 Rental Homes.....	72
3.6 Lighthouse Bay Resort.....	73
3.7 View of Low Bay from Lighthouse Bay Resort.....	73
3.8 Uncle Roddy’s.....	76
3.9 Sankofa Healing Garden.....	78
3.10 One of the many abandoned homes throughout the village.....	83
4.1 Free-recall Sketch Map.....	97
4.2 Base Map.....	98

4.3 Tourism Focused Mental Map.....	103
4.4 Average number of points per age group.....	104
4.5 A comparison of fishing places included on maps by gender.....	109
4.6 Camping at Two Foot Bay.....	110
4.7 Mental Map.....	110
4.8 Coconut Plantation.....	114
4.9 Mental Map.....	117
4.10 Codrington House ruins atop the Highlands, also known as “Willy Bob” .....	120
4.11 Mental Map.....	124
4.12 Amerindian Petro glyphs in Indian Cave at Two Foot Bay.....	126
4.13 Government House.....	132
4.14 Barbuda’s last remaining sand dune at Copse in May of 2009.....	136
5.1 Grandmother and Grandchild.....	155
5.2 All American Shopping.....	160
5.3 Small Talk by “Playmate” in the <i>Barbuda Voice</i> , April 1974, p. 3.....	166
5.4 Ebenezer Pilgrim Holiness Church.....	169
5.5 Madison Street.....	172
6.1 Place of origin for newspaper submissions, Dec. 1969-Dec. 1970.....	182
6.2 Complex Connections.....	203
6.3 A Transnational (Communicative) Space.....	213

## **Abstract**

In the last decade, transnational migration research has gained considerable ground in geography. There is still more to be done, however, in order to understand the complex relationship between migrants and the lands they leave behind. The island of Barbuda in the Lesser Antilles is the ideal place to study the larger issues of transnational migration on a smaller scale, particularly research that focuses on both migration and land tenure. Barbudan land tenure is common property, something that was in practice for more than a century and formalized into law in January of 2008. Because of this particular system of land tenure on the island, this dissertation contributes not only to the transnational-migration literature but also that of common property, especially the broader themes of migration's impacts on common property regimes as well as communal-land tenures in transition. Through a variety of methodologies, which include interviews, participant observation, archival research, and mental mapping, I suggest that Barbudan communal lands have undergone tremendous changes over the last three decades as the island's economy has shifted away from livestock and subsistence agriculture. Yet even despite these changes, Barbudans are still creatively negotiating their land rights just as they have always done. During this transition, Barbudans have accommodated the migratory nature of the islanders, insisting that any study of the Barbudan commons also include the historical and present-day role of migrants as it relates to the land. Through archival research, I highlight how Barbudan migrants have sought to protect the land tenure and how they are making use of those land rights today. Through mental mapping and follow-up interviews, I show generational difference among land-use practices but more importantly, I promote the use of mental mapping as an essential methodology for migration research. In the latter two chapters, I explore the complexity of Barbuda's transnational spaces in part pushing the bounds of migrant experiences

through the theoretical offerings of emotional geographies. Finally, I argue that transnational migration researchers have generally underestimated the agency of migrants utilizing “slower” forms of communication in facilitating complex connections through what I contend is a transnational communicative space.

## Chapter One: Introduction

*[Barbudan] slaves created a self-contained community that was known almost from the beginning for its cantankerous and independent spirit. (Robert Coram 1989: 78)*

I am often asked the question, “Why Barbuda?”

It all started when I read “A Reporter at Large,” a relatively obscure article in the *New Yorker* about a relatively unknown place that set me on the path to this particular dissertation journey (Coram 1989). Robert Coram’s riveting description of the island of Barbuda (pronounced Bar-*bew*-duh), the story of an island’s fierce resistance over time was quixotic. Simply put, I had to go and see it for myself. This independent spirit, particularly as it relates to Barbuda’s land tenure, is something that in many ways still stands strong today, as evidenced by the numerous interviews highlighted throughout this dissertation. The words of transnational migrant Maureen Lee in the poem “Barbuda,” the Forward to this work, in which she declares, “But as Sankofa woman, I must stand firm, you see. To defend, protect and secure my ancestor’s

legacy” is emblematic of Barbudan’s fierce attachment to this place and the larger themes of this scholarly work: migration and the commons.<sup>2</sup>

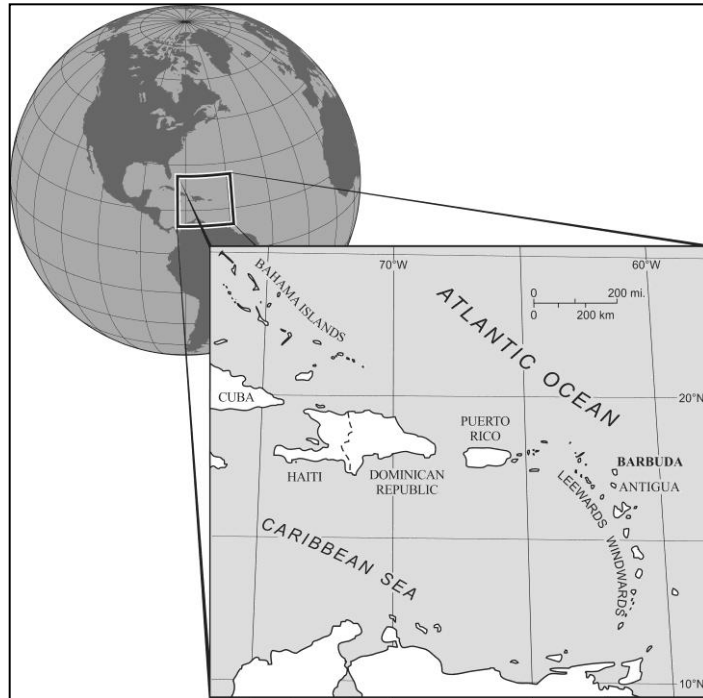
This dissertation study of Barbuda ultimately gets at the heart of Chris Sharpe’s concerns raised in 2009 concerning the discipline of geography. My research seeks to be a part of what he describes as a “geography that rises to the challenge of trying to explain an apparent paradox: how places remain different at a time when they are more interconnected and interdependent than ever before” (p. 130). Barbuda is in fact quite distinct in some respects from its Caribbean counterparts. For example, Barbuda’s early economy was not based upon large-scale sugar production. Barbuda also has communal land tenure. Yet even in its uniqueness as a place, one can see how its population of roughly 1,500 people is reacting to, interacting with, and rejecting quite global concerns, much like other parts of the world.

### **Historical Setting**

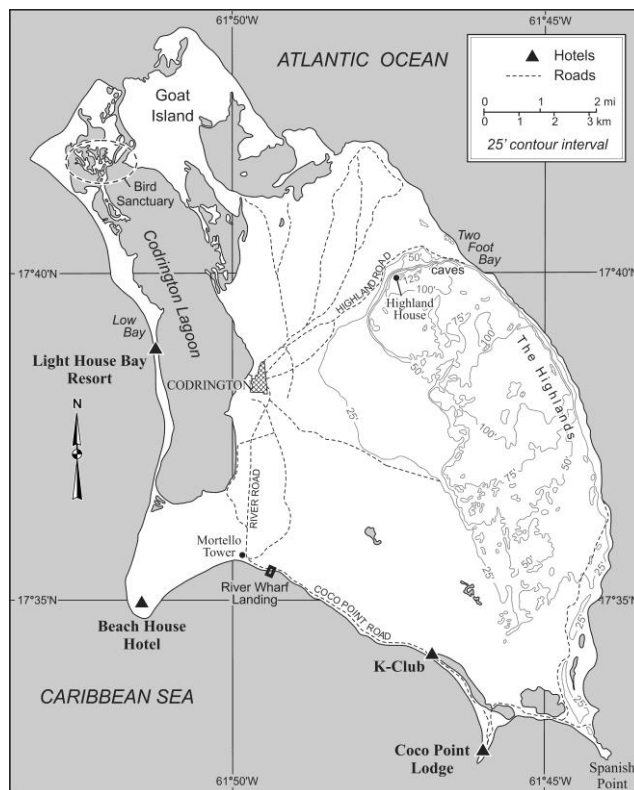
Outside the Caribbean, Barbuda is relatively unknown, remaining fairly isolated as a major tourist destination in large part because of its history (Fig. 1.1 and 1.2). In its first 200 years under British rule, the island was initially leased to Christopher and John Codrington of England then subsequent Codrington family members (from 1680 to 1870) who used enslaved Africans to graze livestock and raise provisions for Codrington sugar plantations on Antigua (Lowenthal and Clarke 1977). The island remained in the family, thereafter, for nearly 200 years, until they relinquished their lease in 1870. Christopher Codrington served as Governor of the Leeward Islands, and the family’s primary investment rested in sugar plantations in both Antigua and Barbados. Under the Codrington family, Barbuda became firmly linked economically with the island of Antigua.

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<sup>2</sup> Maureen Lee is a Barbudan community scholar. She graciously granted me permission to use her poem in this dissertation.



**Figure 1.1 Location of Barbuda relative to the Caribbean region. Cartography by M. L. Eggart, LSU Geography and Anthropology.**



**Figure 1.2 Map of Barbuda. Cartography by M. L. Eggart, LSU Geography and Anthropology.**



Unlike its sugar-producing neighbors, Barbuda never supported large-scale plantation agriculture on account of its shallow soils, karst topography, and frequent drought (Harris 1965). African slaves eventually replaced the few indentured white laborers who made up the initial workforce of the island. The island's enslaved workforce, numbering 50 people, whom then grew to 100 in 1718 and then 500 at emancipation in 1834, worked to supply food and provisions to Codrington plantations in Antigua (See Fig. 1.3). The Codringtons introduced sheep, cattle, mules, horses and deer, all allowed to roam wild on the island. In addition to meat and related cattle products, the slaves on the island also provided green turtles, fish, vegetables, lime, lumber, and leather goods. The turtles were a particular favorite of the British Navy stationed at Nelson's Dockyard in Antigua. The Codrington lease lasted nearly two centuries setting forth a fascinating precedent in terms of the islanders' relationship to the land. It was during these two centuries that the enslaved and eventually free people of Barbuda developed a sense of common possession over the island. This sense of common possession prompted one overseer to write to the Codrington family out of frustration in 1823, "They acknowledge no Master, and believe the Island belongs to themselves" (R. Jarritt quoted in Lowenthal and Clarke 1977: 524).

Barbudans used their relative freedom under the Codrington leasehold as the foundation to their communal claims to the island. As Lowenthal and Clarke point out, "Barbudan slaves legally owned nothing" yet they held provision grounds to feed themselves, regularly sold produce to Antigua and utilized forest resources as their own (2007:152). Barbudans sent petitions to the Colonial Office to affirm these communal rights.

Their forefathers, Barbudans kept claiming, had had use of land throughout the island, access to provision grounds everywhere, permission to hunt deer and wild pig, to impound cattle, to keep goats and sheep, to cut firewood, to burn charcoal, to fish, and so



**Figure 1.3 Windmill at Betty's Hope Plantation, Antigua, W.I.**

on. No documents but usage over many generations attested to these collective rights. (Lowenthal and Clarke 2007: 152)

August 1, 1834 marks the official emancipation of slaves in the British Caribbean but obscure Barbuda was left off the initial list of emancipatory documents. In other parts of the Caribbean, former slaves moved away from the plantation to small land holdings and sought wage labor often travelling to other islands in search of work opportunities. In Antigua, emancipation manifested itself on the landscape as former slaves moved off the plantations into villages with names that celebrated newly gained freedom. In 1834 in Antigua, Liberta was the first of these villages, followed by Freemansville and Free-Centre Village, which today bear the name All-Saints. In Barbuda following emancipation, however, the island was still under the control of the Codrington lessee and there was simply not enough paid work for everyone. More

than 100 Barbudans left the island in the two years following emancipation (Lowenthal and Clarke 2007: 155). In a Barbudan petition to the Governor of Antigua dated January 12, 1869, Barbudans bemoaned “proprietary repression” writing that they were worse “than wandering birds migrating from land to land the home we love so dearly has to be abandoned through hunger” (Lowenthal and Clarke 2007: 155).

The Codrington family eventually surrendered their lease in 1870. A series of five other leases went into effect until the crown resumed possession of Barbuda in 1895 and thereafter the island became a Crown Colony in 1899. The subsequent leases ultimately failed because they tried unsuccessfully to initiate large-scale agricultural endeavors. The 1904 Barbuda Ordinance made Barbuda crown land and Barbudans crown tenants in common. Through the ordinance, Barbuda came under Antiguan laws and a warden was appointed to oversee the island. As tenants, Barbudans were supposed to pay twenty-four cents per annum to the crown but these yearly payments never took place making Barbudans squatters on the island. “The whole issue should have been clarified by the Government, but Barbuda was considered too small and insignificant for administrators to worry about” (Nicholson 1991: 27). By not clarifying the issue, the Crown allowed communal ownership to persist in practice by Barbudans despite law.

In 1898, only a “few young men” were living on the island (Lowenthal and Clarke 2007: 155). Following the end of the Codrington lease Barbudans, like other West Indians also found work beyond British territories, which included work on Spanish-speaking Cuban and Dominican Republic sugar estates. In addition to sugar plantations, West Indians were also working in Central America on banana plantations and their labor helped construct the Panama Canal. George Gmelch notes in his work *Double Passage* that 130,000 British West Indians traveled to Panama between the 1880s and 1914 in search of work (1992: 41). The 1920s and 30s

were characteristic of an overall decline in migration, with Caribbean peoples returning to their island homes followed by a decline in sugar prices, the completion of the Panama Canal, and the Great Depression. Interviews from this doctoral project with Barbudans indicate frequent movement around the region and migration to the United States.<sup>3</sup>

The first move toward independence from Britain came about in 1969 when Barbuda became a ward of Antigua. V.C. Bird, then Premier of Antigua, saw Barbuda's undeveloped commons as a valuable revenue source.<sup>4</sup> Barbudans, however, garnered a slight victory just seven years later in 1976, when Antigua granted the island their own governing body, the Barbuda Council. It was five years later, on November 1, 1981 when Barbuda was, in the opinion of some, formally "forced" into independence with Antigua. Prior to this day, Barbudans rallied for a peaceful separation from the State of Antigua. Arthur Nibbs pleaded in Tim Hector's *Outlet* newspaper

I would be grateful if all Barbudans would now realize the difficulty of our Struggle. Our Struggle is a hard and difficult one. We are now at the cross roads. The question now in everyone's mind is 'how are we going to escape from the tyranny and oppression of Bird and his corrupt Regime?' We are not dealing with party politics or personal differences but we are dealing with a serious situation where our nationality, land rights and freedoms are at stake. I am calling on all Barbudans to be prepared for anything. We must be prepared to stand together and Defend our Country. (Nibbs 1981: 7)

The previous passage is illustrative of the tremendous tension between the islands of Antigua and Barbuda espousing the fear that Barbudans would ultimately lose their practiced communal land rights upon independence. Barbudans openly expressed their concerns at the independence meeting itself at Lancaster House in 1980. After formal independence on November 1, 1981, with no strict resolution reached, Barbudans continued to fight for their communal land rights the

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<sup>3</sup> Detailed information regarding Barbudan migration patterns after 1920 is found in Chapter Five "Barbuda's Transnational Spaces."

<sup>4</sup> More information regarding Antiguan development schemes during this time period is found in subsequent chapters of this dissertation.

new central government in Antigua insisted were now under their control based on the 1981 Antigua Termination and Association Act.

The island of Barbuda's economy, since independence, has undergone a tremendous transition, from one based on subsistence agriculture, livestock grazing, charcoal, and lobster diving to a population largely employed by tourism, sand mining, lobster diving, and the Barbuda local government (Berleant-Schiller 1977, 1983; Sluyter 2009; Potter and Sluyter 2010). Barbudans are now also free to set aside plots of land for home construction and business endeavors in former grazing and cultivation areas, something that was generally prohibited thirty years ago (Berleant-Schiller 1986, 1991a, 1991b). A most recent development in the story of Barbuda and its common property regime, is the passage of The Barbuda Land Act, 2007. In 2005, the United Progressive Party took control of the Antigua and Barbuda legislative body under the new leadership of Prime Minister Baldwin Spencer. Now under the control of a government that was more favorable to their plight, Barbudans were able to push through legislation that established that Barbudan land tenure is separate from that of Antigua, formalizing through law the practice of common property.

Relating to Barbuda's communal land tenure, and little explored by researchers, is the Barbudan transnational community, which has traditionally settled in three major centers or nodes: New York, Toronto and Leicester, England (Lowenthal and Clarke 2007). Barbudans living abroad under Barbudan practice and now of law have access to the Barbuda commons. These transmigrants have also in the past had a strong voice in Barbudan affairs, particularly in terms of protecting the common property, signing petitions, and holding meetings with the Prime Minister of Antigua to ward off potential development projects that would ultimately unravel communal land tenure. Barbudans often return from their life abroad to use their status as a

Barbuda to access common lands for housing or other development projects. Barbuda is therefore, the ideal place to research global issues related to transnational migration and communal land tenure.

### **Theoretical Context: Migration and Transnationalism**

This study seeks to contribute to the growing body of literature on transnationalism. This new concept (as applied to migration studies) began to take shape in the early 1990s (Mitchell 1997; Voigt-Graf 2004; Trotz 2006; Yeh 2007). Throughout the 1970s and into the early 1990s, the term transnational was used almost exclusively to describe the increasing occurrence of “corporations owned and controlled by interests in core capitalist states [that] found it more profitable to set up industrial production in areas previously peripheral to industrial capitalist development, where labor was cheap” (Basch et al. 1994: 25). In the early 1990s, however, social scientists studying issues of migration began to notice a new phenomenon they attributed to globalization that was outside the scope of current immigrant and migrant studies.

In the past, the term immigrant evoked images of permanent resettlement; an abandonment of the former way of life, and it often involved a long and grueling process of learning a new language in order to assimilate to a new country (Handlin 1973). The word migrant was usually used to describe someone who was engaged in short-term work where the stay was temporary (1994: 4). Transnationalism, however, sought to capture a process that was occurring that did not quite fit either of these categories. It is defined as

A process by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement. We call these processes transnationalism to emphasize that many immigrants today build social fields that cross geographic, cultural, and political borders. (Basch et al. 1994:7)

Transmigrants are then those “migrants whose lived experiences transcend the boundaries of nation states,” maintaining familial, economic, social, organizational, religious, and political relationships (Blanc et al. 1995: 684; Basch et al. 1994: 7) across international lines and borders.

Certain scholars have criticized the term transnationalism, especially as its use applies to the Caribbean calling for a greater historical understanding of the word. Sydney Mintz for example writes, “By examining the history of migration in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the author finds grounds for contending that the view of transnationalism as a qualitatively different phenomenon is exaggerated” (1998: 117). He goes on to write that “the Caribbean region emerges as representative of an earlier transnational . . . era” (p. 117). He is especially critical of the idea that massive movements of people are a new phenomenon as well as people’s identification with more than one community (p. 131). In contrast to Mintz, Roger Waldinger argues that “transnationalism is a rare condition of being and transmigrants an uncommon class of persons” (Waldinger 2009: 40). The term transnational does not account for the research of such scholars like Rebecca J. Scott who trace the history of one family across three generations, starting first with enslavement in the 18<sup>th</sup> century (2007). Very few people could argue that the family Scott has researched, the Tinchants, who settled in New Orleans, France, and Belgium with ties to Haiti and Cuba, were anything but transnational, supporting Mintz’s contention.

Alejandro Portes, Luis E. Guarnizo and Patricia Landolt’s definition of transnationalism combats the historical counter-criticism that transnationalism is a new paradigm. They suggest “contemporary transnationalism had plenty of precedents in early migration history. Yet these examples were, for the most part, exceptional and lacked the novel features that have captured the attention of researchers and that justify the coining of a new concept” (1999: 227). They argue three elements are critical for transnationalism to occur: regularity, routine involvement,

and critical mass. “While these activities of immigrants and refugees across national borders reinforced bonds between the respective communities, they lacked the elements of *regularity*, *routine involvement*, and *critical mass* characterizing contemporary examples of transnationalism” (Portes et al. 1995: 225, italics mine).

Linda Basch, Nina Glick Schiller, and Cristina Szanton Blanc also acknowledge that transnationalism might not be perceived as a new phenomenon because some migrant groups, particularly in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, maintained connections to home (1994: 24). They cite a number of examples where migrants maintained connections to their place of origin, including many Europeans immigrants in the early 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century who participated in their home country’s nationalist movements, Irish, Germans and central European immigrants who maintained connections to home, and Latin Americans who helped with nation building from their new residence in the U.S (1994: 24). Despite these considerations they write, “We believe, however, that current transnationalism marks a new type of migrant experience, reflecting an increased and more pervasive global penetration of capital” (1994: 24).

The Caribbean region has played an important role in transnational migration studies. In the initial groundbreaking books on transnational migration in the early 1990s (Glick Schiller et al. 1992 and Basch et al. 1994), eight of the twelve studies in those books dealt with the Caribbean. A number of these early studies explored the transnational connections of the Haitian diaspora (Charles 1992) particularly during the presidential campaign of Jean-Bertrand Aristide. “When Father Aristide announced his campaign [he] emphasized instead affiliation with the Lavalas ‘party of the people.’ Aristide’s usage of ‘the people’ meant Haitians ‘inside’ the country’s nine provinces and Haitians dispersed ‘outside’ throughout ‘the Tenth Province’



(Richman 1992: 190). Aristide called the Haitians living abroad the Tenth Department (the country of Haiti is divided into nine departments).

These early transnational studies emphasized the relationship between “home” the term designated for the society of origin and “host” the term for the country of settlement (Basch et. al 1994: 7; Gmelch 1992; Levitt 2001b). A shift in this focus has been initiated by such scholars as Peggy Levitt who emphasized the importance of those who remained behind as engaging equally in transnational activities, stating that movement is not necessarily required for these processes to occur (2001a). Much like Levitt, many scholars have begun to move beyond simply looking at the “home” to “host” relationship. “Transnational practices are overwhelmingly treated as involving relations across the borders of the home one migrates from and the home one migrates to” (Trotz 2006: 41). In her study of the Guyanese transnational community in Toronto, D. Alissa Trotz discusses the role of the Last Lap Lime (LLL), a family fun day that brings Guyanese alumni from five elite urban schools in Guyana from all over the world to Toronto.

As people say, ‘If you want to see Guyanese don’t go to Caribana, go to the Last Lap Lime’. For many, the latter event has surpassed the former as an annual ritual. Indeed, it can even exceed an actual visit to Guyana, especially for older Guyanese, who are far more likely to find their contemporaries outside the country.’ (Trotz 2006: 48)

In this instance, “What we see here is not simply a transnational connection in which overseas space stands in counterpoint and relation to ‘home’. Rather LLL might more properly be thought of as one node in an overlapping network of diasporic sites, which converge on Toronto at a particular time each year” (Trotz 2006: 49). In this study, the diasporic site has taken on equal if not greater significance than the homeland site.

Though transnational studies engage geographical metaphors of space, geographer’s contribution to the growing study of transnational migration had been relatively minor compared to other disciplines in the social sciences (Mitchell 1997; Voigt-Graf 2004). This has resulted in

a lack of geographical depth in transnational migration studies. In their study of a Salvadorian transnational social field, Adrian J. Bailey, Richard A. Wright, Alison Mountz, and Ines M. Miyares considered how the legal provision of temporary protective status permeates everyday life (2002). Most influential to my work, however, is Carmen Voigt-Graf's study of three communities in the Indian diaspora, the Punjabis, Kannadigas, and the Indo-Fijians, and how it enabled her to apply geographical models of space to the study of transnationalism. Her models, which show the complexity of transnational migration, can extend to other studies outside of the Indian diasporic community. "While a transnational perspective is needed to study migration and migrant adaptation adequately, this research suggests that an understanding of the spatial dimension of transnationalism provides an important tool for comparing different communities and for developing a typology of transnational spaces" (2004:44). Voigt-Graf defined several key terms, which help her explain the spatial components of a transnational geography. The first is the cultural hearth, "The country, region or place of origin of migrants and their descendants which often forms an important node in transnational networks" (2004:29). The cultural hearth is usually connected, but not always, to one or more diasporic nodes. Diasporic nodes are a "country, region or place where migrants have settled long enough and in sufficiently large numbers to have created a permanent presence as a community, even if individual migrants are merely passing through" (2004: 29). If the cultural hearth and its diasporic nodes maintain connections through flows they make up the nodes of migrant transnational networks. The cultural hearth, in the case of some of the Indian diaspora, has been replaced by a new center "the country where migrants and their descendants have lived sufficiently long enough to regard it as their home" (2004:29). Flows between these places can include people, money, cultural goods, and ideas (2004: 29). "The transnational space is the sum of the nodes and flows between

them. The emphasis is on the fact that it is shaped by social activities and in turn shapes them. The transnational space as a whole comprises different sub-spaces defined by the sphere of transnational activities such as transnational economic spaces and transnational cultural spaces” (29). Voigt-Graf provides a clear set of models that help explain the complexities involved in transnational migration.

Emily Yeh’s study of the Tibetan diaspora illustrates many of Voigt-Graf’s thoughts on transnational space. Frequently referred to as ‘Little Lhasa,’ Dharamsala in India has become the center of

Tibetan diasporic geography. As the Dalai Lama’s residence it is the major site of Tibetan pilgrimage outside of Tibet. Although it is considered a ‘temporary resting place’ for Tibetan culture before its inevitable return home, some Tibetans have begun to see it, rather than Lhasa, as the center of Tibetan symbolic geography and as the locus of authentic Tibetan culture. (Yeh 2007: 662)

For some of the Tibetan diaspora living around the world, the community of Dharamsala has taken on greater significance than the lost homeland of Tibet.

Since the 1970s, various scholars have studied return migration, particularly writing on the adjustments (social, economic and behavioral) older return migrants face (Gmelch 1992; Thomas-Hope 1992; Byron and Condon 1996; Byron 1999, 2000; Potter et al. 2005). Many return migrants have trouble finding a place in their so-called home society and often experience difficulties fitting in as evidenced by Robert B. Potter and Joan Phillips (2006) on second generation Barbadians who are said to be mad. When discussing the impacts of return migrants on the betterment of the local community, many studies show that there is little positive effect. However, a study by Dennis Conway and Robert B. Potter (2006) join a growing number of studies that challenge negative assumptions about older retirees who return to their island home (Gmelch 1992). They argue that older returnees along with their goods and foreign dollars

should be looked upon more favorably (Conway and Potter 2006; Potter and Phillips 2006). They also turn their focus to what they term the “brain gain,” in which “youthful and younger Caribbean transnational migrants of working age in their 30s and 40s, have decided to give it a try ‘back home’” (2006: 13). Conway and Potter write that these migrants are more likely to be skilled, their “previous links developed in the metropolitan society are likely to remain very important,” they are likely to have dual nationalities, and hold multiple passports (2006: 13). They write that “multiple identities are the rule, rather than the exception, as returnees of different ages choose to live, work (and play) in island society, to give something back to the island home of their parents or of their youth. Many embrace transnational strategies to live in and between two worlds, or more if their family network’s reach is multilocal” (2006: 1).

Concerning the effectiveness of remittances there is also a divide in the literature. Most remittance studies tend to focus on their negative consequences, particularly on things like increased consumption of luxury goods and housing, investment in marginal businesses (Lowenthal and Clarke 1982), remittance dependence, idle lands, and generally how remittances do not act in a way that rejuvenates the local economy. Dennis Conway and Jeffrey H. Cohen (1998) aim to “evaluate positive contributions of remittances, return migrants, or circulating sojourners” in their paper “Consequences of Migration and Remittances for Mexican Transnational Communities.” They show how remittances known as “migradollars” are having a positive impact on rural Mexico, particularly in helping to change women’s roles and the ways that participants invest remittance money (1998).

A number of scholars recognize that Caribbean transnationalism is not limited to its former colonial powers and North America. Some studies acknowledge the intra-regional connections among the Caribbean islands or what some have called south to south movement

(Allen 2006; Simonian and da Silva Ferreira 2006; Theije 2006 and Samaroo 2006). Rose Mary Allen writes on intra-regional migration and the construction of cultural identity in Curaçao that “Caribbean cultures are not solely shaped by the internal dynamics of a merging of African, European, and at times, Asian cultures but also intra-Caribbean interactions of the descendants of enslaved Africans” (2006: 94).

A number of studies have explored the issues of identity that arise during the process of transnational migration (Basch et al. 1994) including the identities of the second generation of those transnational migrants (Fouron and Glick-Schiller 2002). Divya Tolia-Kelly, however, takes a fresh look at identity through the lens of material culture and examines how South Asian women in Britain use material items such as water from the Ganges river and photographs of African safari animals in the process of making home (2004a and 2004b). She writes, “The domestic sphere is an active site for cultural identification and political positioning of British Asians . . . .The diasporic materials of culture are the precipitates of their collective social memory, together forming a collage of connective landscapes” (2004a: 327). For many of these women, their collage connects the Indian landscapes to their time in East Africa and now to their life in Britain.

Feminist scholars have focused on particular issues that have to do with gender and transnationalism, which include Canadian immigration policy (Hyndman 1999) and economic globalization (Nagar et al. 2002). Richa Nagar (2003) argues for a reworking of theoretical frameworks “so that the stories and struggles we write about do not become completely inaccessible and/or meaningless to the people whose sociopolitical agendas we want to support or advance” (p. 360). Her piece reflects on her relationship with one of her interviewees, Farah

Ali, and how academic theories such as border zones, the postcolonial state, and secularism, fail to address the daily violence Ali faces (2003: 363).

In addition to her article on Canadian immigration and gender, Jennifer Hyndman has also devoted considerable time to understanding what she calls “refugee transnationalism” (Hyndman and Walton-Roberts 2000, Hyndman 2001). In their study of Burmese refugees who have settled in Vancouver, Hyndman and Margaret Walton-Roberts found that “people whose sense of identity is defined by collective histories of nation and culture, as well as shared visceral geographies of displacement and violent loss, will not simply abandon these connections upon arrival in a new country” (2000: 256).

With the growing popularity of transnationalism research, some have criticized the overuse of the word and the tendency for scholars to attach the term to any migration study. In her review of Robert Smith’s book *Mexican New York: Transnational Lives of New Immigrants* (2006), Monica Varsanyi writes that by “engaging deeply with ‘those practices and relationships linking migrants and their children with the home country, where such practices have significant meaning and are regularly observed’, he successfully avoids, as he puts it, the ‘stapling problem’ in which scholars of migration simply tack the word ‘transnational’ onto their research project without doing the hard work of explaining how their research actually informs an enduring theorization of the transnational” (2007: 655). Steven Vertovec also writes in his main critiques of transnationalism that it “is a notion that has become over-used to describe too wide a range of phenomena (from specific migrant communities to all migrants, to every ethnic diaspora, to all travelers and tourists)” (2001: 576). Cheryl McEwan also notes this in her review of transnationalism in the *Companion to Cultural Geography* (2004). She seeks to “temper such skepticism by demonstrating that transnationalism is a useful concept in representing

contemporary phenomena relating to mass migration and processes of political and cultural change across national spaces” (2004: 499).

An emerging area for transnational migration research is the study that explores the connections between land and migration (Byron 2007; Mills 2007; Mutersbaugh 2002; Skinner 2007). Tad Mutersbaugh examined the agency of a Mexican sending community in Santa Cruz and their regulation of migrant use of communal lands. Through the use of fines and limited access to lands, this community, which relies on the labor of its people to accomplish village tasks sought “to shape migration so that they may obtain a benefit without paying too great a social cost” (2002: 480-481). Scholars differ in their analyses of the effects migration on land-use and agricultural production. Some studies have found that migration leads to agricultural abandonment due to labor loss, which ultimately creates a decline in cultivation (Black 1993). Other studies have found labor loss has not led to a decline in cultivation and in fact migrant remittances are used for agricultural improvements (Durand and Massey 1992, Jokish 2002).

Jonathan Skinner’s research on the island of Montserrat, a British possession for nearly 300 years, highlights the relationship between Montserratians forced to leave their island after the 1995 eruption of Mount Chance. Nearly two-thirds of the island’s population had migrated by 1998 to Great Britain or to other neighboring islands in the Caribbean, and nearly all who remained had to relocate to the northern sections of the island (Skinner 2007: 228). Skinner includes in his discussion the perspective of Chedmond Browne, an anti-colonial politician and activist in Montserrat, who believes that Montserratians are on “the path to becoming a Landless & Nationless People. Montserrat is a virtual nation, a country that [now] has no physical borders . . . [a] country that can exist within others” (Skinner 2007: 229). In his research, Skinner found Montserratians migrants are maintaining virtual connections to their former island home. “In this

way, the islanders are jumping from colonial land and taskscape to the virtual . . . .In this virtuality, in the emails between Montserratians at the Electronic Evergreen, they retain their embeddedness—a rootedness to the island as well as the landscape of Montserrat” (Skinner 2007: 229).

Beth Mills (2007) studied the relationship between transnational migrants to their family lands on the island of Carriacou, part of the Grenadines in the Caribbean. Though family land is not communal land, Mills writes that it is “land where use is restricted to a particular group of people who are related by blood” (2007: 233). She found that the

Concept of family land created by the transnational imagination is arguably the most important role of family land in contemporary Carriacouan society. It ensures cohesion among community members in urban areas abroad. It underlies the reason for support and development aid to the home economy. It is important to the identity of those who have been away for any length of time, and it is the foundation of their dream to return. (2007: 240)

All of these studies address the relationship between land and migration, be it communal land, family lands or land lost due to natural disaster. Margaret Byron writes that

Land links members of generations in that migrants often left siblings or parents in charge of land while they were abroad. However, as migrant generations age and pass on, land is now a major force in continuing the transnational process started by the postwar migrant cohorts. Foreign-born descendants of migrants take advantage of dual citizenship arrangements to obtain nationality of Caribbean states in order to inherit property left to them by parents and grandparents. Through claiming this land, members of the Caribbean diaspora refresh and strengthen links with the Caribbean origin community. (Byron 2007: 251)

Land possession in the Caribbean is deeply symbolic of the freedom of emancipation and is very much a part of the Caribbean identity. It is understandable then, that Caribbean transnational migrants would maintain an attachment not only to their relatives but also to the family land for which their ancestors toiled and worked under the conditions of slavery. My study seeks to



contribute to the growing body of literature addressing relationships between transnational migrants and the land they leave behind by exploring Barbuda's system of common property.

### **Common Property**

Scholars have long been fascinated by common property especially since Garrett Hardin published his famous essay "Tragedy of the Commons" in 1968. While the essay deals primarily with issues of overpopulation, he is commonly cited for his discussion of the unregulated common pasture.

Therein is the tragedy. Each man is locked into a system that compels him to increase his herd without limit—in a world that is limited. Ruin is the destination toward which all men rush, each pursuing his own best interest in a society that believes in the freedom of the commons. Freedom of the commons brings ruin to all. (Hardin 1968: 1244)

Hardin's essay proposes privatization and government regulation as solutions to common property land degradation or the unregulated commons. This has inspired an array of studies that seek to explore the complexities of Hardin's famous thesis (Kay and Brown 1985; McCay and Acheson 1987; McKean 1992; Kay 1997; Hardin 1998; Sserunkuuma and Olson 2001). One of the most extensive studies published recently was a collection of 41 case studies on common property regimes from Asia, Africa, Europe, and Latin America (Fuys et al. 2005: 1). Andrew Fuys and others define common property as "some form of shared resource tenure—usually involving a group that is defined that uses and manages the resource. A common property regime represents a set of institutions, regulations and management practices subject to collective decision-making" (Fuys et al. 2005: 2). These studies and others illustrate the vast array of examples that fall under common property regimes, which could include "forest and agro-forestry areas, pastures and rangelands, agricultural lands, and freshwater and marine resources" (Fuys et al. 2005: 1). The case studies arising from the 2005 study considered male out-migration in search of employment in other parts of Africa and occurrences of in-migration that

affects access to common lands. “Migration of families within rural areas, i.e., in-migration, may also influence the common property arrangements, particularly where migrant farmers begin competing with other groups for resources or, as in the Zimbabwe case, do not have knowledge of or respect for local customary institutions that manage the commons” (Fuys et al. 2005: 18).

In the last 20 years, the Mexican ejido has received considerable scholarly attention not only for its status as a commons but also the significant changes it has faced as a result of neoliberal reforms (see Cornelius 1992; Appendi 1998; Goldring 1998; Jones and Ward 1998; Herlihy et al. 2007).<sup>5</sup> The ejido as well as the case study of Barbuda are both useful in understanding the changing nature of common lands as economies move toward an increased reliance on tourism. Eric P. Perramond notes that some of Mexico’s coastal areas, which include Baja California, have been more likely to title land, which can result in land speculation temptations in areas close to burgeoning tourist areas. Similar dilemmas face ejidatarios living near or on the United States-Mexico border, especially residents of coastal communities where new leisure ‘gringolandia’ is taking shape in areas such as Baja California (Perramond 2008: 367; Torres and Momsen 2005). Both Perramond (2008) and Peter Herlihy with others (2008) found that more than 16 years after the reform measures passed, the rate of privatization varied, occurring at different rates and in different ways. Herlihy noted that of nine study communities, two rejected PROCEDE reforms, while two others certified just their external boundaries as a

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<sup>5</sup> The ejido became a legal entity in 1917 in Article 27 of the Mexican Constitution. More specifically, “the ejido is a form of land tenure enshrined in Article 27 of the Mexican Constitution (1917) which established that certain peasants (ejidatarios) held rights to land for agrarian purposes in perpetuity which could not be sold, rented or mortgaged. The distribution of land to ejidos established the communities as strategic components of Mexico’s enduring corporate political system and offered the ruling party, Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI) the chance to present itself as the guardian of the Revolution (1910-17)” (Jones and Ward 1998: 77). The ratification of Article 27 and the Agrarian Law in 1992 under President Carlos Salinas de Gortari led to a number of reforms in the ejido sector (summary of reforms can be found in Cornelius 1992: 3-4). Programa de Certificacion de Derechos Ejidales y Titulacion de Solares (PROCEDE), began in 1993 and was an ambitious plan “to map the boundaries of ejido plots with ejidos, and provide the ejidatarios with land certificates” (Appendini 1998: 31). Peter Herlihy and others reported that by December of 2006, 92 percent of Mexico’s ejido land had been surveyed (2007: 402).

protective measure, and five participated in the program drawing out external and internal parcel boundaries (Herlihy et al. 2008: 408). His study reveals that just because ejidatorios have the right to make their lands private, does not mean they will do so.

Scholars' research also reveals the complexities of land tenure arrangements. People modify and adapt what they have beyond the letter of the law and often law follows practice. Gareth Jones and Peter Ward write in regard to the ejido, "Many of the apparently profound reforms are actually subtle redefinitions, establishing in law what is well established in practice and, while radical, should not be confused with a single-step move toward full privatization (1998: 79). Other scholars also reinforce this idea. Luin Goldring shows how parcels of the ejido in Zamora had been treated as private. In her interviews with ejido members, Goldring found that "people have been selling or ceding parcels and ejido rights since the 1950s" (Goldring 1998: 150). Perramond's work in Mexico focusing on the states of Guanajuato and Sonora suggests that the Mexican ejido, despite neoliberal reforms and efforts to privatize land, is evolving and adapting in unique ways. "For too long the private and communal land arrangements in Mexico have been dichotomized as "either/or" rather than reflecting the real continuum of ownership rules and flexibility that existed even prior to the reforms of 1992....In other words, these flexible land-tenure arrangements have escaped notice because observers have been looking for either private or communal actions" (Perramond 2008: 367).

This dissertation will highlight the complexity of Barbuda's land tenure arrangement as the island economy moves further away from traditional land-use practices. This is an observation that David Lowenthal and Colin Clarke fail to address in their book chapter "The Triumph of the Commons: Barbuda Belongs to All Barbudans Together" (2007). In that chapter, they argue that Barbuda's common property regime is a success. They put forth that Barbudan

emigration and return migration among other practices have led to the maintained system of communal lands. They describe an idealized, even nostalgic regime of commons use. By 2007, actual practice already diverged dramatically from their descriptions. Very few Barbudans are using lands for agriculture and livestock pursuits. Sand mining at Palmetto Point has destroyed the ecological integrity of the natural sand dune system leaving the island vulnerable to hurricanes (de Albuquerque and McElroy 1995). Overfishing in the lagoon has put pressure on Barbudans to fish in waters further from the island's shores. All of these issues raise questions, even with the passage of The Barbuda Land Act, 2007 over the future of Barbuda's commons and its actual "Triumph." Alongside these components is the influence and return of Barbuda's transnational community and their relationship to the common property regime.

Geographers can uniquely inform transnational migration research (Potter et al. 2005; Conway and Potter 2009; Voigt-Graf 2004). This dissertation contributes to and directly engages with Jackson (2004) and others' concept of transnational space (see also Voigt-Graf 2004; Rouse 2004). Barbuda considered as a place or node within a transnational space, has the potential to reveal how transnational migrants are engaging with and altering the use of common property. Alongside transnational migration, "The Commons" provides the other major theoretical framework for this dissertation. Barbuda's recent changes in its use of communal lands position it as an important case study in a literature trying to understand the sustainability of these tenure systems and their vulnerability to collapse under neoliberal pressures to privatize.

## **Methods**

Each individual chapter highlights the methods I used to understand the specific research theme in that chapter. Overall, in order to address the larger themes of this dissertation: migration and the commons, I took a multi-locality (Crang and Cook 2007, Hannerz 2003,

Radway 1988) ethnographic approach (Watson and Till 2009) using semi-structured interviews (Hay 2005), and participant-observation (Nachmias and Nachmias 1987). This approach aided in my understanding of how Barbuda's communal land tenure is undergoing transformation, how transmigrants are maintaining connections to their island home specifically as it relates to the common property, and more generally speaking the complexity of Barbuda's transnational spaces.

### Ethnographic Approach

This research project was largely inspired by ethnographic methods, utilizing semi-structured interviews based on a standard set of questions as well as participant observation (Watson and Till 2009). Semi-structured interviews facilitated an understanding of why Barbudans initially left the island, why they are returning to the island, how they are utilizing the common property, and what changes they see over time not only on the island but also in Barbudan transnational communities in other parts of the world. Semi-structured interviews offered both the flexibility to allow the interviewee the opportunity to deviate from topic and also permit the interviewer to follow a list of standardized questions or themes (Hay 2005). I identified interview participants using a snowball sampling method. Spending time in Barbuda gave me the opportunity to incorporate the participant-as-observer practice of field research to “gain a deeper appreciation of the group and its way of life and ... different levels of insight by actually participating rather than only observing” (Nachmias and Nachmias 1987: 292). For example, during my time in Barbuda, I sewed children's troupe costumes for the annual Caribana Festival, participated in the planning of African Liberation Day, and attended weekly church services, as well as land meetings.

### Multi-locality Ethnographic Methods

Transnational migration research often encourages a multi-locality ethnographic approach (Crang and Cook 2007, Hannerz 2003, Radway 1988). While the majority of the research took place on the island itself, I spent roughly three weeks in Antigua and seven days in the Bronx, New York. In those migration nodes, I incorporated the same methods: semi-structured interviews, and participant observation. I digitally recorded nearly all interviews and transcribed them. Following data transcription, I then encoded the data developing categories associated with the key research questions as well as other categories that emerged organically because of the semi-structured nature of the interview process (DeLyser 2008; DeLyser et al. 2009; Krippendorff 1980).

### Archives

To understand the historical processes of Barbudan transnational migration and connections to the island, particularly to the common property, I also conducted archival work in the Land Office in Codrington, the National Archive of Antigua and Barbuda in St. Johns, and the National Anthropological Archive in Washington D.C. I spent the majority of my time, however, reading the back issues of a newspaper that was published for 21 years in the Bronx, *Barbuda Voice* (Hay 2005; Raitz 2001). This monthly newspaper reveals how Barbudans living abroad joined together to protect their property from development plans initiated by the national government. While the memories of Barbudans may have faded or even altered over the years, *The Voice* stands as a testament to the life and events of the people of Barbuda. Karl Raitz writes, “Records made by careful intermediaries ... can provide the fugitive detail required for an acceptable explanation of historical relationships hinted at by cues observed in the field or in oral histories” (Raitz 2001: 122). Again, I used the method of content analysis to understand the

intricate relationship between Barbudans living abroad to the island as revealed in the pages of the newspaper. Klaus Krippendorff defined content analysis as “a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from data to their context” (1980: 21). From this systematic analysis, I made valid claims regarding information from a nearly 20-year historical written record, focusing specifically on its first five years of publication.

### Mental Mapping

While ethnographic methods and archival work reveal much about Barbudans’ sense of place, the method of mental mapping, I argue in this dissertation, aids in identifying key places of importance on the island to individual Barbudans. Downs and Stea define cognitive mapping as “a person’s organized representation of some part of the spatial environment” (1977: 6).

Cognitive maps come in the form of a sketch, “representing the world at one instant in time. It reflects the world as some person believes it to be” (Downs and Stea 1977: 6). This distinctly geographical method is also largely absent from transnational migration research.

### **Dissertation Outline**

This dissertation follows the introduction with a body of six chapters, the last a summation and conclusion. Chapter Two explores how Barbudan land tenure is undergoing transition and the various explanations that are causing this change. The initial findings for this chapter appeared in Potter and Sluyter 2010. This chapter, however, builds upon that work (Potter and Sluyter 2010) with further data analysis that highlight the shift away from agricultural land use and explanations for that demise, in addition to discussing 30-year trends on land application data from the Agriculture, Land, and Fisheries Office in Codrington.

Chapter Three connects two important literatures: transnational migration and “The Commons,” exploring how transnational migrants are returning to the island and setting aside

common lands for housing and business ventures. In addition to interviews, this chapter features data collected from the Agriculture, Land, and Fisheries Office in the form of GIS maps showing Barbudan population densities around the world as they relate to land requests. In addition, this chapter also highlights how Barbuda's communal land tenure affects non-Barbudan migrants.

Chapter Four explores the method of mental mapping in order to understand Barbudans changing places of importance as the economy of the island shifts from agriculture to high-end tourism. This chapter will play an important role in understanding differences in place preference across generations and genders. In addition, it advocates for the use of mental mapping as an innovative method for understanding migrant's complex relationship to home. Finally, this chapter reveals how Barbudans alongside their colonial past are relating also to an indigenous history.

Chapter Five opens by highlighting the experiences of Barbudan migrants in the United States, Canada, England, Antigua, and the United States Virgin Islands as recounted through semi-structured interviews. It then seeks to explore the complexity of Barbudans transnational spaces, which include Barbudan non-migrants and those who are perhaps "stuck" on one side of the social field on account of various issues of immobility (familial obligations, health problems). This chapter specifically considers Barbudan female migrants' experiences and their transnational spaces. In addition, taking a cue from "Geography's Emotional Turn," I advocate migration scholars to also consider emotion as it relates to migration (Davidson et al. 2005: 1).

The penultimate chapter in this dissertation continues to push the bounds of transnational space to incorporate a transnational communicative space, the *Barbuda Voice*. This chapter explores the first five years of publication of the 20-year newspaper the *Barbuda Voice* (1969 to 1990). A detailed exploration of this monthly newspaper the *Barbuda Voice* sheds light on the



early phases of the phenomenon known as transnational migration and Barbudans' connections with the common property regime while living abroad. Literature on transnational migration and communication emphasizes how technological advances are facilitating greater transnational interaction. Some scholars are critical of the potential of slower forms of communication to help form transnational communities. What this chapter seeks to illustrate is that a monthly newspaper served to facilitate transnational interaction at a time when the island was just receiving its first telephone.

## **Chapter Two**

### **Renegotiating Barbuda's Commons: Recent Changes in Barbuda's Land Tenure**

*I am drawn to thinking about the commons because of its ability to define a place as outside of capitalism; I am enticed by stories of societies and environments and their myriad productive combinations before capitalism; and I am inspired to imagine alternative ways of being that real people have lived and are living on the commons. I am, however, frustrated by representations of the commons as always subject to an inevitable displacement by a dominant and invasive capitalism. (St. Martin 2007: 255)*

Barbuda's residents often boast that their island home is one of the Caribbean's last remaining unspoiled islands (Kincaid 1988). Located in the Leeward Lesser Antilles of the Caribbean, the island remains little developed and sparsely populated relative to its neighbors. A comparison with Antigua, the other part of the country of Antigua and Barbuda, as well as with many of the other nearby islands, such as St. Kitts or St. Martin, illustrates Barbuda's anomalous character. Antigua has a population of some 75,561 on 108 square miles, for a density of 700 people per square mile; in comparison, a mere 1,325 people live on Barbuda's 62 square miles, for a density of 21 people per square mile (SDMFE 2004). Satellite imagery reveals Antigua's commensurate lack of vegetative cover relative to Barbuda's, the latter's broken by little more than the single village of Codrington and the main road connecting the Caribbean and Atlantic coasts (GEDG 2005). Many additional characteristics render Barbuda a rather extraordinary and relatively

unknown Caribbean place.

Despite general anonymity, over the past half-century quite a number of geographers as well as a few anthropologists and historians have studied various aspects of Barbudan land and life (Harris 1965; Russell and McIntire 1966; Berleant-Schiller 1974, 1977a, 1977b, 1983, 1984, 1991; Watters 1980; Tweedy 1981; Lowenthal and Clarke 1977, 2007; Nicholson 1991). This research builds on a long tradition of geographic scholarship in the Caribbean (see for example Kimber 1966; Sauer 1966; Lowenthal 1972; Watts 1987; Richardson 1992). Much of the research on the island has focused on the land-tenure system, one based on usufruct rights to communal property. Unlike the so-called family lands that emerged in many parts of the Caribbean during emancipation in the nineteenth century, in which the descendants of the owner of a single small plot inherit in perpetuity the right to use that land in common, the entire community of Barbudans claims common ownership of and usufruct rights to their entire island (Olwig 1999). Barbudan communal land tenure thus provides yet another contrast with the private and public lands of Antigua, derived from that island's colonial history of sugar estates and Crown lands. The previous research on Barbuda has established how a regionally distinct system of land tenure emerged during the twentieth century out of Barbudans' strong sense of place and community identity as well as out of the island's land-use history, mainly emphasizing the impact of three centuries of open-range cattle herding (Berleant-Schiller 1974; Tweedy 1981). Some have even held Barbuda up as a "Triumph of the Commons," an empirical rebuttal to Garrett Hardin's well-known theory about "the Tragedy of the Commons," in which common pastures inevitably suffer degradation (Hardin 1968; Lowenthal and Clarke 2007).

Barbuda's recent changes in its use of communal lands position it as an important case study in a vast array of literature trying to understand the sustainability of these tenure systems

under the pressure to privatize (McCay and Acheson 1987; Feeny et al. 1990; Bromley 1992; Kay 1997; Hardin 1998; Sserunkuuma and Olson 2001; Kishigami and Savelle 2005; Fuys et al. 2005; Perramond 2008). Katherine Verdery, in her study of shifting land tenure in post-socialist Romania argues, “There is no global process of privatization, only specific instances of it, and that following any instance provides insight into how the abstract idea of privatization might occur . . . .There is no typical village—all have their peculiarities . . . .It is precisely in the local settings that we see how people negotiated their way through the tremendous challenge [set before them]” (Verdery 2003: 30).

Increasingly, scholars are commenting on the ways communities negotiate their land tenure. Eric P. Perramond’s work in Mexico focusing on the states of Guanajuato and Sonora shows that the Mexican ejido, despite neoliberal reforms and efforts to privatize land, is evolving into a hybrid of communal and private land tenure (Perramond 2008: 367). Perramond, Rebecca Torres, and Janet Momsen all note that the ejido is especially vulnerable in areas where the economy is linked to tourism (Perramond 2008: 367; Torres and Momsen 2005). The ejido, as well as the case study of Barbuda, could prove useful in understanding how migrants are shaping common lands and how economies impacted by neoliberal reforms and tourism are placing tremendous pressures on these tenures. In actuality, Barbudans are effectively beginning to treat their common property as private lands as they abandon agriculture and livestock grazing (Potter and Sluyter 2010) yet in the midst of this they are vigorously defending and upholding communal rights.

This chapter will shed light on how Barbudan land uses are changing under the onslaught of globalization and neoliberal policies and how Barbudans are negotiating their own land tenure traditions. Fieldwork during the summers of 2007-2010, however, reveals just how profoundly

Barbuda has changed since the preceding research, most of it dating from the 1960s through the 1980s. In particular, interviews, newspaper and land office archives, and landscape observations reveal recent changes in traditional forms of communal land use, away from herding and agriculture, the reasons for it, and its relationship to emerging changes in the system of communal land tenure that embody the profound transformation of this extraordinary place. The case study of Barbuda, however, despite these land-use changes powerfully illustrates how communities are negotiating their own hybrid forms of land tenure in this age of ever-increasing globalization and homogenization (St. Martin 2007; Perramond 2008).

### **Origins of Open Range and Communal Lands**

Andrew Sluyter (2009) and Amy E. Potter and Sluyter (2010) outline the long-standing history of cattle-herding on the island, which thrived under British colonization and Codrington family-lessees (1668 and 1870). The material landscape of Barbuda is reflective of the presence of cattle as well as other livestock, with a number of rock-walled wells outside the village used to trap cattle during the dry season. Open-range cattle herding became Barbuda's chief use as an English colony. Between 1668 and 1898 the Crown leased out the entire island, with the Codrington family as leaseholder from 1685 through 1870 (Tweedy 1981; Nicholson 1991). The Codrington's' repeated attempts to establish plantations for cotton and other crops failed, in part due to the shallow soils, an average annual rainfall of only 35.4 inches, a long winter dry season, frequent droughts, and a scarcity of surface water. Attempts to raise cattle in enclosed pastures failed for the same reasons: the soils and precipitation could not sustain enough fodder within a paddock to support a herd throughout the year (Sluyter 2009). In contrast, open range cattle herding thrived by allowing the stock to graze and browse vegetation throughout the island: mostly a xerophytic, open evergreen shrub i.e. land that includes succulents, thorny invasives

such as acacia, and some grassy openings (Harris 1965; Francis et al. 1994). During the wet season, teams of Codrington slaves hunted down the untended, feral cattle on the open range. During the dry season, though, as surface water progressively dried up, the herders trapped cattle that came to drink at a series of rock-walled wells established around the village. In addition to the rock walls enclosing those stockwells, another kept livestock out of Codrington and a few others protected the always faltering agricultural fields. That general lack of land enclosure and private property during colonial times helped to ensure that the open range persisted through emancipation in 1834, termination of the last lease in 1898, and subsequent direct management by the Colonial Office (Hall 1971).

Upon associated statehood in 1967 and independence as part of the country of Antigua and Barbuda in 1981, Barbudans argued that the island had become their communal property rather than public property, a position supported by and supportive of the continuation of open-range herding and agricultural practices (Coram 1993; Lowenthal and Clarke 2007; Sluyter 2009). Open-range cattle herding began to decline in the 1980s despite having dominated Barbudan land use for the preceding three centuries. Some 2,000 feral cattle as well as additional horses, sheep, goats, donkeys, wild pigs, and deer still range freely throughout most of the island. But few Barbudans now run cattle, and the enclosed wells suffer great disrepair. Moreover, the decline of open-range cattle herding relates to ongoing changes in the system of communal land tenure, another longstanding characteristic of Barbuda as a place and Barbudans as a people. Since the preceding research on Barbuda predates that decline, the existing literature neither describes its character, explains it, nor relates it to on-going changes in the system of communal property.

## **Character of the Decline of Cattle Herding**

Only a single crew of three cattle runners continues to hunt cattle, largely as a diversion from their jobs and to earn extra cash. The cattle hunts typically begin Friday at midnight in order to sell the meat Saturday morning for family barbeques on Barbuda or, given a large enough animal, on the hoof to a butcher on Antigua. The crew chases the cattle on horseback until a large cow or bull tires enough that either they can bring it down with bulldogging and tail twisting or the pit bulls can corner it and latch their teeth in its face and neck to bring it to its knees. The cattle runners then tie a rope around the horns to lead the animal back to Codrington for slaughter (See Fig. 2.1).



**Figure 2.1 Cow Awaiting Slaughter**

Since feral cattle occur in such abundance relative to the demand for beef, branding no longer occurs. Instead, the feral herds have become common property that the single crew of avocational cattle runners hunt for themselves or on commission for other Barbudans. Commercial beef production has instead come to focus on small herds of relatively recently introduced zebu crosses, tame in contrast to the feral stock, tethered while grazing, owned as private property, and paddocked at night to prevent loss. The owners sell them to butchers on Antigua and some of the meat, once processed and chilled or frozen, comes back to Barbuda for sale.

The current cattle runners no longer use the rock-walled stockwells to trap cattle (Sluyter 2009). All but Olin Well lack even buckets to draw water. Those stockwells remain communal property, though, designated as historic sites and with efforts underway to preserve, if not quite restore them (See Fig. 2.2).



**Figure 2.2 Olin Well**



## **Agriculture**

While Potter and Sluyter (2010) focused primarily on the undoing of Barbudan cattle herding, the demise of agriculture was largely neglected. Barbudan subsistence agricultural practice has been in place since the time of slavery under the Codrington lease. As David Lowenthal and Colin Clarke note, the island slaves “enjoyed an abundance of provisions from their large garden plots, from hunting game in the forests, and from fishing” (1977: 515).

One Codrington manager, John James wrote in 1824, “Scarcely does one of your Vessels go to Antigua without a quantity of Fowls, and salt Fish to sell, and in good season an immense quantity of Potatoes [the slaves own produce]. Many of them have 10 to 11 Acres of land in cultivation the produce of which of course is their own Property” (James quoted in Lowenthal and Clarke 1977: 515). Subsistence agriculture thrived on Barbuda because the island was never able to maintain large-scale agricultural production as in other parts of the Caribbean. Barbuda’s average rainfall of 35.4 inches and thin soils atop limestone were never apt to support sugarcane. Any farming undertaken was mainly subsistence with the exception of government-run plantations, and a short stint of Sea Island cotton and peanut exportation. Well into 21<sup>st</sup> Century, subsistence agriculture thrived but as livestock herding has declined, so too has Barbuda’s agricultural use of the land. Interviews with Barbudans also reveal how islanders would send additional produce by boat to Antigua to be sold in market.

Riva Berleant-Schiller noted as early as 1971, during her dissertation fieldwork, the decline of government sponsored agriculture endeavors and the layoff of government workers on government agricultural lands (Riva Berleant-Schiller Papers, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC, accession no. 2005-1 [hereafter, RBS Papers]), while subsistence agriculture still thrived. A recent article in the *Antigua Observer*

revealed how only 50 Barbudans earned employment as agricultural workers, a seemingly high estimate based on my fieldwork (*Observer News* 2011).

Interviews from fieldwork between 2007-2010 unveil a strong collective memory of Barbudan parent's agricultural practices, the mainstay of this former subsistence-based economy.<sup>6</sup> The following recollections reveal the strong sense of community subsistence agriculture facilitated.

When I used to come here it's much different from now. When I used to come here as a child my grandparents would send me to my neighbor and if she brings 20 to 30 pound of potato from her farm she would take five pound over to my neighbor fisherman or fisherwoman. They would say take these couple pounds of fish to your grandmother so there was always that trade. Everything is not money. It's more about I give you a pound a fish. Sometime you're really not doing it with the expectation of getting something in return. It's something you do because you go to your farm and you have all these potatoes all these tomatoes and you figure your neighbor might need so you send some more over to your neighbor. (2007)

When my mother or the neighbors used to cultivate the land they would have to go out into the woods to do that. And to signal to one to let them know that you are about to leave or that you have gone they used to we call it AHOO. Where they would just give a sound, 'Whoooo' and my mother could tell who that whoo's coming from. And then there is another way we used to do it. We used to have like a main road and then the branch off roads would go to the cultivation. And when we would come out if I come out first I would cut a piece of bush or a branch and I would turn it into, turn it a special way and when the other person come they would know that say Lynton went already just by the bush. The whoo is to alert you that I'm getting ready to go so that you now in turn would get ready to go also because usually they go together and they come together. Sometimes if you are not done, then they will go and that's a meeting spot where they would meet outside but if you don't want to wait you just simply cut the branch and you would drop it in a peculiar way so we would know that you are gone. That's communication that up to now it baffles my mind. (2007)

Today, very few Barbudans are engaging in agriculture outside of their house yards; however, Sir Eric Burton is one of the remaining few that grow watermelon, butternut squash, eggplant, pumpkin, tomato, cantaloupe, and corn on several acres of land outside the village (See Fig. 2.3).

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<sup>6</sup> Most interviews quoted throughout this dissertation will remain anonymous or include an assigned pseudonym because of the small demographic living on the island. I will often not even include a description of the person (i.e. age or gender) to ensure complete anonymity.

He exports melons to Antigua and sells some of the produce in his family-owned grocery store (2008).

### **Reasons for Decline of Cattle Herding and Agriculture**

The decline of cattle herding and agriculture largely parallel one another. The reasons for the recent demise of open-range cattle herding and agriculture, considering how it dominated the land use and character of Barbuda for some 300 years, are multifaceted and complex. The economic processes involved seem clearest, but they in turn relate to cultural, social, political, and environmental ones. Moreover, understanding the spatially differentiated landscape impacts involved requires analysis of the relationships among the various types of processes.

In terms of economic processes, the dwindling demand for the island's cattle during the 1980s discouraged herding. Demand decreased because of changes in what had been the main market for nearly three centuries: Antigua. As the Antiguan sugar industry mechanized and eventually collapsed after emancipation in 1834, the demand for Barbudan oxen declined (Sluyter 2009). In



**Figure 2.3 Sir Eric Burton tending to eggplant in 2008**

parallel, synthetic materials increasingly replaced cattle products such as leather, tallow, and bone char over the 1900s. Antiguan also came to prefer foreign over Barbudan beef, which had a peculiar flavor because the cattle mainly subsisted by browsing leaves rather than grazing (Sluyter 2009). During the colonial period, the main Antiguan consumers had been slaves on sugar plantations and sailors stationed at the Royal Navy's dockyard at English Harbor, neither of which had much dietary choice. Even with emancipation, poverty maintained demand for cheap Barbudan beef. As the expansion of the Caribbean tourism economy reached Antigua in the 1980s, however, more consumers began to choose foreign beef over Barbudan beef (Coram 1993). Even now, Barbudans consume more foreign than Barbudan beef and dairy products. Because of the consequent lack of meat processing facilities on Barbuda, even the few tame cattle that Barbudans raise must first go to Antigua for slaughter before returning for sale in Codrington.

Cattle herding and agriculture work began to decrease as wage labor on the island began to expand. Building of the first luxury hotel, the Coco Point Lodge, on the south coast during the 1960s provided construction jobs and, thereafter, steady employment during the winter tourist season. The K-Club and The Beach House, also on the south coast, followed with more seasonal employment with the most recent addition of Lighthouse Bay Resort across the lagoon. In addition, since 1975, a succession of foreign companies<sup>7</sup> has quarried sand at Palmetto Point for use in resort construction projects throughout the Caribbean (Coram 1993; deAlbuquerque and McElroy 1995). Those sand exports have resulted in jobs for Barbudans, royalties for the federal and local governments, and detrimental environmental impacts such as groundwater contamination (Campbell 2006). The Barbuda Council, the locally elected body established in 1976 during the period of associated statehood, uses some of the sand royalties to employ an

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<sup>7</sup> During my fieldwork seasons (2007-2011), the sandmining operation was Barbudan owned and operated.

estimated 400 workers at an average annual salary of \$17,000 XCD, equivalent to \$6,513 USD. That rather large civil service, employing roughly a third of the population, includes blue-to white-collar work (garbage collector, janitor, secretary, receptionist).

Remittances from Barbudans living abroad have become another major source of income. By some estimates, three times as many Barbudans live in New York City as on Barbuda, with additional expatriate communities in other parts of the United States such as the Virgin Islands, the United Kingdom, and Canada (Coram 1993, 1989). The history of the Barbudan diaspora parallels the overall pattern of the British West Indies, a regional migration to other Caribbean islands beginning after emancipation and then an expansion to the U.S., U.K., and Canada after World War II (Gmelch 1992). No comprehensive statistics exist on either the numbers of Barbudans living abroad or on the amount of money they remit to the island, but a census dating to 1971 revealed that more than half of the households received some form of support from abroad, including cash or gifts sent by relatives in New York City or elsewhere, pension or social security checks, and wages from seasonal employment abroad (RBS Papers).<sup>8</sup> Remittances and seasonal migratory employment abroad certainly continue and might have grown. Barbudan migration is one of the major catalysts for undoing agricultural-land use on the island. As one Barbudan return migrant told me:

People stop, the older people who used to cultivate the land they themselves have gotten too old and tired to do it. The children left. They sent them away. As soon as they finished school and they can afford it they send them to England or Canada. They send them away and who is left to do cultivation? They're already old and tired. (2009)

It was also Barbudan migrants who helped change consumptive food practices by introducing relatives to foreign products sent to the island by way of barrels (See Fig. 2.4), which eventually

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<sup>8</sup> More information on the 1971 Berleant-Schiller census can be found in Table 5.1.



**Figure 2.4 Barrel from the United States**

paved the way for grocery stores selling imported food items (See also Lowenthal and Clarke 1982). One Barbudan migrant's grocery store sprung up organically after she started sending food items to her mother.

So stuff I sent to my mother all the time, I sent her big boxes of food, turn into barrels sometimes of food ... I would send her coffee creamer and some people would say 'Oh can you get me a bottle of that.' And then I would send her, she likes that Folgers Dry Roasted Coffee, she just liked the aroma ... and I would send extras so that's how I got into you know [the grocery store business]. (2010)

Some Barbudans, however, expressed frustration over the quantity of imports, particularly the importation of foodstuffs Barbudan fore parents used to grow.

I'd like to see turn a good quarter portion of this land into just agriculture lands for someone who can develop, work the land, grow and feed the world. Feed us. Feed the nation. We used to do that. Our parents used to do it. They would grow what we can't eat we'd export it. And now we're importing things we used to export ourselves. (2010)

Such economic processes also relate to cultural ones, especially the negative connotations associated with farming. One Barbudan in her mid-twenties told me in 2007, "I don't know why it changed, it seemed like it was better off for us. I think it changed because the Council started

hiring a lot of people and agriculture was seen as for poorer people and stupid people. And then I guess we just lost our vision. I can remember in our yard we used to grow peas and grow produce. Stuff like that” (2007). The Barbudan youth’s disinterest with agriculture could also be the result of a Council policy that punishes workers by sending them to labor at the Agricultural Station. One Barbudan woman said The Council is sending a message that says, “You’re no good and agriculture is not good enough so that’s the only place we can send you . . . . In my opinion I cannot see anyone would look at this as a positive thing to do” (Hart 2010: 26).

Negative memories are also associated with wells and other aspects of the colonial landscape built by the enslaved ancestors of Barbudans. *Barbuda Voice*, a newspaper published in New York City between 1969 and 1990 but read by Barbudans everywhere, illustrates some of those negative associations.

The government should consider that Barbudans are still drawing water from wells for their domestic needs . . . . It is time enough for Barbudans to stop going to wells to draw water. Not much has been done to improve the ancient water system. Not much has been done to improve Barbuda. To many Barbudans, the ‘Village Well’ is a glaring monument to a forsaken island (R. John, *BV*, October 1970: 8).

When in 1833, with slavery no longer a money making business, you were left on your own, but because neither you nor the Island were considered ‘Important’, both were soon forgotten. Forgotten as to adequate schooling, forgotten as to any means of industry for self-improvement, forgotten as to a Hospital for births or severe illness, forgotten as to any real benefits, as a people, under the old colonial or new Federated systems. (J. John, *BV*, October 1970: 8)

Cattle running certainly remained a prestigious occupation as one of the leading sources of income on the island, but as demand for Barbudan cattle dwindled and wage employment opportunities expanded the associations between slavery, herding, and wells might have contributed to the overall decline.

Barbudans also attribute the general decline in such manual labor to processes that have changed the social expectations of the younger generation. Adult interviewees typically believe

that adolescent Barbudans devalue rural labor, including cattle running, and to some degree manual labor in general. Yet Berleant-Schiller encountered the same opinions as early as 1971 and also found that adolescents, now the adults among our interviewees, regarded the cultivation of land as an unpleasant necessity, bearable only as long as no other source of income was available (RBS Papers). Moreover, currently, three young men have chosen to become avocational cattle runners because they enjoy hunting, riding, horses, and dogs as a diversion from their jobs. Other young Barbudans work in fishing and lobster diving, which can earn as much as \$1,000 XCD per week.

Political processes, both local and national, also relate to the decline. During the 1970s, determination of calf ownership involved a political process of negotiation among alliances of herd owners and cattle runners (Berleant-Schiller 1977b; Sluyter 2009). During the 1980s, according to one interviewee, the owner of the largest herd began to claim absolutely every unbranded calf. Although the details remain unclear, such unequal social relations seem to have discouraged the owners of smaller herds from continuing cattle production and eventually contributed to its decline. Enduring antipathy between the local and national governments precluded legal formalization of cattle ownership and reestablishment of a balance of power among the herd owners and several crews of cattle runners.

National political relations, between Barbuda and the central government, thus also pertained to the decline. Beginning with associated statehood in 1967 and accelerating with independence in 1981, the national government has attempted to assert control over Barbuda, converting what it views as public lands into private property or long-term leases. One scheme offered Barbudans title deeds to house lots outside of the former village wall as a prelude to more general land sales (Berleant-Schiller 1986). *Barbuda Voice* preserves the vociferous



opposition among those Barbudans suspicious of their motivation.

I understand the new Government is planning to give deeds to the people for their land . . . . If Barbuda [sic] people accept deeds for their land the Government will sell Barbuda piece by piece and who don't have land at the time would have to buy land from then on . . . .So anyone that comes to you with this story about giving deeds, he is planning to take away our privileges of having access to free land and is going to sell out Barbuda to help build Antigua. (Punter, *BV*, October 1970: 11)

A more direct approach involved unilateral deals with foreign developers, such as the potential 1969-70 sale by the Antiguan government of a quarter of Barbuda to a foreign resort developer, also opposed by Barbudans.

This option on one quarter of the Island, was to be given to his company by the Antiguan Government in return for 20% of the Companies [sic] profits. Only 5% was to be given to a 'Citizens of Barbuda Trust Fund' (R. John 1970c, 9 italics in original).

Barbudans generally resisted such attempts to end communal land tenure even though the land uses that had once mutually supported it, mainly open-range herding but also shifting cultivation and charcoal burning, were in decline. In 1980, the contingent that represented Barbuda at the independence negotiations in London used the heritage of communal land tenure as the major argument to advocate, unsuccessfully, for either independence apart from Antigua or for remaining a British colony (Coram 1993; Lowenthal and Clark 2007). While unsuccessful in that attempt, Barbudans have nonetheless been able to resist the national government's attempts to end communal land tenure on Barbuda.

While all the foregoing processes pertain to the decline, their spatially differentiated impact on the Barbudan landscape depended on and fed back on their relationships with each other and with parallel processes, such as population growth, hurricane damage to housing, and increasing automobile ownership. During most of the colonial period, a limestone wall measuring 1.2 meters high and half a meter thick had enclosed the village of Codrington and virtually all Barbudans lived within it (Figure 2.5). During the colonial period, that wall both kept livestock



**Figure 2.5 Remnants of the Village Wall**

out of the village and kept villagers in, the purpose of the Codringtons being to monopolize the land beyond the village (Lowenthal and Clarke 2007; Sluyter 2009). As Barbudans gained more control over the island in the twentieth century, they began to remove the wall and expand the village, first southward and then eastward. Several major factors encouraged households to move out of the core village, including widespread damage to houses during hurricanes (Donna in 1960 and Luis in 1995), and population growth—from 492 in 1832 to 1,325 in 2001 (Lowenthal and Clarke 1977; Tweedy 1981, 208; Lawrence 1996; SDMFE 2004). Other factors attracted people to the new suburbs: piped water reduced reliance on the village well; more funds—whether derived from remittances, migratory employment, the pensions of returned retirees, or wage labor at the hotels or sand quarry—became available to purchase construction materials, loans being uncommon because of the lack of title to serve as collateral; and the increased number of cars, from 15 in 1977 to 220 in 2008, reduced incentives to keep the village compact (Berleant-Schiller 1991). As a result, more families built new houses beyond the former wall, and more derelict houses came to mark the colonial core (See Fig. 2.6). The village wall itself



**Figure 2.6 Dilapidated Home in Codrington Village**

provided a ready source of limestone blocks to crush into gravel for road and airstrip construction (Watters 1980).

In turn, the expansion of the village into the zone of stockwells negatively impacted the herding system, ending the practice of trapping cattle during the dry season. Most basically, construction activity made the feral cattle too wary to drink at the wells. Some residents of the new suburbs even shot at the cattle to discourage their use of the wells. Many Barbudans, in fact, now consider not only cattle but also donkeys and horses a nuisance because of their feces, or “mess.” Also, the low demand for abundant cattle makes cattle hunting much more productive than trapping, which would require maintaining the wells. As use of the wells declined along with the number of cattle runners, they initially decreased the size of the enclosure at Indigo Well, one of the wells closest to the village, and eventually stopped using all but Olin Well, one of the wells furthest from the village (USAF 1958). The walls around Spring Well and Sam Spring Well then joined the Village Wall in the stone crusher, and now even at Olin Well the gate lays on the ground beside the entrance.

The decline of the open-range system of cattle hunting and trapping thus involved a positive feedback operating through landscape transformations. As the processes through which herding declined also resulted in village expansion, the trap wells engulfed by the new suburbs became unusable and further precipitated the decline. The cattle running now practiced by the single crew therefore bears only superficial resemblance to that of the twentieth century. Not only has the decline vastly reduced the scale of open-range cattle herding on Barbuda, but also it has fundamentally changed the herding ecology. The rock-walled wells, an element of the open-range herding system that made Barbuda such a unique place, now persist only as “historic wells,” a designation created by the Barbuda Council (Barbuda 2007).

### **Relationship to Changes in the Common Property Regime**

The system of communal land tenure that emerged on Barbuda during the twentieth century has no clear legal basis (Coram 1993). The Antigua Termination of Association Act, passed by the UK Parliament in 1981, in theory made all Crown lands into public lands administered by the new national government of independent Antigua and Barbuda (Berleant-Schiller 1991). Yet many Barbudans argued that the island had become their communal property because soon after the end of the final lease the British Parliament had passed the Barbuda Ordinance of 1904 to make all Barbudans joint Crown tenants and, thereby, upon independence, joint owners (Lowenthal and Clarke 2007). That legal argument, along with traditional land use practices, served to frustrate the national government’s efforts to establish unilateral control over Barbuda’s land.

In part, that legal argument sufficed because the land uses that prevailed during the late twentieth century required common access to unenclosed land. The wealthiest, most politically powerful Barbudans were the owners of the largest cattle herds and argued for communal land

tenure to maintain their access to rangeland. But owners of small herds of cattle and goats, shifting cultivators, and charcoal burners would all have had good reason to argue for communal land tenure to protect their usufruct rights.

The national resource politics of the late twentieth century also gave Barbudans good reason to unite behind a legal argument for communal land tenure. With their majority, Antiguan control election of the national government, and the family of V. C. (Vere Cornwall) Bird controlled the government for most of the period of associated statehood and independence. The Birds enriched themselves by developing tourist resorts on public lands, to the social and environmental impoverishment of Antiguan (Coram 1993; Kincaid 1988). The uncertain status of land tenure on Barbuda limited such depredations there because investors could not raise capital to build resorts without clear title to land.

### **Renegotiation**

With the end of the Bird dynasty in 2004, Barbudans could begin to negotiate the formalization of their land-tenure system but at a time when the land uses that had mutually supported communal-land tenure had become rare. The result has been The Barbuda Land Act, 2007, passed into law on 17 January 2008 after several years of negotiation among Barbudans and between the Barbuda Council and the national government (Antigua and Barbuda 2008). In general, the act codifies and enshrines Barbudans' communal ownership of their island, their usufruct rights, the inalienable status of the land, and the role of the Barbuda Council in administering land use, including leasing land for any "major development for a maximum period of 50 years, or any longer period that the Council may, by regulation fix in accordance with this Act" (Antigua and Barbuda 2008, II-6).

The land act specifically addresses the issue of herding and agriculture. Any Barbudan “of the age of 18 years and over shall, subject to availability, be entitled . . . to graze animals in areas of land in Barbuda designated by the Council for grazing” (Antigua and Barbuda 2008, III-7). The Agricultural, Land, and Fisheries Department of the Barbuda Council, plans to construct “paddocks” with wells to concentrate cattle. Those paddocks will become the areas “designated by the Council for grazing,” and owners will pay a fee to water each head of cattle. In terms of agriculture, Barbudans are entitled the “exclusive right of occupation of a plot or plots of land in Barbuda for cultivation in the areas in Barbuda designated by the Council for cultivation” (Antigua and Barbuda 2008, III-7). The Land Act now also stipulates two additional uses for Barbudan lands, house dwellings and development.

Interviews and records from the land office, however, confirm these latter uses are now the more typical purpose for which the Barbuda Council has been allocating land, purposes far different from agriculture and cattle herding that provided one of the principal historic foundations for the land act. The beginning stages of increased residential land use and the expansion of the village was documented on the pages of the *Barbuda Voice*, where as early as 1970 Barbudans are trying to acquire land, albeit unsuccessfully, outside the traditional confines of Codrington village. Prior to the formation of the Barbuda Council in 1976, an island warden apportioned land. One Barbudan Glascoe Punter reported one such incident in October 1970.

Up until the Air strip was put where it is, as the population grew the people that needed to build a home would go to the warden and let him know where they would like to build in Park. The warden would then send some one to measure the land according to how much land they needed. A few dollars were paid for this service and they would start building their home. But since the Antigua government took over, they put an airstrip about 200 yards beyond the last house that was built and then tell the people, “We know we stop you people from building anymore homes but we are going to build you a new Village. So go to the wardens office, there is a list there of all who would like to build a new home. Put your name on the list and your home will be in the New Village.” This has

been over 5 years ago. A stop has been put to Barbuda people getting land. (BV, October 1970, p. 11)

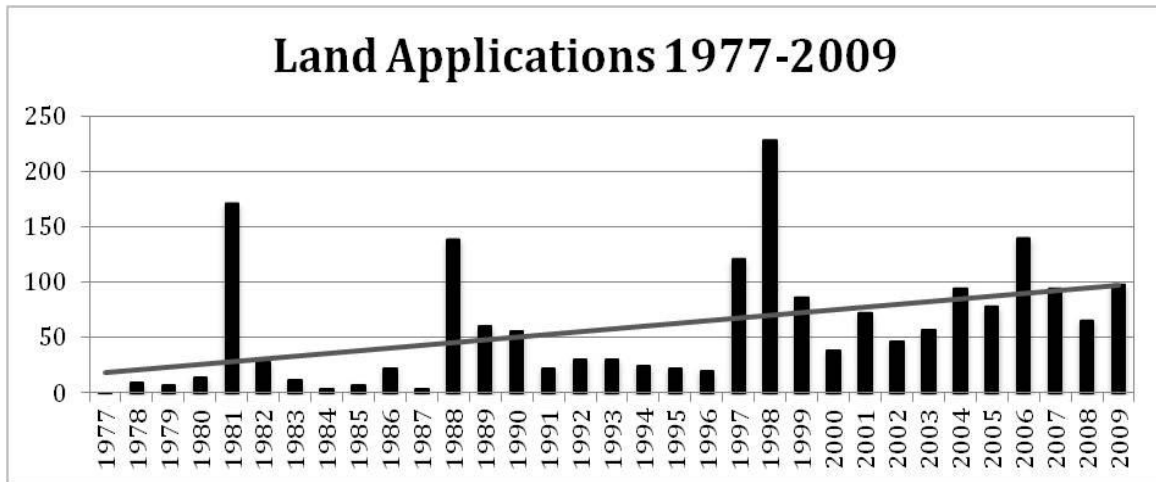
Records dating back to the formation of the Barbuda Council and its subsequent 1977 take-over of land allocation show an increasing interest in acquiring land for home construction or business endeavors (See Fig. 2.7). According to records at the Barbuda Agriculture, Land, and Fisheries Office, Barbudans submitted 1,914 applications for land between the years 1977 and 2009.<sup>9</sup> Most Barbudan applications are for housing lots rather than agricultural or animal grazing. For instance, of the 1,221 applications submitted between 1997 and 2009, only five of those applications indicated land-use for agriculture or live stock purposes. Young Barbudans commented in interviews on the increasing pressure to build a home at an early age whereas in the past, Barbudans lived with their parents well into adulthood while they acquired the means to construct their home.

Most people are not really into farming, I mean it's sad because it's something that can make money and we should because we import way too much but a lot of people are just building houses and you find a lot of young people out of school or what not but I think there's too much pressure on us having a house too early. OK, you're done with school, you're working, you should get a house. Not you should work on your career or you should try to further studies. You should build a house. (2007)

The case of one middle-aged man illustrates how some Barbudans now view tourism

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<sup>9</sup> The number of Barbudan land applications on a year-to-year basis reveals a dramatic increase in requests in the years 1981, 1988, 1997, 1998 and 2006. These spikes are directly related to any period of uncertainty regarding the future of the communal land tenure as caused by independence, the lead-up to an election year (long-time parliamentary representative Eric Burton lost to Hilbourne Frank, Frank took office in 1989), the destruction of Hurricane Luis in 1995, and finally uncertainty surrounding the new land act in 2005. The landscape is a direct testament to this fear. Former Parliamentary Representative Claude Earl Francis, whose second term in 1976 was tragically cut short by his death in 1978, was instrumental in encouraging Barbudan house construction outside of the former Codrington village confines. Moses John, Secretary of Agricultural Lands and Forestry Committee for the Barbuda Council recalled, "He told the people to move out of Codrington and start to tie up the land, start to build all over. There's no proper infrastructure, these little houses just like a spider web you know. [He] tell them to go all over, just tie up the land. Just build all over. Nobody could stop you" (M. John 2009). In terms of independence John remembered, "A lot of people because of the Independence they think Antigua was going to come and take away our land. We didn't voluntarily go into Independence because I can remember during independence; it was an ordinary workday in Barbuda. They [Barbudans] did not participate in the Independence ceremony" (M. John 2009).



**Figure 2.7** Yearly records of applications for Barbudan lands from 1977 to present with trend line. (Records begin after the formation of the Barbuda Council in December of 1976. For an explanation on peak years see footnote.)

development rather than livestock or agriculture as key to their own future as well as the island’s future. He was born on Barbuda but moved with his family to the Virgin Islands soon thereafter as part of the Barbudan diaspora between World War II and associated statehood. After high school he moved to New York City, where he joined the expatriate Barbudan community focused in the Bronx and worked at various jobs before returning to Barbuda in 2004. Like other Barbudans who have returned from abroad with some capital, he has been at the forefront of acquiring approval from the council to develop land and now has rights to two plots: one near the south coast to build a home and construct tourist villas or apartments; and a second near the village jetty to build a gas station. In his view, “Barbuda is like a dirty diamond. It just needs to be polished.” Other cases also reflect that conjunction of returning expatriates with capital and the new land act, such as the Barbudan who moved to Canada after high school and worked in light industry in the Toronto area for seventeen years before coming home and receiving approval to build a house and operate a restaurant on the south coast, not far from where the ferry from Antigua docks. The relationship between Barbudan migrants to the land tenure will be explored in greater depth in the next chapter.



With the passing of The Barbuda Land Act, 2007 and the creation of the Barbuda Planning Commission in 2005, the process to acquire land is becoming more formalized as the island's Council has created developmental control regulations. It was not uncommon for a Barbudan in the past to simply go out into the commons and take-up a piece of land for agriculture or home construction ignoring the formalized application process. One letter to *The Guardian* described this process:

Vincent sets off on his donkey as soon as the first light of day appears, to finish fencing the land he has chosen to grow his crops on this season. . . . He has marked out the area with large rocks, buoys washed up from the beach hanging from the beach hanging from significant bushes, and the odd empty plastic bottle, indicating that this land has been taken. He will cut posts from the bush and use wire to join it all together. As soon as it is fenced it is his for as long as he wants. (Frank 2003: 22)

The Barbuda Planning Commission drafted a Barbuda Master Plan for development initiatives and residential sectors making it more problematic for Barbudans to simply claim land in the bush the way "Vincent" did in the past. So problematic in fact, that Barbudans may end up in High Court for failing to go through the proper channels of application and approval by the Council if they encroach on an already approved plot of land. One Barbudan explained:

Once the land is legally transacted . . . they go and build, you can take the person to court. Because I know there was a lady who went on another person's land and build and the court awarded damages in over \$40,000 XCD. Even right now I have a land case in court. I was given land and this young man came from America went and started to build his house on my land. I show him my document but he say he's a Barbudan and so we're in court right now . . . .He applied. But he did not get a response. So he just went and saw the land went and start to build on it. Even before he started to build I showed him my documents that the land was given to me by the Barbuda Council. And he say he don't care. He's a Barbudan he can build anywhere he want. And right now we're in court. (2009)

In 2005, a newly employed Land Registration Officer for the Barbuda Planning Commission began to document ownership of land, ownership of home, business, or other structure of the land, contact information of owners, present use of structure(s) on the land, and registration

status on the land (Frank 2011). Barbudans are now restricted to apply for house plots in areas designated by the Council, The purpose is to “ensure that all land in Barbuda will become registered land with its individual parcel identification number and relevant land ownership information” (Frank 2011) Interestingly, in an era in Barbuda history where Barbuda’s communal land tenure is becoming more formalized, it is still important to recognize there are other processes at working alongside the communal nature of the island.

Barbudans openly buy, sell, and trade pieces of land and more specifically the homes or other built structures upon that land with other Barbudans. While there are no deeds to these transactions, this type of land negotiation mimics privatization. One official at the Barbudan Agriculture, Land, and Fisheries Office said, “So what they will say [is] OK it’s for the fencing or whatever. If there’s a structure on there they sell it. But what they will do, they will transfer to them. They will send a letter of transfer that they have transferred this land. They will send it to the Council” (2009). One Barbudan explained how her family acquired a home and subsequent land within the village.

Because the bank don’t lend Barbudans money because Barbuda land is not for sale, you cannot take the land, say for example if I go to the bank and I borrow money to build this house and I forfeit my payment the bank can’t take the house because the land doesn’t belong to me or it doesn’t belong to the bank. The only thing they can do is probably sell the house and then whoever the land belongs to now will have to agree in company in allowing that person to come and live on their land. So both parties will have to come to some sort of agreement. Like that house we bought, that house right here and one of the reasons we were able to purchase it was the couple who built that house they got a divorce, they weren’t getting along so the house belong to the male and the land belongs to the female’s family and the female family told the guy you’ll have to take your house off the property... My parents went to the owner of the land and say look, I want to buy the house but is it ok with you if I get the land with it? [They] said sure as long as he’s not getting it then ok. That’s what it was. As long as the groom is not getting it, benefitting from the land. They don’t mind. (2008)

In her dissertation and subsequent publications, Berleant-Schiller detailed the Barbudan practice of planting fruit trees, particularly mango and cashew as a way to “claim exclusive use-

rights of a piece of land in an outlying area” (p. 62). Once a tree was planted, the tree, its fruit and potentially the land within its shade or even at times up to a radius of twenty feet from the trunk (this could be disputed) belonged to that Barbudan. The tree itself was heritable.

Observations and interviews from fieldwork in Barbuda reveal this practice is still at work, however, it too has adapted. One modification from Berleant-Schiller’s observations is that the fruit tree itself has become the focal point for land claims. Berleant-Schiller writes that in 1974, “If the tree establishes one’s claims to the land around it, this is not for the purpose of establishing land rights in themselves, but for the establishment of the tree ownership” (p. 63).

One Barbudan couple, Harry and June<sup>10</sup> told me in 2009 about their claim to a piece of land outside the village because of a single cashew tree, still alive, planted by Harry’s mother years before.

You see the land is something that his mother used to cover [in] cashew trees. ... We used to plant it. After, we have to give it up and went away so [when we] come back we asked for the land. They gave us a hard time. They gave us a hard time. God bless that tree was alive. It was in the bush. But it was still alive. So that belong to us. So when they go and they put their hand on it they say, “Well it’s still alive for your mother.” So we get it. It wasn’t easy. If it was[n’t for] the cashew tree we wouldn’t get it. (2009)

Despite increasing restrictions by the Council, Barbudans are resorting to customary tenures to acquire lands for homes and business related ventures.

Even while Barbudan’s use of the commons is changing, some Barbudans recognize that free land ensures a certain amount of protection for Barbudan people in an increasingly globalized society.

The land is intimately linked to our resources, which is intimately linked to our economy, which is linked to the possibilities we have to sustain ourselves and society. Without the land, we have nothing. (2009)

Well to tell you the truth, um now the land is not for sale, you know. And we try to keep it the same way. Even outsiders come and visit and stuff like that they tell us all the time

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<sup>10</sup> Pseudonym.

don't sell. Leave Barbuda just the way it is. This land not spoiled. Keep it just like this. Certain things can improve yes but keep it just like this. And stuff like that. I think we should leave our land the same, not to sell. The reason for that too like we don't have money we just making out you know wages and stuff like that. People come in with their lots and lots of money and just can do everything and the younger generation to come don't have anything...The young people right now they don't see that. They see money. Drugs. They don't see things that go beyond. They see now. (2009)

So I don't see the common ownership of land being changed any time soon. And that is primarily for our protection as an indigenous people . . . .That is why certain things in these less developed countries. I don't see it as being fair. You can't have the money from Wall Street coming in and competing with me. That is one of the serious challenges that these small islands face.

You have to provide for your local community. If you don't. That's the only thing we have is this island. Without money, without businesses. So I think that will be, if I had to leave a recommendation behind leave the common ownership in place. If you want to tweak or change the condition or terms of how you get financing for it and whatever that kind of stuff no problem but the requirements of a Barbudan should be in tact. (2007)

The land is ultimately the great equalizer as Barbudans cope with an island economy that provides very little employment opportunities, the high cost of imported food and gas, and high transportation costs travelling between Barbuda and Antigua. It ensures Barbudans and their children access to land and ultimately a future on their island home.

## **Conclusions**

Historically, Barbudans seem to have persistently disregarded the legal status of land tenure in their actual land uses. During colonial times, the leaseholders and Colonial Office endlessly tried to confine Barbudans to Codrington, yet they nonetheless grazed their own livestock beyond the village wall, maintained shifting cultivation fields in the Highlands, and hunted deer. With associated statehood, despite the emergence of the legal argument for communal land tenure and usufruct rights for Barbudans only, not only the national government but the local one began to issue long-term leases to foreign developers of hotels and sand quarries. Now, just as Barbudans have largely abandoned land uses that supported the argument for usufruct rights to the entire island and begun to participate more broadly in ones that require investment capital, The

Barbuda Land Act, 2007 has codified the inalienability of land and thereby precluded titling and the bank loans it would facilitate.

Conversely, open-range herding, as the most profitable land use for three centuries as well as shifting cultivation, had great impact on the eventual legal formalization of communal tenure. Yet, ironically, as the land act came into effect in 2008, the very landscape elements that manifest open-range herding and agriculture have largely become obscure. In terms of open-range cattle herding, vegetation throughout the island certainly reflects three centuries of browsing, grazing, and burning associated with open-range herding, as well as shifting cultivation and charcoal production (Harris 1965). The rock-walled stockwells that persist in the environs of the village, however, provide a more obvious landscape legacy than the vegetation. Yet those wells have become largely defunct, many of the walls in ruins or entirely consumed by the rock crusher. Younger Barbudans, who grew up during the decline of cattle herding, barely appreciate that those wells even exist let alone how they once functioned as part of the open-range herding system that for so long characterized their island home. Older Barbudans do remember, and the council has undertaken to repair the wells as historic sites that can help preserve the social memory of place creation even as a very different Barbuda emerges over the next generation.

The historic tension between de jure land tenure and de facto land use implies that the recent passage of the land act will have little impact. Barbuda could well remain a regionally distinctive place, sparsely populated and little developed. But it could also become just another *Small Place*, much like the Antigua that Jamaica Kincaid (1988) bemoans: white beaches lined with mass tourism resorts, azure waters polluted with untreated sewage, and most of the development under foreign control and of minimal benefit to Barbudans. Or Barbudans might

create one of many entirely different futures negotiating hybrid forms of land tenure on their own terms as they have always done in the past (Perramond 2008). As one Barbudan told me in 2009:

Especially when it comes to the land, no matter how segregated we are politically wise when it comes to land we are a united front. Trust me. And if it comes to death, if it comes to bloodshed, it's going to happen in Barbuda. That's the only thing Barbudans will stand up for is their land. Otherwise, there's not a chance in hell. (2009)

They will be most empowered to do so, however, with a full appreciation for the complexity and uniqueness of the long-term processes that has thus far shaped their island.

### **Chapter Three**

#### **Migration and the Barbudan Commons**

Whenever one inquires about the migratory nature of the island of Barbuda, it is likely followed by the familiar response, “More Barbudans live abroad than on the island itself.” While there are no formal census numbers of Barbudans living abroad,<sup>11</sup> the transitory condition of Barbudans and their eventual return to the island is of serious interest to scholars who are trying to understand migrant’s relationship to the communal land tenure system. The historical relationship between Barbudans living abroad to the land, including The Barbuda Land Act, 2007 and how Barbudans who have lived abroad are making use of the land is key to understanding changes in Barbuda’s commons.

In chapter two (see also Potter and Sluyter 2010), I have discussed in detail the demise of both agriculture and livestock practices, while highlighting briefly how migration was one of the many components that led to the dissolution of these economies. A number of scholars have also explored connections to migration and land tenure (Besson 2002; Jokish 2002; Mills 2007; Byron 2007; Skinner 2007) and more specifically migration’s impacts on agriculture (Black 1993; Jokish 2002). Some scholars, in exploring these complex connections, have found that

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<sup>11</sup> Antiguans and Barbudans are counted together as one country in the census. For instance, the 2000 U.S. Census estimates the foreign born population living in the United States from Antigua and Barbuda at 18,324; 1990 at 12,022; and 1980 at 3,920. Information is unavailable for U.S. born of Barbudan descent.

migration has led to agricultural abandonment due to labor loss, which has ultimately led to a decline in cultivation (Black 1993). This assessment aligns with interviews from Barbudans as noted in the previous chapter that in fact migration was one of the factors that led to the demise of agriculture practices on the island. Other scholars conclude that rather than resulting in agricultural decline, remittances from abroad are often used for agricultural improvements (Durand and Massey 1992; Jokish 2002). Of particular interest to this study, however, is the work of Beth Mills and Jean Besson, which explore the broader connections of land to migrant identity. Besson (2002) highlights how ancestral plots in maroon communities in Jamaica remain an important source of identity for transnational and circulatory migrants. Mills (2007) in her study of family land in Carriacou, writes that family land ensures cohesion among family members living abroad, provides migrants a motive to economically support the home economy, and serves as an important component of identity for those who live abroad. In line with these findings, Margaret Byron writes that

Land links members of generations in that migrants often left siblings or parents in charge of land while they were abroad. However, as migrant generations age and pass on, land is now a major force in continuing the transnational process started by the postwar migrant cohorts. Foreign-born descendants of migrants take advantage of dual citizenship arrangements to obtain nationality of Caribbean states in order to inherit property left to them by parents and grandparents. Through claiming this land, members of the Caribbean diaspora refresh and strengthen links with the Caribbean origin community. (Byron 2007: 251)

Recent work that addresses Barbuda's migratory nature is David Lowenthal and Colin Clarke's piece "Triumph of the Commons," highlighting how Barbudan emigration was a response to maintaining a population balance. Lowenthal and Clarke's chapter, however, fail to fully expound on the deeper intricacies of migration to island land tenure and perhaps how migrants further aided in that "Triumph" (2007). To overlook Barbudan migrant's relationship to the land, their access to the commons, their historical role in advocating on behalf of the land,



and the land's role in Barbudan migrant identity, is to fail to fully understand the complexity of communal land tenure on the island. The "triumph of the commons" is not the result of a simplistic balancing of population and resources but rather complex historical processes. While this chapter focuses on Barbudan migrants, I will also briefly touch on the implications of the land act on non-Barbudan migrants, approximately six percent<sup>12</sup> of the island's population.

### **Methodology**

In order to explore the intricate relationship between migration and the commons, this chapter draws upon 50 in-depth interviews conducted in Barbuda, Antigua and New York City to reveal Barbudan's wide and varied connections to the communal lands (Crang and Cook 2007; Hannerz 2003; Radway 1988). Of the 5 interviewees, 24 were female and 26 male. My oldest interviewee was 90 and my youngest was 20 (Table 3.1). The majority of Barbudans I interviewed were born on the island (Table 3.2). My interviewees embody a variety of Barbudan migratory experiences and relationships to the island (including return, second generation, visiting on vacation) in order to provide a nice cross-section of the relationship of migrants to the island's common property.

Historically, Barbudans abroad have been quite active in vocalizing for the protection of the common property regime, attending meetings with island politicians in New York, Toronto, and Leicester concerning the land (see also Chapter Six and the *Barbuda Voice*). Barbudans living abroad today continue to show an interest in their island home, particularly as it relates to the land tenure, as recent legislation defining a Barbudan takes into account the islander's migratory tendencies. Anthropologist Riva Berleant-Schiller wrote in 1986, "All people of socially recognized Barbudan birth, parentage, or ancestry may exercise their use rights, even if they have been absent from Barbuda for a long time. The social recognition depends on

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<sup>12</sup> Six percent is an estimate based upon records at the Immigration Office on the island.

**Table 3.1 Birthplace**

Barbuda	37
Canada	3
England	3
United States	4
Antigua	2
Other	1

**Table 3.2 Age Breakdown**

20s	7
30s	5
40s	12
50s	8
60s	8
70s	6
80s	3
90s	1

continuous involvement of absentees with relatives on the island, and can extend even to third and fourth generation descendants of emigrants” (p. 117).

With the passing of The Barbuda Land Act, 2007 on 17 January 2008 after several years of negotiation among Barbudans and between the Barbuda Council and the national government (Antigua and Barbuda 2008), Barbudans’ communal ownership of their island, their usufruct rights, the inalienable status of the land, and the role of the Barbuda Council in administering land use is now codified and enshrined (Antigua and Barbuda 2008, II-6). The act also has serious implications for Barbudan’s migratory leanings. A Barbudan is defined as “(a) a person born in Barbuda of whose grandparents at least one was born in Barbuda; or (b) the child, wherever born, of parents at least one of whom is a Barbudan within the meaning of paragraph (a)” (Antigua and Barbuda 2008, II-6). The Act states that “all land in Barbuda shall be owned in common by the people of Barbuda.” As the Barbudan Parliamentary Representative the

Honorable Trevor Walker told me in 2008, Barbudans have access to land so “long as one of your parents is Barbudan, it doesn’t matter if you’re born in Japan as long as your mother or father, your grandmother or grandfather was born here you could be born anywhere” (Walker 2008).

### **Land as Identity**

Previous chapters have explored Barbudan’s complex history of land tenure. In the Introduction, I described how even under the confines of slavery, Barbudans claimed the island as their own. Barbudan land is often associated with Barbudan identity and a way to connect to the island’s ancestors. The following excerpts reveal the multifaceted ways in which Barbudan land, acquiring a piece of land or even building a house serves in tapping into “Barbudaness” or even the broader “Caribbeaness,” much like Beth Mills work on Carricaou (2007). As revealed in the following two excerpts, Barbudans tell their youth at an early age the importance of the land.

But it could be continued as free because Barbuda people we going out for this land. Life. We going to lose our lives. Vital organs for this land if we have to. Every Barbudan . . . that’s brand in their minds. Believe me, and they’re going to brand it in their kid’s minds. (2009)<sup>13</sup>

Barbuda land then the people never touch it. They’re very alert because they know what it is. Their fore parents teach them . . . I mean and nobody, nobody can erase it. That’s what they grow up to know. They don’t know nothing else, and we don’t have anything else so and their parents really put that into their head. (2009)

Barbudans who have lived abroad, see the land as a way to connect to their ancestors.

This is where all my fore parents come from here. And they slaved for it and never get paid so it mean a lot. They should be able to live here. Land is not supposed to be sold to no one. It means a lot because there’s no other [place] in the world you can go and have land and have it free. So it means a lot. (2008)

Acquiring land or building a home on the land has simply become the Barbudan thing to do as the following three excerpts reveal:

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<sup>13</sup> Barbuda’s population is but 1,500 people, therefore, names and gender are often omitted to protect Barbudan’s identity.

[Land] I think it's part of the Barbudan culture. (2007)

I think it's traditional. That particular area is not important but having land in Barbuda was important. It's just traditional being a Barbudan and being able to have a piece of land from Barbuda. I think it's significant to be a Barbudan. To hold property in Barbuda. (2009)

It's just something here in the Caribbean where everyone builds their own home. It's just something where you expect to build over time and that's just how it is. (2010)

Part of that Barbudan identity includes the actual process of traveling to the island and setting aside land. Interviews with Barbudans visiting the island on vacation from other parts of the world reveal the pressing nature of setting aside land on their visit as a stopover is seldom complete without a walk or car ride over to the Agriculture, Lands, and Fisheries Office to put in a formal request for a parcel of land. One 23 year-old Barbudan living in New York told me in 2008 when I asked him about setting aside land:

That's the beauty of the place. Free land. You know what I'm saying. [Laughs]. Can't get free land in New York. Are you crazy? Buy a house, they still taxing you. This is good. Free land. I'm going to get it. (2008)

He went on to say that in his circle in New York the free land was on the minds of young Barbudans living in the States.

Let me tell you something. Any young person my age from New York, from America, they think the same way I'm thinking. Understand. Straight up. They thinking the same thing I'm thinking. Get us some free land down there. I'm going to get set one day. I've got to go pick it up. (2008)

For at least seven of the Barbudans I interviewed, with some variation of migratory experience, the land itself was a draw to return or remain on the island. As shown in the previous chapter, any uncertainty in land tenure results in spikes in land applications for those years. One Barbudan returned in 2005 and has since remained, in part, to secure property acquired in previous years out of the uncertainty surrounding the proposed land act.

When I was in New York I decided I'm going to come back down and see what's down here, and also I wanted to see whether or not just to secure my property because of the political atmosphere. I understand they were doing the land act, revising a lot of stuff. I wanted to be assured that the properties that I had when I was here in 1992-1997 was still there to secure. (2009)

The ability to build a spacious home, something unfathomable in Britain, was a draw for one British-born Barbudan woman.

And that was the nicest thing about being in the Caribbean, the fact is that coming to the Caribbean and coming to somewhere, where is a place of your parent's birth and being able to take up two to three acres of land that you don't have to pay for. I know that would never happen if I was in England. I could never be living in a four-bedroom house, two bathroom, and suite. You know it just was unthinkable in England. For that to happen in England I would have to either be selling drugs, cocaine, or running some sort of bloody racket. Because certain class of people in England just don't get any further in life. The rich get richer and the poor get poorer. That's where I fit in the Caribbean. You can turn your hand at anything to make money. (2009)

One Barbudan living in Antigua decided to go "check out" the ancestral homeland of his father when the political climate changed in Antigua in 2005. When I asked him "Why Barbuda?" he immediately cited the land.

Well because for one thing you see the whole situation with the land. Barbuda's land not for sale. You know. I'm a person who works for myself. So anywhere I go, once I settle. I'm going to find a way to provide for myself to do what I do. You know, so I just felt it best to go check out Barbuda because I'm one of those persons who have the rights to go and take a piece of land in Barbuda and you know because I am a Barbudan by parentage. And that's all I ask for. (2009)

Barbudans living in other parts of the world form a larger network that encourages family to return to the island and secure a piece of land.

I think it might have been a family member that said aren't you going to go over and especially as I'm living in Antigua now it would just be natural that you have a home in Barbuda. Because all of the Barbudans in Antigua they have their home over here that they'll come over and stay every year if it's even once a year, then you'll come over to Caribana and you should have your place you stay for Caribana. (2009)

One Barbudan living in Antigua told me of her mom's insistence that she apply for land on the island.

It's funny because my mom said I'm not allowed to come back until I have done so . . . .I've taken the ease of the process for granted so that is something I need to get on. It's always at the forefront of my mind. One of my mom's sisters came down last year. She migrated to the States and she finally did hers. It's always something I'm thinking about, I just haven't done so. (2009)

As Barbudan identity is intimately linked with the land and building a home on the island, it becomes important to understand how Barbudans living abroad are using the land made available to them through The Barbuda Land Act, 2007.

### **Migrant Land Use**

Over a 20-year period (1990 to July 2010) the Barbuda Agriculture, Land, and Fisheries Office in Barbuda, received 297 requests for land from Barbudans living abroad (Figures 3.1-3 and Tables 3-6).<sup>14</sup> The data is useful in showing the location of Barbudan communities around the world in lieu of a proper census in addition to tracking the interest of Barbudans acquiring land for house plots or business ventures. In terms of Barbudan literature, the focus has always been on the settlement of Barbudans in Leicester, Toronto, and New York, while these new maps (based on land requests) show burgeoning Barbudan communities in Florida, as well as the sister island of Antigua. Out of roughly 870 applications available at the Agriculture, Land, and Fisheries Office during a 20-year time period, 297 Barbudans applied for land from locations other than Barbuda. This number is actually quite low, as I estimate the number could be as high as 550 applications over a 20-year period because 550 reflects the inclusion of those Barbudans who applied "in care of" a family member with a village address, a common practice by those living abroad when applying for land.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> For Figures 3.1 to 3.3, the shading contrast for each land application cluster is simply to aid the reader in distinguishing various locations for requests in areas with a high concentration of applications.

<sup>15</sup> One Barbudan Planning Commission employee, however, did estimate that as many as 30 percent of all land applications are in fact reapplications.

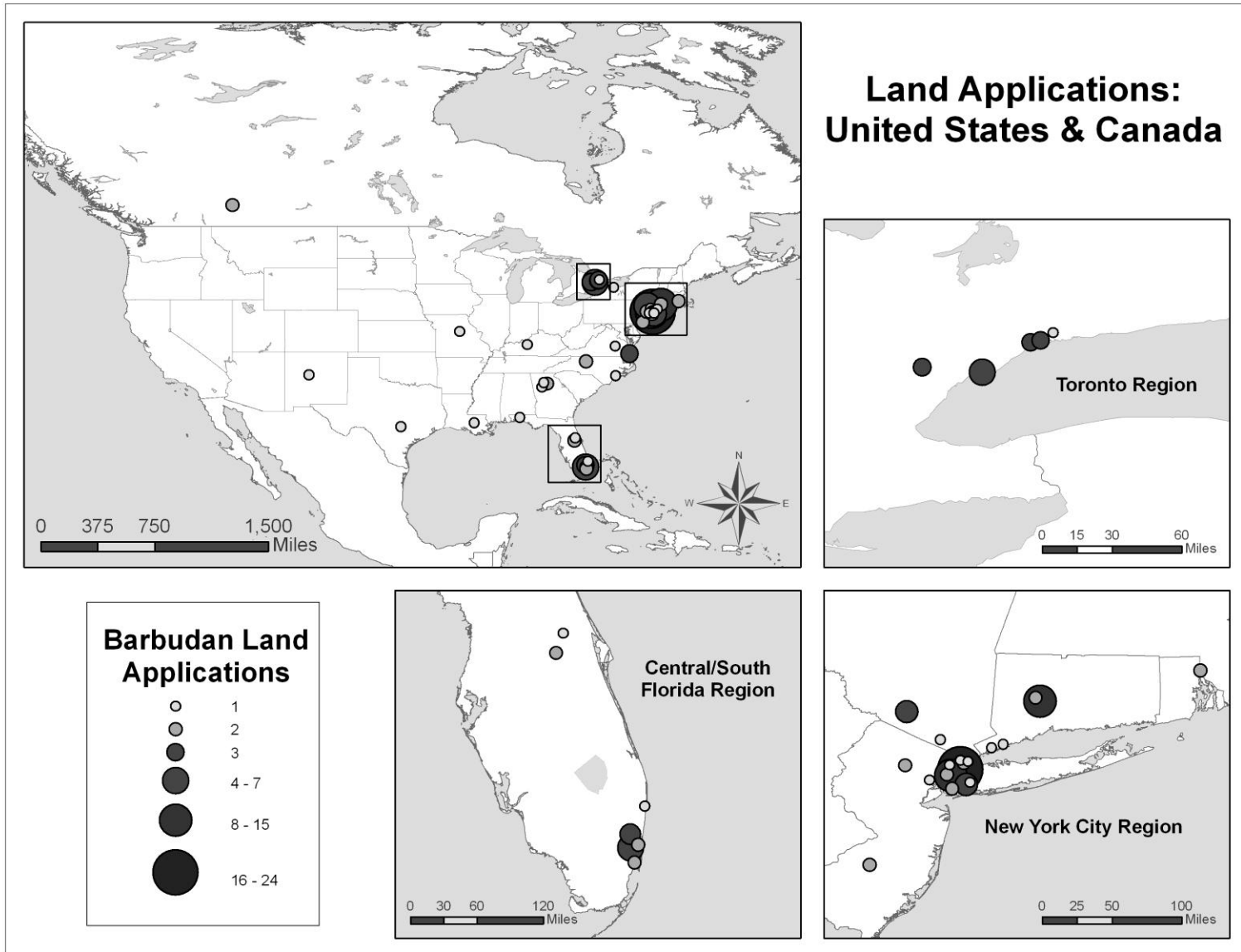


Figure 3.1 Land Applications: United States & Canada

# Land Applications: United Kingdom

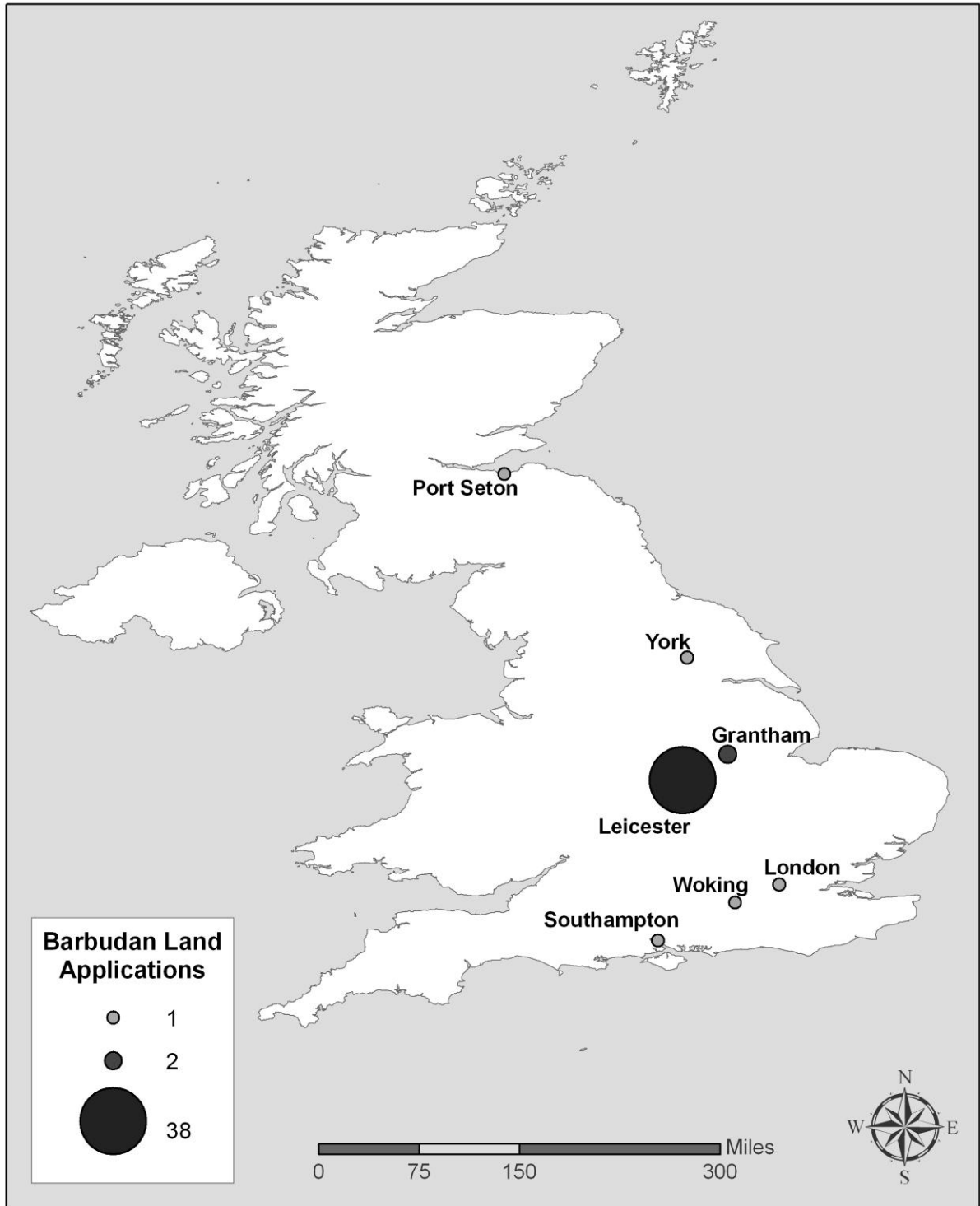


Figure 3.2 Land Applications United Kingdom



# Land Applications: Caribbean

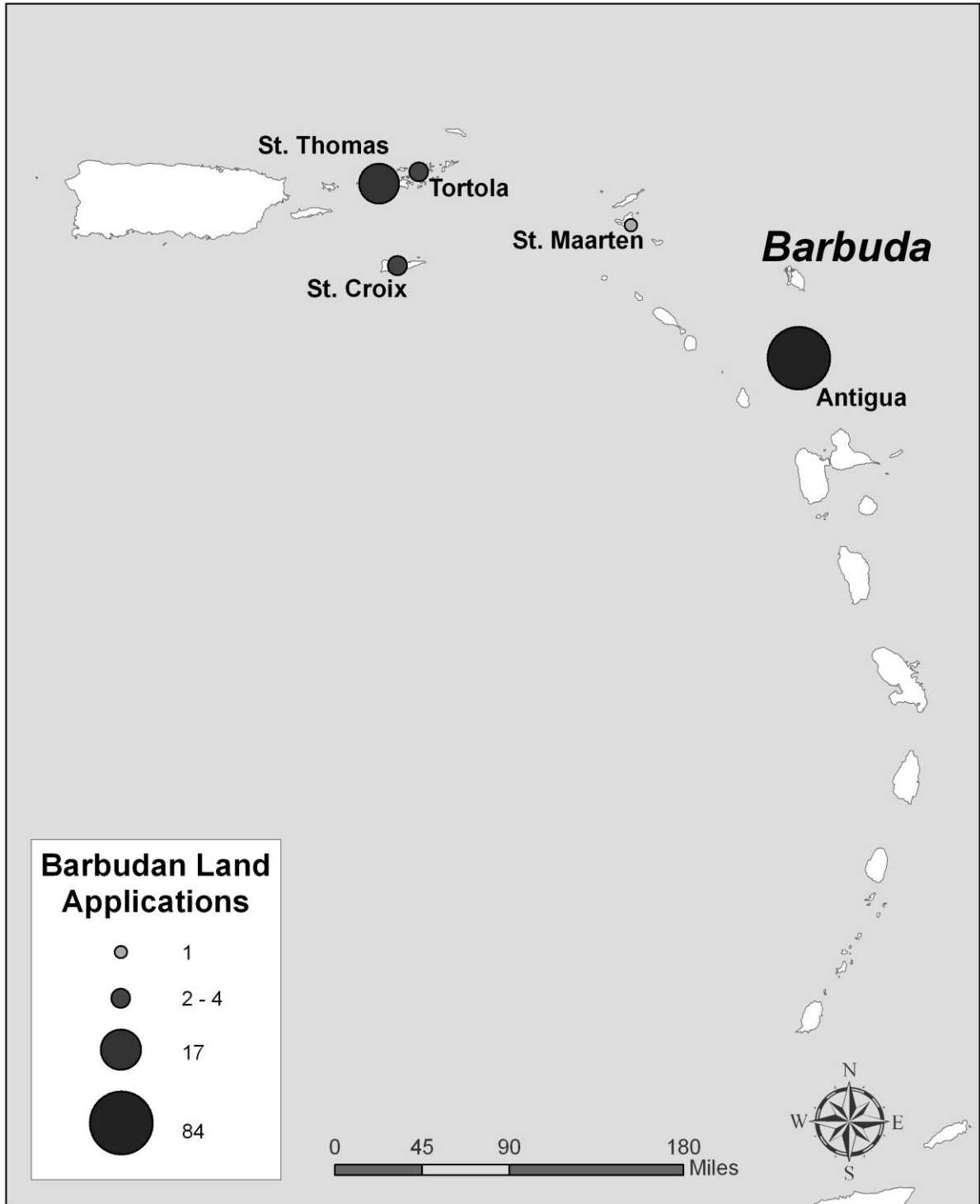


Figure 3.3 Land Applications: Caribbean

**Table 3.3 U.S. Land Applications**

<b>United States</b>		<b>Number</b>
Alpharetta	Georgia	1
Boynton Beach	Florida	1
Bronx (NYC)	New York	24
Brooklyn (NYC)	New York	2
Camp Lejeune Marine Corp Base (Jacksonville)	North Carolina	1
College Park	Georgia	1
Columbia	Missouri	1
Crestview	Florida	1
Elizabethtown	Kentucky	1
Englewood	New Jersey	1
Gonzales	Louisiana	1
Guttenberg	New Jersey	2
Hollis (Queens, NYC)	New York	1
Hollywood	Florida	2
Jamaica (Queens, NYC)	New York	7
Lawrenceville	Georgia	2
Los Lunas	New Mexico	1
New York City (Manhattan)	New York	15
Medford Lakes (Medford & Mt. Laurel)	New Jersey	2
Miami	Florida	2
Middletown	New York	6
Midlothian (Richmond)	Virginia	1
Miramar	Florida	7
Mt. Vernon	New York	2
New Rochelle	New York	1
Newark	New Jersey	1
Norwalk	Connecticut	1
Oakville	Connecticut	2
Orlando	Florida	2
Parsippany (Mountain Lakes)	New Jersey	2
Pawtucket	Rhode Island	2
Rochester	New York	1
San Marcos	Texas	1
Sanford	Florida	1
Stamford	Connecticut	1
Sunrise	Florida	3
Virginia Beach	Virginia	3
Waterbury	Connecticut	12
Wesley Hills	New York	1
Winston-Salem	North Carolina	2
Yonkers	New York	1
		122

**Table 3.4 Canadian Land Applications**

<b>Canada</b>	<b>Number</b>
Ajax	3
Brampton	3
Calgary	2
Scarborough	3
Toronto	6
Whitby	1
	18

**Table 3.5 U.K. Land Applications**

<b>United Kingdom</b>	<b>Number</b>
Grantham	2
Leicester	38
London	1
Port Seton	1
Southampton	1
Wokingham	1
Yorks	1
	45

**Table 3.6 Caribbean Land Applications**

<b>Caribbean</b>	<b>Number</b>
Antigua	84
St. Croix, U.S.V.I	4
St. Maarten, N.A.	1
St. Thomas, U.S.V.I	17
Tortola, B.V.I.	3
	109

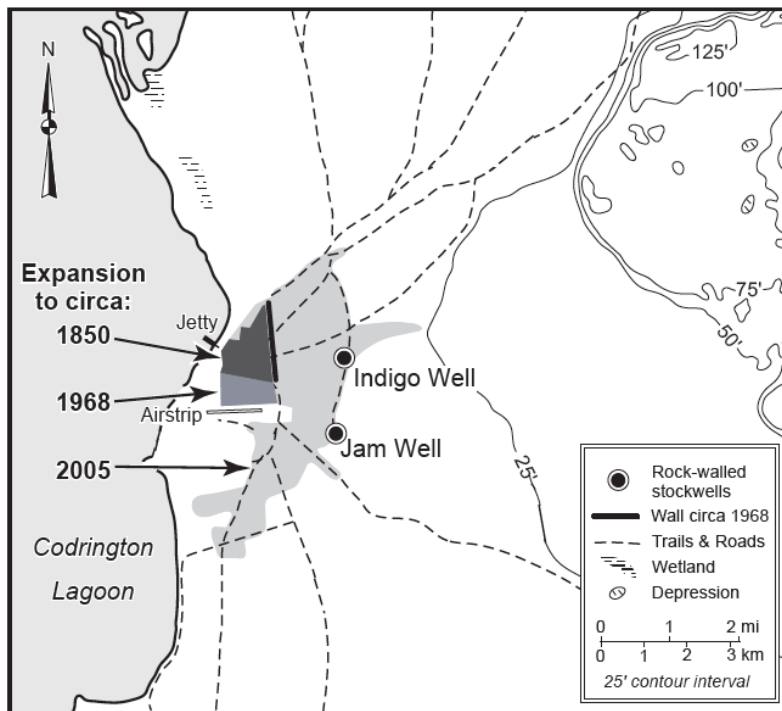
With the creation of the Barbuda Council in 1976, the ease of acquiring land and the overall interest in land by Barbudans living abroad is evident by the number of requests and the increase over the years in the number of land applications submitted to the land office (See Fig. 2.7).

Barbudans migrants are using the land in a variety of ways. The most common request is for a house plot, a quarter of an acre in size. An interview in 2008 with Sir Hilbourne Frank reminds us, “We always had house plots. Always. The Village of Codrington ended just two houses from

here. There's a pillar there. It was through the gates. That was the end of the village." The late 60s, early 70s mark the start of the expansion of Barbudans building on lands formally used for grazing and agricultural (Fig. 3.4). Since the primary use of land for Barbudans living abroad and even those who remain on the island is building a home, one young Barbudan felt this was all return-migrant Barbudans do:

Just build a house. They don't do anything other than that. Just build a house. Maybe all the years they sent money to build that house and then when it's finished they come back. But that's it I don't see them doing projects for the community. I don't see them being entrepreneurs. I just don't see that. (2007)

Home construction has also turned into a lucrative business venture, as Barbudans are able to use them as rental properties for additional income. One 34-year old Barbudan told me, "I want to build at least two or three houses and just put them on rent just to have some extra money coming in" (2007). Some will even build and rent while away until they can return on a more permanent basis.



**Figure 3.4 Village Expansion** (Modified from Potter and Sluyter 2010)

A lot of people went abroad. They saved their money, they get a piece of land, they build a property. Some of them what they do they have it rented you know...Until one day the time comes to retire. They can come home and have a house to come home to. (2007)

One Barbudan couple set aside land and built six rental homes as a way to earn income after returning to the island upon retirement from the States (Figure 3.5). Other Barbudans have embarked on larger business ventures. The story of the Five-Star Lighthouse Bay Resort (Figures 3.6 and 3.7), located across the lagoon began long before its Barbudan owner Mike Branker opened doors in 2008 or its feature in *Vanity Fair* in 2010 as a potential honeymoon destination following the impending Royal nuptials of Prince William and Kate Middleton (Prince William had actually been to Barbuda years before with his mother Princess Diana, vacationing at the now defunct K-Club). Branker's grandfather, Edmund La Vann, born in Barbuda in 1896, raised in Trinidad, and employed in the U.S., built a family vacation home across the lagoon in the 1940s; an area the La Vann family came to call Low Bay. A eulogy for La Vann appeared on the front page of the *Barbuda Voice* newspaper authored by Rev. Jerome John:



**Figure 3.5 Rental Homes**



**Figure 3.6 Lighthouse Bay Resort**



**Figure 3.7 View of Low Bay from Lighthouse Bay Resort**

Mr. La Vann was truly a Barbudian in every respect. He was a Barbudian by birth by his life's activities and in his choice of a final resting place. Why should this man have been so consistent on his awareness of a little place like Barbuda? What was there about the Island that compelled him to think about it, work for it, and strive, in his way, to unify and elevate its inhabitants? It had no great mineral deposits, no rare chemical substances, no large scale internal or external enterprises. Just fishing, hunting, farming and the raising of livestock—and these on a low key basis.

Years ago Barbuda was known as “the Rock,” and some of those who were fortunate enough to leave the island soon took up their identities with their new country's society and tried to forget where they had come from. But not Mr. La Vann, he and others who shared the same feelings... organized efforts to help and to stimulate interest in their native land. When these people spoke of the island they affectionately called it “home”. The subtle pride, the devotion, the deep-rooted attachment to this tiny spot in the Caribbean can best be summarized in the words of the old song, “Be it ever so humble there is no place like home.” (January 1972: 7)

This obituary draws on La Vann's attachment to Barbuda even when he lived away. This tradition of maintaining ties to the island has continued through La Vann's American-born grandson, Mike Branker, who acquired the land at Low Bay through inheritance. Branker was born in 1952, and would make frequent return visits back and forth as a child, at one point in time moving to the island with his mother in 1962, eventually departing for Antigua where his family continued in the hotel business. College educated at Notre Dame, an engineer for Xerox, and eventually owner of a car dealership in Nebraska, Branker often returned to Low Bay well into adulthood. He said in 2008:

Pretty much what made me come back here was a long love for this particular beach. That's it. Really nothing else. Parents were all dead so it had nothing to do with them. At least we had talked a long time ago about doing something here. Just all about personal gratification with this particular piece of property. (Branker 2008)

Branker, rather than relying solely on ancestral claim to the land through his grandfather, approached the Barbuda Council and took out a 99-year lease to begin his project. While some Barbudans think the hotel is “great” others are critical of the location and suspicious of his motives (Branker 2008).

There's a lot of people that think what I want to do is grab up a whole bunch of land. That's not my purpose at all. I guess I would defend myself from the standpoint that we hire a great number of people, have a pretty big payroll. We'll pay taxes. We're taking a lot of heat off the local government. People they don't have to hire, I think at some point it will become very important that the Council and the people running the country, this little country, local government, start to take a broader view of how to help business, business formation. (Branker 2008)

Hotels in Barbuda often relieve the Barbuda Council of their tremendous payroll burden during the winter months.

Another Barbudan has also acquired land, his location is along the southern beach coast. Rodman George was born in Barbuda and went away to Canada after he finished high school. For 17 years, George worked in Toronto as a foreman in a factory. With each passing year he would say, "I'll be back next year." Next year would come and go and he would continue to reaffirm his declaration to return home. When he finally did return to Barbuda, George knew exactly how he wanted to use the common property available to him; it was his dream since he was a small child to open a beach stand. He told me in 2007:

Everybody say give it to him, he deserves it. He's a Barbudan. This is honey in the rock. There's honey in the rock. And I was amazed and the proposal I showed them there's four villas in the back, a spa and a bar in the middle. It was easy. Piece of cake. (2008)

George unanimously received approval from the Barbuda Council to open his beach stand, named Uncle Roddy's on Coco Point Road (Fig. 3.8).

It is not uncommon for developers to seek out Barbudan partners living on the island or abroad in order to use their rights to acquire land. An official with the Barbuda Planning Commission explained it this way:

Every investor you see come here they normally have some kind of correspondent, a Barbudan that knows the island, knows a good spot and tells them you know how to go about getting things done. So you have investors come in and some of them instead of come straight to Council, contact a Barbudan speak with them, and something like that is carried out. (2009)





**Figure 3.8 Uncle Roddy's**

Barbudan involvement in a project, however, has not always guaranteed success. Take for instance the Unicorn Development initiative (a subsidiary of the Farrago Group of Companies based in Britain), given a 50-year lease on 35-acres of land for a hotel initiative at Spanish Point. Though two Barbudans were on the Board of Directors, a majority of Barbudans protested the project for a number of reasons, which included general frustration that approval for the project came from the central government in Antigua rather than in Barbuda (Hillhouse 1998: 1).

In spite of a decrease in land use for agricultural pursuits, Barbudan return migrants have surprisingly expressed interest in using the commons for agricultural purposes.

Interviewee: Actually I only applied for one piece. You know, for like a dwelling house. Recently they said if you're interested in acquiring a piece of land for agricultural purposes I guess you go through the same process and you have it too.

Amy: Are you interested in agriculture?

Interviewee: I'm thinking about it seriously. I would need, I think I would have to go into it with a partner. It's not an easy thing. I used to do a little thing in Antigua. It need to be well organized. (2009)

The larger Barbudan commons of land and sea has enabled Sir Eric Burton to make a life for himself in Barbuda after he returned from working in the U.S. in the early 1950s as a migrant worker in Wisconsin and Michigan. He said in 2007:

Why would I go to work for somebody in America even if they pay me? I am my own boss. I'm doing very well thank God . . . When I finish talking to you I'll go down to my farm and work at certain times if the sun is hot and if there is anything I need I go to something else. I have my own boats and so on. I have people working for me. Why would I have gone and work for someone else? (2007)

Despite a life that seems rather fixed to the island based on his agricultural pursuits and business ventures, Burton has a home in up-state New York and an extensive network of connections abroad.

One Barbudan born in Montserrat has returned to the island as a way to reconnect with her roots because volcanic ash destroyed her childhood home. The ability to acquire a piece of land allowed her to reconnect to her past in a way she could not longer do in Montserrat (Figure 3.9). Rather than the focus of her land acquisition resting on home construction alone, she has used her plot to assemble herbs and other plants indigenous to Barbuda and the larger Caribbean region. She calls her plot of land the Sankofa Healing Garden.

So I said you know I really should come over and select a piece maybe even somewhere where my father occupied or something. So I came over and I secured a piece of land that I started the Sankofa Healing Garden. I wasn't sure that I was going to live in Barbuda. But I know that we could at least have a vacation home over here, someplace where we'll commute back and forth between Antigua and Barbuda and we'll have our own place to stay. So I got a little piece of land in Jeffrey Woods. So I decided to plant herbs that are mostly indigenous to Barbuda, the Caribbean on a whole. There are lots of plants growing wild that our ancestors used to use because they know the healing properties but we don't. A lot of the elders in the community still know and a lot of the young people have not been showing any interest so they're not really sharing that information. So I figured this would be a way to preserve that part of our history. We could all just try to get all the plants in a centralized area because you'd find a lot of things growing wild but you'll find some things here but if you want something else, if you want some aloe you may have to go to Two Foot Bay. If you want some Worm Bush you have to go down to River but I decided lets bring all of them in that one central spot. It's not only for the people and the empowerment of the local people but it's also something for tourists. They



**Figure 3.9 Sankofa Healing Garden**

could learn of the plants sometimes they don't have as much time on a visit to go all over to see everything in one little central spot. We can do a little educational tour so they could see the plants and learn what they're good for. Maybe a cup of tea, herbal tea, an ointment that was made from something. So that's what I'm trying to do there in the Sankofa Healing Garden. (2009)

The previous excerpts reveal the variety of ways Barbudan migrants are taking advantage of their rights to free land consisting of healing gardens, business ventures, and home construction.

### **Barbuda Family Land**

As the island is undergoing economic and cultural change, aspects of its tenure also resemble the Caribbean family lands discussed in the work of Karen Fog Olwig and her study "Caribbean Family Land: A Modern Commons"(1997; See also Besson 2002; for opposing argument see Berleant-Schiller 1986). While the historical context for the formation of family land is not relevant for Barbuda, as in other parts of the Caribbean,<sup>16</sup> Barbudan land and the home upon that

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<sup>16</sup> Caribbean family land has its origins among peoples of African descent who following emancipation were allowed to legally acquire land that they could then pass on to their descendants. Family land is characteristically

land is passed down within a family. Of the 50 interviews, at least 17 mentioned some connection to a family home or family land. Olwig writes, “The importance of family land therefore should be found in its value as an actual and imagined home for people who have had to make their living as ‘hunters and gatherers’ in the margins of the global economy, often in distant migration destinations” (1997:136).

Barbudan scholars whose focus rests primarily on the commons have largely overlooked the significance of the family home. Interviews with migrants reveal family land and a family home have remained their focus upon return or even in the maintenance of ongoing relations with the island (See Table 3.7). For some Barbudans who return from a life abroad, the focus is not on acquiring new land in the Barbudan commons but rather in maintaining the family home or building upon land already held within the family, although many Barbudans who expressed sole interest in the family held lands, still acquired additional pieces from the commons.

An interview with one Barbudan living abroad reveals how she is having to negotiate her own role as grandchild in the say of the family home, the home she grew up in.

There’s this that says to the other one you don’t have right. I have to keep telling them there are too many of them still alive and we’re just grandchildren. I mean we can say that you need to do this. I tell my aunts all the time, ‘Y’all need to get together to sit down and who has no interest, let the ones with interest in it go ahead and refurbish because that’s the house I grew up in.’ That’s where we were. (2010)

Another Canadian Barbudan equates the family home in Barbuda as security for herself, as well as her young Canadian-born niece.

Knowing that I’ll retire here. Knowing that my parents have this home, the one that they’re building back here. The one that my grandfather had, has. And there are no boys so when they go it’s just [my sister] and I and [her young daughter] [she] doesn’t understand . . . .But it’s important she knows she has somewhere to come to when it gets crazy. There’s security. There’s home. (2009)

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small in nature, originally divided from former sugar plantations or marginal lands. Not all land was from the plantation but included lands allocated to slaves for their own subsistence (See Olwig 1997: 137-139).

**Table 3.7 Interview excerpts about family land and family home**

Amy: What was the process like to acquire land?

Interviewee: Well my mother has a piece of land and her house is there so I just built my house right next to it. It's in the village. It was sort of convenient. All I did was just build my house right next to hers. It's just in the Mulatto Area [in Codrington Village]. (2007)

Amy: Have you set aside some land to build a home?

Interviewee: No this is it. Whatever my parents have acquired this is what we get. The land is free to people yes. I told my dad get some more. It's free right? More and more. It's in the works. I have cousins in Toronto put in for some property. (2009)

Interviewee: Oh no, I don't want the land. We have the home that they work on for the whole family. (2009)

Interviewee: My parents basically, my parents have land here and their parents left property for them. So then it's just like move from one generation to the next. You just build on what you have. (2009)

Amy: Have you set aside other pieces of land for you and your family?

Interviewee: Ok. Right now I have one piece of land that was handed down to me.

Amy: Is that over by your sister [Harriet]?

Interviewee: No. That is one that is part of the family. That have to be divided. So far [Harriet] probably the only who gets a home on it. The one that was handed down to me, [my other sister Clara] have her house. Where [Clara] live, that's my land. [Clara] have a plot of land maybe 10 acres that is outside the village at the time when she acquired that land. She did not want to build her house there because the traveling by foot. She has to walk. She didn't have transportation and it's all the way down River Road and they didn't have lighting. Electricity did not go that distance yet. So she wanted, she felt that she had the money to build a house, she was renting and her job was just across the way at the APUA, and she approached me and said she wanted to build a house and she asked to give her part of the land to build a home and I told her I see no reason not to. I'm already married and I have a home. I plan to use it eventually and I said, Ok if I give you a piece of my land since you not going to build your house out there yet then if you give me a piece of your land. Trade.' So that's how I am. My sister needed me to help her and I did. So we do an even exchange. She share her land out there and I give her part of mine. As far as the land goes, my husband has plenty that he already have. I have asked for an area that is not yet allotted out. I have the opportunity to have my own because I understand now Barbudans are allowed as long as you were born here ... so I have my piece, yeah. And my daughter have hers. My daughter already have hers, so I don't even have to look for her. My son is 18 so I have to look for some for him. (2009)

The family home of course is a place to return and live upon retirement. It is also a gathering place when other family members visit the island.

Amy: Did you apply for any land to start building a home?

Interviewee: No, because this is the family home. This is my parents. My family from Antigua still come and stay here. It's still a family home. I was born right here. Would you believe that? (2009)

Olwig's description of family land in some ways reflects the family home in Barbuda: "It has provided a generous and all inclusive commons for all members of the family" (1997: 136).

Unlike Olwig's study of St. John, if Barbudan family land becomes too cumbersome, there is the potential to acquire another piece from the commons. As Berleant-Schiller writes, "equal access to all the resources of the commons promotes a basic equality among Barbudans and debar land from becoming an agent of internal stratification" (Berleant-Schiller 1986). While this may have been true at the time of her dissertation fieldwork, Barbudan land tenure while held in common is becoming more formalized and Barbudans have and will go to court over rights to individual pieces of land (see also discussion of formalization and land conflict in Chapter Two).

Berleant-Schiller (1986) further argues that Barbudan commons are not family land because family land exhibits the following characteristics: (1) Restriction to a cognatic descent group (p. 120); (2) The joint owner of family land all trace their ancestry to an original owner who bought or otherwise acquired the piece after emancipation (p. 120); (3) Family land may be divisive of the kinship groups as well as integrating. But in Barbuda solidarity and integration rest on communal ownership of land so plentiful that no conflict arise (p. 121); and (4) Family land may inhibit efficient land use. Barbudan common lands do the opposite. They encourage the most efficient use of land by allowing pursuit that require undivided expanses and make the most of an arid environment with few endowments (p. 121) (1986).

The argument Berleant-Schiller gave to discount family land in 1986 no longer applies with the changing economy and land use of the island, particularly when one takes into account the various scales of discourse as it applies to the land. Barbuda land once allotted or claimed is showing restriction to a cognatic descent group and can be traced to an original “owner” of the land, whether it was through application to the land office, use of land for agriculture purposes or the planting of fruit trees.

With the expansion of house plots outside the village and the allotment of plots in former areas devoted to agricultural and grazing, house plots are not returning to the commons but rather staying in “the family.” While the Barbuda commons is the overarching narrative used by politicians and the local people to describe Barbudan land tenure, which often “bolster[s] community political action” (Berleant-Schiller 1986:121), individual Barbudan migrants espouse a narrative of the importance of family land and the family home, while the Barbudan island “family” has become more fragmented with the dissolution of a subsistence-based economy.

### **Failure to Maintain a Connection**

While the new legislation in the form of The Barbuda Land Act, 2007 ensures migrants of Barbudan heritage a piece of land upon turning 18, the landscape of Barbuda reflects failed attempts at maintaining contact or inability to acquire the resources to actually build a home that can cost upwards of \$40,000 XC. One official at the Agriculture, Land, and Fisheries Office said most of the lands allocated to Barbudans living abroad in the Sandy Ground Agriculture Station showed no sign of construction up to seven years later.

That whole area we’re giving out to folks on a six-month contract, that within six months of receiving the land they should commence construction. It’s fair to do that. The land will be taken back. So we’re in the process of sending out letters to all those folks. It’s almost like five, six years, seven years that they were given land and nothing now anything done. One, two, three about three persons have actually commenced

construction. Going to send them out and start to redistribute the land to other people because it's just wasting our time. Cause all those were six-month contracts. (2009)

The Land Office also receives requests to develop land that are incomplete or simply not thought out.

A lot of them, I don't know if it's just a show or whatever but most of them when they come they wanted land to build a hotel or build this house and the workers come out to get it to them and then as soon as they get it you don't hear nothing from them. It seems like it's just a habit. When they come down, they see a beautiful piece of land and they would like to get it and they want to build a hotel and so on. And then they give them the form, and then they give you the form vaguely filled out. On that form you've got to state the bank you're dealing with, the amount, how much they're gonna spend, when do you intend to start the project, when do they intend to complete, how much you gonna be hiring annually, you know if it's going to be part time. All those are the questions here. You know. Sometimes some of them only fill it out partly. They cannot actually get with it. You know. But it's not political. It's not filled out in the full capacity. (2009)

The village landscape as well as the expanding residential landscape is a reflection of long-term building projects of those living abroad or all together structure abandonment. Around the village, family homes sit in ruin (Fig. 3.10).



**Figure 3.10** One of many abandoned homes throughout the village.



Amy: What about homes in the village? There are a lot of empty homes that are just sitting.

Interviewee: Those are Barbudans who live abroad and never come back to think about their property. Yes, and they are dilapidated. Even the yards are overgrown. The Council took the initiative and started cleaning the yards for the safety of the people in around there.

Amy: So nothing can be done?

Interviewee: No.

Amy: What if all the family members aren't aware that they even have this?

Interviewee: They know. They know. These people know. You go and touch it and they fly down and start to make quarrel about it. They not doing anything . . . .Some of them empty land even just near the police station the prime place for business people but they would not sell. (2009)

Another Barbudan told me those abroad will often start on the foundation of the house to ensure retention of the land allotted them.

Interviewee: That's why you see some of them build something to ensure that they have secured that piece of property. That's another thing. They don't live here. And I know there's so many people that have property that never ever come back.

Amy: Is that a concern that you're just going to have these empty lots, empty buildings?

Interviewee: Not yet. I don't think it's a concern yet because the community is very small. We still can get a piece of land so it's not a concern but I believe if there's a spike and the population grows to about say 3,000, I believe then it will be a concern. (2009)

## **Tensions**

Despite the open definition of a Barbudan, which takes into account the migratory nature of the people on the island, Barbudans who go abroad are not always welcomed back with open arms (Conway and Potter 2006; Potter et al. 2005; Potter and Phillips 2006). There is often an underlying tension and resentment among those who stayed behind and "fought the good fight" in contrast to those who are perceived as abandoning their island home for "better" opportunities abroad. As one Barbudan told me, "In my opinion . . . they did not have the right perspective in place to what we were fighting for. Some of them didn't even know, they don't even know what struggles we had" (2007). One Barbudan quoted of a favorite saying often used to describe the island's return migrants:

You've lost your morning and now you're trying to gain your afternoon. What it is you went away you made nothing of yourself so you lost all those years. If you stayed there you probably would have been something, you gained something so now you come back you're going to try and make up for all those years you were gone. Yeah, so it's like an animosity that they have among Barbudans who either were Barbudan parentage or Barbudan school who used to live here and went abroad. There's jealousy because normally a Barbudan who come back from abroad, come back with money to start something, to start a house or to start a business. And they don't, and they feel you just come back and you get a house already. (2007)

This underlying sentiment flared up at the close of one village Land Act meeting in June of 2009, in which one Barbudan acrimoniously questioned the right of those Barbudans who held foreign passports their opportunity to vote on matters pertaining to the land, calling out specifically those that "sell out their flag." The next day, the incident came up in an interview with a Barbudan who has since returned to the island after having lived in Britain several decades.

Interviewee: With coming back, it's not as easy to take up your position from where you left off. When I say my position as a citizen. Going away even though I was returning on a frequent basis, you're seen as an outsider. And your voice is not heard. Your opinions are not taken into consideration. You have to fight to get a position and people don't take you seriously. I don't know if when you were in that meeting yesterday, you heard Mr. Williams<sup>17</sup> saying those who, something about their passport?

Amy: Their flag?

Interviewee: Their flag, they sold out their flag. This is what you get all the time. When I came back [and I was trying to do my job] I was ridiculed for everything I did. (2009)

### **Transnational Activism**

A counter to the criticisms from Barbudans at home toward those who left the island for Canada, New York or England is a historical look at Barbudans living abroad and their overseas involvement with issues relating to the land as documented in the pages of the *Barbuda Voice* and revealed through in-depth interviews between 2007-2010. Sidney Tarrow's framework for transnational activism provides a useful guide in understanding particularly two individuals

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<sup>17</sup> Pseudonym

highlighted in the following section and their “unselfconscious transnationalism”<sup>18</sup> (2005).

Transnational activists “draw on the resources and networks, and opportunities of the societies they lives in” and when they return home, “they bring with them new forms of action, new ways of framing domestic issues” (pgs. 2-3).

One of Barbuda’s most prominent citizens spent 16 years in England. Sir Hilbourne Frank born in 1932, moved to Leicester, England in 1963. While living abroad, Frank was active in creating a Barbudan Organization in Leicester as well as keeping issues relating to Barbuda’s land at the forefront of discussion in the monthly pages of the *Barbuda Voice*, the transnational newspaper out of the Bronx, New York. The following “View from England” in *The Voice* is just one of many examples of Frank’s vocal nature relating to the land.

It is further understood that there has been another attempt to try and settle the land system in Barbuda. This matter arouses great concern among our vigilant Barbudans here. To be very candid on the matter, it is accurate to say that we Barbudans here have no regard for the law or any law which deprives Barbudans of the right of collective ownership of and sovereignty over the lands we so deservingly inherited. The European Imperialist masters made the law to suit themselves, but where are they today? The will of the people is above any law. This is the great power that Barbudans have if we can reason and stand firmly together in the face of the enemy. To quote the majority of Barbudans here it is to say to one and all “LEAVE OUR LANDS ALONE”... We are appealing to all Barbudans not to surrender your sovereignty over your lands to any annexed government no matter what any obsolete law or verbal irregularities may state. (July 1972: 9)

Frank also saw the difficulty in procuring land in his migratory home of Britain and used that to further strengthen his resolve about Barbuda’s communal lands.

Dear Mr. Editor

. . . .

Apparently someone is very anxious to change the law so that that he or she may be able to grab what portion is liked and hold on to it by deed of title. **BE WARNED AGAIN BARBUDANS, A FEW MEN WANT TO PUSH THEIR FINGERS FURTHER INTO YOUR EYES.** Take control of our Island first then legislate on the land question after. **NEVER SELL OUT OUR LAND AGAIN . . . .**

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<sup>18</sup> Neither Sir Hilbourne Frank or Russell John ever referred to themselves in interviews or *The Voice* as activists deeming them “unselfconscious.”

The people here in Britain are suffering from soaring cost of land, such that many families will never be able to own a home of their own. It is therefore important that all Barbuda lands remain public property. If that Island was a white mans concern, the first man to sell land would have been dead by now.

The situation in Barbuda now demands an immediate cultural revolution to overthrow those repressive principles of feudalism, slavery, and colonialism which permeate the economic and social development of the West Indies if the greater part of the world. (BV December 1972: 7-8)

In this excerpt, Frank is not only engaging with his experience in Britain but also placing it in the context of a larger global problem. After some health concerns in Britain, Frank would eventually return to Barbuda to serve as Chairman of the Barbuda Council on two occasions – from 1979 to 1985 and from 1989 to 1997 and as the Barbudan representative in the Antigua and Barbuda House of Representatives between 1989 and 2004. Many of Frank’s immediate family still reside in Britain, and he still maintains a home in Leicester.

In his tenure as a politician, Frank drew on larger networks outside of Barbuda, appealing to the United Nations on at least two occasions: in 1981 and 1995.

Yes, I was part of the team at least I was the one who sort of led the way to the United Nations to let them know that there were promises made at the Independence Conference that were not kept by the Central Government of Antigua. There was supposed to be a review of what took place right after independence for at least two to three years and nothing happened.... Once they’ve gone independent they didn’t have to follow anything that they decided at the Lancaster House Conference in London 1980. So they looked at it, all right let’s agree here in 1980 to some of these things but once we got independence we can say, ‘To hell with them.’ With those things, right? And that’s exactly what they did. So I had to go to the United Nations and say these things have to be, those agreements have to be observed. (2009)

In 1998, he led a group of Barbudans in protest of a hotel development project at Spanish Point (White Bay) by Unicorn Development out of England. Barbudans used the area for recreational activities: fishing, camping, swimming, grilling and were unwilling to compromise with Unicorn. After a series of discussions, and seeming approval from the Central Government in Antigua, Unicorn took steps to begin hotel construction. A group of Barbudans, alongside Frank,

took matters into their own hands, described in the following excerpt from an interview in 2009:

They were negotiating but they were negotiating with the Antigua government more than they were doing with the people of Barbuda and the Council at least the Council at the time were not giving the people the facts . . . [O]ne day I went up there to examine something, and I noticed paint marks on the rocks . . . where they want to take up. And they actually wanted to cut off public entrance to White Bay. So I said, ‘No, that can’t work’ and apparently they wanted to take up Castle as well. Because I saw red paint on the Castle. So we sent workers to fence in from outside of the Castle right across from the Caribbean Sea to the Atlantic and put a gate so anybody who want to go in there they must have Council’s permission to go in there because the land and quantity of land was never agreed to by the people of Barbuda. The people actually were dealing directly with the Antigua government most of whom had never been here or come here to see what the place is like and so forth. So they continued to ignore us, carrying in their equipment and what not to begin work. After we had put up the fencing and so we decided at a weekend we’re going to go up there and the only thing we can do is throw their equipment off Barbuda people’s land and throw them into the sea. Right? And so we did. And I think some day or days after the police came and arrested most of us who had done that . . . I think we had to go over to Antigua to hear the case at the Magistrate’s Court and what not. The case was sent down to be heard here and we didn’t hear much about that again. It just disappeared, right? (2009)

This is but one of many examples of Frank’s insistence that Barbuda develops on Barbudan terms with an ever-watchful eye on the communal lands. Frank served in a political capacity until 2004 when he retired from office, the very same year he was Knighted by the Queen of England. However, it was a few short years later, in which he saw a lifetime of labor come to fruition in the creation of legislation in the form of The Barbuda Land Act, 2007.

So that in 2004 this favorable government, UPP, decided that they would, wherever there was doubt, they better make it clear by introducing legislation that the island belong to the people of Barbuda. That is the greatest of things that I ever achieved is to get the Antigua Parliament to respect our rights and a right of claim to the island of Barbuda . . . The Land Act came as a result of the fact that this new government says we had better stop this fighting over the land. They could see that we had a point, right and the history behind the whole thing. Stop wasting money and going to court all these years and settle the matter. (Frank 2009)

While now well into his 70s, Sir Hilbourne Frank continues to voice his opinions on Barbudan matters, serving on the Barbuda Land Committee. He said in a recent interview on The Barbuda Channel in 2009, “I own a piece of this rock here and nobody is going to take it and sell it while

my breath is still moving in my body” (Barbuda Channel 2009).

Russell John, an American born of Barbudan parents in 1927, employed the borderless newspaper the *Barbuda Voice* to engage Barbudans living all over the world on issues facing the island (Russell John and *The Voice* are discussed at great length in Chapter Six). John revealed in 2009 that he was not only harassed by Antiguan police on the twin-island but was also questioned by authorities in New York. He speculated the Bird government sent them to question him in his Bronx, New York home shortly after the paper’s inception.

We didn’t realize at the time that the paper was so powerful. We were just writing a paper . . . I think they were trying, it was done to impress me, stop doing what I was doing. It didn’t work. Cause they really couldn’t tell me anything. (John 2009)

As Tarrow writes, forming transnational social movements are not easy. “Sustaining collective action across borders on the part of people who seldom see each one another . . . is difficult” (p.7). Yet Russell John and his newspaper project managed to connect Barbudans all over the world in creative ways to counter Antiguan hegemony.

### **Non-Barbudans and Land Tenure**

While ensuring Barbudan migrants have an opportunity to obtain a piece of land from their island home, the new land act has shut out non-Barbudan migrants (roughly six percent of the island’s population) from acquiring Barbudan lands. As one official at the Agriculture, Land, and Fisheries Office told me:

Being born in Barbuda doesn’t make you eligible to be a Barbudan or to get land in Barbuda. If your parents, lets say for instance both your parents are Guyanese or Jamaican and you were born here, you’re not entitled to land, you’re not considered a Barbudan. I wish that law could change. But I think why they do that because there’s some people who want to come here just to have their children here so that they could own a piece of land. But after while they are able to lease a piece of land for up to 50 years. You can come and you can lease a piece of land, as long as you are residing in Barbuda legally you can lease a piece of land for up to 25, 30, 40, 50 years. (2009)

The new Barbuda Land Act, 2007 has also raised other areas of concern for long-time residents of the island who are not Barbudan by definition. Those who may even have Antigua and Barbuda citizenship might be limited on voting participation on the island. As one of the island residents stated, “With this new Land Act, people who are not defined as Barbudans in the Land Act cannot vote in any elections on any issues to do with land” (2007). There was some concern expressed by some non-Barbudans that this new law would lead politicians to say an election had to do with land, simply to exclude non-Barbudans from voting in things like Barbuda Council Elections, the locally appointed governing body of the island. One longtime resident of Barbuda told me of his predicament.

Yes I’m a citizen of Antigua and Barbuda. You are asking me if I have rights to land. No, not in Barbuda. In Antigua, yes. Not in Barbuda. People have offered me their land for me to build a house on. But as the law stands . . . when you build a structure on someone else’s land, whatever you build on the land belongs to the person whose land it is. So it would be very silly to build a house on somebody else’s land. When people have offered me a piece of land I have said to them, ‘Could we get together a legal agreement with a lawyer?’ and then of course heavens no. If I did buy a property I was thinking of buying a property in Antigua in 1995. But before I had the opportunity to do anything about it, [Hurricane] Luis came along and various places I had looked at were ruined and wrecked. So I changed my mind . . . So I rent my house. I don’t have a lease. So I don’t really have any legal safeguards at all. My landlord could tell to move out tomorrow and I would really not have anything to combat because I don’t have a lease. I don’t have a record that I have been living there and paying rent. (2007)

One Barbudan transnational reflected on what she believed to be the unfair nature of the land policy.

They can’t acquire any land here because . . . you have to be Barbudan unless you marry a Barbudan . . . So whatever money or whatever they rent they have to send it out to their own country to buy land to build a home. They’re going to have to build it in their own country . . . [N]ow that I’m thinking about it you’re asking me these questions, things I never thought about that are just coming to me. Never thought about all the people that are coming here from those other islands if they want to stay we’re making it impossible for them by saying, ‘I can’t sell you a piece of land, a half an acre of land. I can’t sell it to you because the land is not for sale.’ That will stop our growth right there. People can’t stay. (2009)

While Barbudan law essentially makes the island less attractive to outsiders, particularly in making it seemingly impossible for non-Barbudans to acquire land (despite options to lease or rent), the broader regional picture is somewhat contradictory, which is making moves to eliminate barriers, particularly in the promotion of the free movement of people. The Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS) Economic Union that went into effect on August 1, 2011 of which Antigua and Barbuda is apart. The legislative body of the OECS Economic Union will reside in Antigua and there is discussion that legislation of the OECS Assembly would supersede Antigua and Barbuda's own legislation (*Observer* 2011).

### **Conclusion**

The very definition of a Barbudan takes into account the migratory nature of the islanders to ensure Barbudans (up to a certain heritage) have access to island lands. Sixty-three percent of land applications from the Agriculture, Land, and Fisheries Office were requests from Barbudans living abroad. Barbudans who live abroad and those who return use the land mostly for home construction. It is also through interviews with migrants we see the importance not just of the communal lands but also a growing dialogue about a family home and the desire to build on the already acquired lands held within the family. Despite the availability of land to those living abroad and the seeming importance of these homes, the landscape and interviews also reflect a failure to maintain connections to the island on a regular basis. The framework of transnational activism gives voice to those who spent time abroad and how they too actively remained connected and fought for the protection of the communal land tenure system from afar.

Transnational Barbudans were able to use their experiences from abroad to inform their sense of collective responsibility to the land tenure at home, utilizing networks well beyond the island. Ironically, as migration has aided in undoing traditional land tenure practices, migrants have



remained active in advocating for communal land tenure. Barbuda's land tenure, while inclusive of the migratory nature of Barbudans, is not inclusive to the roughly six percent of the island's non-Barbudan migrants. The migratory nature of the island of Barbuda insists that any study of the commons include the voices and experiences of those who live or have lived abroad. To overlook Barbudan migrant's relationship to the land, their access to the commons, their historical role in advocating on behalf of the land, and the land's role in Barbudan migrant identity, is to fail to fully understand the complexity of communal land tenure on the island. The "triumph of the commons" is not the result of a simplistic balancing of population and resources but rather complex historical processes involving Barbudan migrants.

## **Chapter Four: Mapping Barbuda**

*How many maps, in the descriptive or geographical sense, might be needed to deal exhaustively with a given space, to code and decode all its meanings and contents? It is doubtful whether a finite number can ever be given in answer to this sort of question. (Henri Lefebvre in The Production of Space 1991:85)*

This chapter seeks to understand through the method of mental mapping, how Barbudans of different ages, gender, and migration experience create “their map” of Barbuda. While interviews and archival work reveal much about Barbudan’s changing sense of place toward their island home, the method of mental mapping will identify and clarify areas of importance to individual Barbudans and highlight their specific stories interacting with those places. Roger Downs and David Stea define cognitive mapping [or mental mapping] as “a person’s organized representation of some part of the spatial environment” (1977: 6). Cognitive maps come in the form of a sketch, “representing the world at one instant in time. It reflects the world as some person believes it to be” (Downs and Stea 1977: 6).

A number of geographers have utilized mental mapping. Yi-Fu Tuan theorized about images and mental maps in 1975, describing their five primary functions. He writes that mental

maps first make it possible to give directions to a stranger. Second, mental maps make it possible to rehearse spatial behavior in the mind so that when we are actually on the road we can act with a degree of assurance that we would not otherwise have. Third, mental maps are a mnemonic device. Fourth, mental maps, like real maps, are a means to structure and store knowledge. And finally, fifth, mental maps are imaginary worlds. They depict attractive goals that tempt people out of their habitual rounds (Tuan 1975: 210-211). Despite their appeal to geographers Tuan does warn,

It cannot be assumed that people walk about with pictures in their head or that people's spatial behavior is guided by picture-like images and mental maps that are like real maps. The study of people's mental world in the course of daily living requires that we do not impose on it the specialized categories of the academic and artistic professions. Geographers run the risk of seeing maps in people's heads, just as historians are perhaps inclined to put undue emphasis on picture images. (Tuan 1975: 213)

Peter Gould and Rodney White are perhaps the most well known scholars for their early work using mental maps. Their groundbreaking research involving students at American universities revealed their preference to home or the home region (1974; 1984).

Over the last few years, mental mapping has advanced to include Geographic Information Science technology in the form of participatory mapping. Peter H. Herlihy and Gregory Knapp edited a special issue in *Human Organization* dedicated to participatory mapping in Latin America (2003). Participatory mapping has been an important resource for scholars working with indigenous peoples facing tenuous land rights (See Offen 2003; Smith 2003). More recently, Herlihy and others have found its usefulness in their work in Mexico studying the changing ejido. Herlihy and others write, "We harnessed the cognitive geographical knowledge of local community members and, through the dialectic among trained local investigators, students and researchers, transformed this knowledge into community-verified standard maps and associated spatial, qualitative results" (Herlihy et al. 2008: 405).

This chapter more closely aligns with Jörn Seemann's recent dissertation work exploring cartographic narratives of the Cariri Region in northeast Brazil. Seemann argues, "Cartographic representations should be conceived as open-ended forms of conversation that include imagination, performance and personal experience rather than as definite and 'objective' delimitations of space and knowledge" (2010:11). This chapter also seeks to elicit a narrative of place espousing personal experience, though my methodology ultimately diverges from his. In many ways, my use of mental maps in Barbuda more closely resembles the experience of Dawn Mannay who drew upon the collaborative process of participant-directed mapping to understand the home and surrounding neighborhood of parents and their children (Mannay 2008).

This chapter utilizes the method of mental mapping in order to highlight the dialogue that emerged from the mapping process, which exposed changing land use, changing attitudes towards the land, and ultimately changing sense of place. Cognitive mapping reveals individual differences concerning places of importance on the island as well as shared patterns, locating where Barbudan's basic activities take place, and Barbudan's changing spatial and land-use behavior. Downs and Stea write, "All of these variations in perspective emphasize that the world is what we make it, that the world as we believe it to be depends upon our sensory capacities, our age, our experience, and our attitudes and biases" (1977: 24). This chapter will focus on the variations of age, gender, and migratory experience, as Barbudans create "their map" of the island.

### **Methodology**

In order to understand Barbudan's changing land uses and attitudes about their island home, I conducted 46 (See Appendix I for a collection of maps) mental mapping exercises during the summers of 2008, 2009, and 2010. I used both free-recall sketch maps and a base map to elicit

Barbudans to draw “their map of Barbuda” (Pocock 1975) (Figures 4.1 and 4.2).

Methodologically speaking, I found it useful to incorporate both types of maps as free-recall sketch maps, essentially a blank piece of paper and a writing instrument, excluded those elderly Barbudans who could not physically draw a map, and those Barbudans who were unable to read and write. For those individuals who were uncomfortable with drawing or writing, I wrote place names on a map as they told me what they would want to incorporate on their map. As the research unfolded, I also found it necessary to provide the option of using a base map simply because some participants were hesitant when trying to draw an outline of the island. The primary goal of this exercise was not necessarily to highlight maps that label locations of Barbudan places incorrectly or draw attention to distortions in the size of the village of Codrington in relation to rest of the island but rather to determine what places Barbudans deemed important enough to include on their map and their subsequent explanation. The mapping exercise was a tool to start a dialogue with Barbudans about their concept of place. Researchers tend to focus on “community intellectuals” (see for example Offen 2003) of a society, however, in my solicitation of maps, I sought a cross-section that included Barbudans of all ages, gender, occupations, and migratory experience. I conducted all mapping exercises on the island itself, with the exception of one mapping exercise in St. Johns, Antigua, (See Table 4.1 for participant breakdown and assigned pseudonyms). Of the 46 Barbudans to take part in the exercise, 28 were male and 18 were female. The respondents were grouped in age categories based on ten-year increments. The thirty-year age category consisted of the largest group (for a breakdown of all the age groups based on gender see Table 4.2). After the mapping exercise, I conducted a survey and a brief follow-up interview based on the map to understand why those particular places were significant for map inclusion. The follow-up interview was particularly

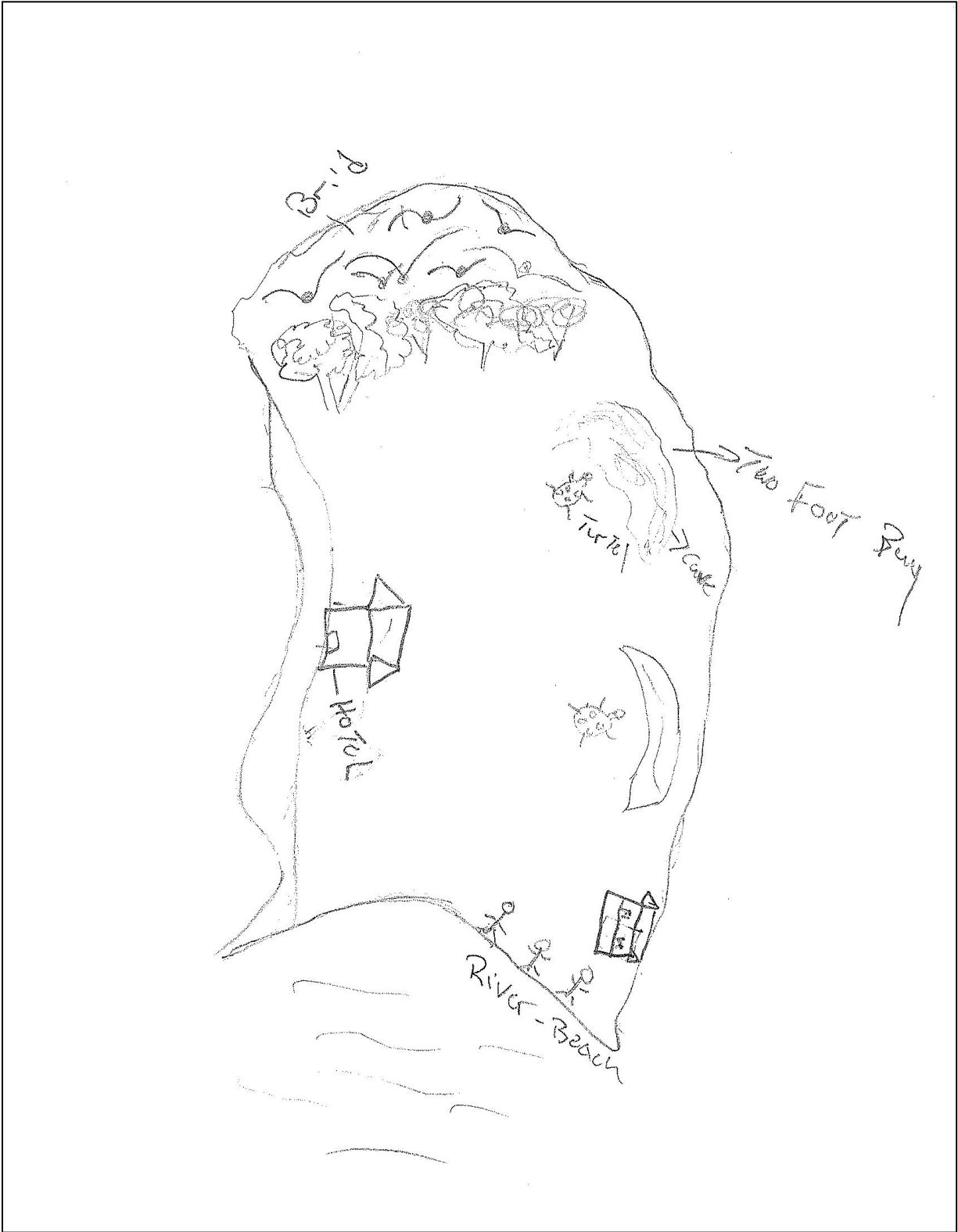


Figure 4.1 Free-recall Sketch Map

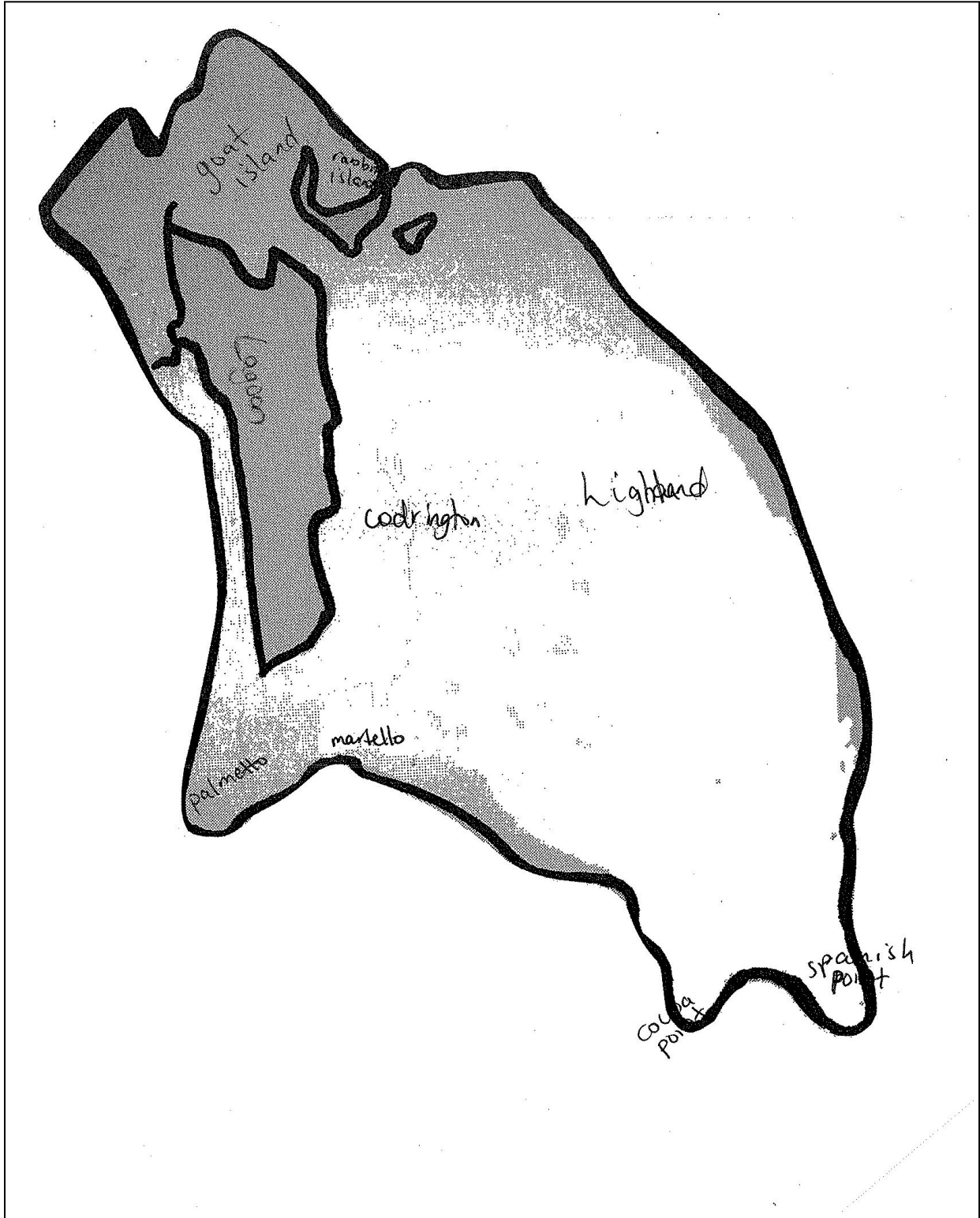


Figure 4.2 Base Map

**Table 4.1 Participant breakdown and assigned pseudonyms**

<b>Pseudonym</b>	<b>Gender</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Birthplace</b>	<b>Interview Date</b>	<b>Interview Type</b>
Ashley	F	20	Barbuda	Jun-08	Unrecorded
Erin	F	22	Antigua/Barbuda	Jun-08	Unrecorded
Sarah	F	23	Barbuda	Jun-08	Unrecorded
Brandon	M	24	Barbuda	May-09	Recorded
Charles	M	25	Barbuda	Jun-08	Unrecorded
Jamie	F	27	Antigua/Barbuda	Jun-08	Unrecorded
Christina	F	27	Antigua/Barbuda	Jun-08	Unrecorded
Natalie	F	29	Barbuda	Jun-08	Unrecorded
Phillip	M	31	Barbuda	May-09	Recorded
Brian	M	33	Barbuda	May-09	Recorded
Lauren	F	35	Canada	Jun-09	Recorded
Charlotte	F	35	Barbuda	Jun-08	Unrecorded
Thomas	M	36	Barbuda	Jun-09	Recorded
Rachel	F	36	Barbuda	Jun-08	Unrecorded
Chris	M	36	Canada	Jun-09	Recorded
Peter	M	37	Antigua	May-09	Recorded
Luke	M	38	Barbuda	Jun-08	Unrecorded
Wayne	M	39	Barbuda	Jun-09	Recorded
Gerald	M	39	Barbuda	Jun-08	Unrecorded
Brenda	F	44	Barbuda	Jun-08	Unrecorded
Pat	M	48	Barbuda	May-09	Recorded
Abigail	F	45	England	Jun-09	Recorded
Melanie	F	45	Caribbean	Jun-09	Recorded
Linda	F	47	Barbuda	Jun-09	Recorded
Carl	M	48	Antigua	Jun-09	Recorded
Dennis	M	47	Barbuda	Jun-08	Unrecorded
Frank	M	48	Barbuda	Jun-08	Unrecorded
Douglas	M	56	United States	Jun-08	Unrecorded
Paul	M	53	Barbuda	Jun-09	Recorded
Bob	M	58	Barbuda	Jun-09	Recorded
Marley	M	52	Barbuda	May-09	Recorded
Russell	M	63	Barbuda	Jun-08	Unrecorded
Fiona	F	62	Barbuda	Jul-10	Recorded
Roselyn	F	62	Barbuda	May-09	Recorded
George	M	61	Barbuda	May-09	Recorded
June	F	65	Barbuda	Jun-09	Recorded
Charles	M	65	Barbuda	Jun-09	Recorded



**Table 4.1 Continued**

Waldon	M	66	Barbuda	Jun-09	Recorded
Timothy	M	66	Barbuda	Jul-10	Recorded
Katherine	F	66	Barbuda	Jun-08	Unrecorded
Andrew	M	76	Barbuda	Jun-08	Unrecorded
Keith	M	77	Barbuda	Jun-09	Recorded
Albert	M	71	Barbuda	May-09	Recorded
Harry	M	71	Barbuda	Jun-09	Recorded
Georgia	F	82	Barbuda	Jun-08	Unrecorded
Arthur	M	83	Barbuda	Jun-09	Recorded

**Table 4.2 Breakdown of age groups based on gender**

Age Range	Number	Male	Female
20's	8	2	6
30's	11	8	3
40's	8	4	4
50's	4	4	0
60's	9	5	4
70's	4	4	0
80's	2	1	1
	46	28	18

important in order to get beyond my own experiential filter of a particular Barbudan location to create a broader context in order to understand why each place identified on a map was significant to that Barbudan, a point Dawn Mannay also reached in a participant-directed mapping project. She writes, “the compelling voices of the participants were foregrounded” and the researcher’s preconceived knowledge about a community could be addressed (Mannay 2008: 19, 24). This research methodology is also quite different from Riva Berleant-Schiller’s study of Barbudan place names, in which she utilized place name theory and a discussion of Barbudan place names based on her own observations in the field (1991). The follow-up interviews lasted

anywhere from a few minutes to an hour.<sup>19</sup> Twenty-two interviews were un-recorded and the remaining interviews were digitally recorded. Following the interview, I utilized a survey consisting of nine questions, which included: name, gender, age, birthplace, occupation, number of passports, years lived on Barbuda, other places lived and length of time, and properties on the island to provide further context to the exercise.

The mental mapping methodology was not entirely seamless at the start. As researchers, we often become so entangled in the process that is the methodology we forget that there are often many pathways to an outcome and many outcomes. For me, the first summer (2008) was often so focused on the final product of the map itself that it took some time for me to realize that this exercise was not about the map but rather the rich follow-up discussion that ensued from the map. Even what I considered failures in the process were revealing overall. My first summer employing the mapping method in 2008, one young Barbudan took a recently published map of the island and simply copied it. On two occasions, two Barbudans only wrote down a few locations and then proceeded to tell me stories about other areas or things they would include on their map. It was during one of those interviews that 66-year-old Timothy discussed a disappearing cultural practice all because he wanted to include Hattie Lou Tamarind Tree on his map. It is in this process that the map created a pathway to a broader dialogue and discussion of the island.

I mean there are several other things, trees, oh, there is a tree, while growing up, there is a tree a tamarind tree in the village here we call it Hattie Lou Tamarind Tree. Now H-A-T-T-I-E. Let me explain what Hattie means. Hattie is an honor. In those days when you reach certain age, there are names that are given to elders. You were either Hattie or See, See actually means Sister but it is cut short. See that. Or Hattie this or Hattie that. The men it's Bo. Bo John or Bo Teague. Bo actually means Brother but it is cut short to say Bo. When you get Bo that means you are a hierarchy. Those words mean a lot. Nowadays they don't use them. We used to come up in here go over by See this or Hattie that or Bo

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<sup>19</sup> The mapping exercise and follow-up interview took place in Barbudan's homes or at their workplaces.

this but we never really realized what it meant until someone would explain what it is.  
(2010)

Interestingly, some Barbudans developed their map around a particular theme. For instance, 39-year-old Wayne created a map to highlight “places that need preserving” and “paying attention to” (2009). Sixty-six year-old Timothy addressed those, “places that were important in Barbuda’s past” while another 53-year-old Paul included infrastructure to develop a successful country. Forty-seven-year-old Dennis related his map strictly to tourism “because that’s what I’m into” and his future plans to create campsites for local Barbudans and restaurants for tourists around his passion of snorkeling and scuba diving (Fig. 4.3). Appendix II charts by age the Barbudan places included on at least two or more maps. Table 4.3 highlights the Barbudan places included on 25 percent of participant maps (greater than or equal to 12). The following graph (Fig. 4.4) reveals on average people in their 20’s are including eight-points/per graph, whereas in the 50-year-old category they included 13 points per graph. Many of the places included in Table 4. 3 will be discussed in greater detail throughout this chapter. Interestingly, Coco Point, the island’s oldest resort, appears most often on Barbudan maps, more than even the village of Codrington.

One aspect of this study seeks to understand how Barbudans of different ages would create “their map” of Barbuda. I chose to emphasize this variable because in one study of the Mexican ejido, it was determined that age was an important factor in privatizing ejido lands. “The reforms were much more popular amongst the youngest generation of Mexicans (aged 18-25) than among those over 60, a clear generational split that, as discussed below, may have profound implications for the long term survival of the ejido” (Cornelius and Myhre 1998:10). Informal conversations with younger Barbudans reveal more of an eagerness to privatize Barbudan communal lands than the older generation. The following examples of Barbudan places are illustrative of how essential follow-up-interviews are in revealing differing association

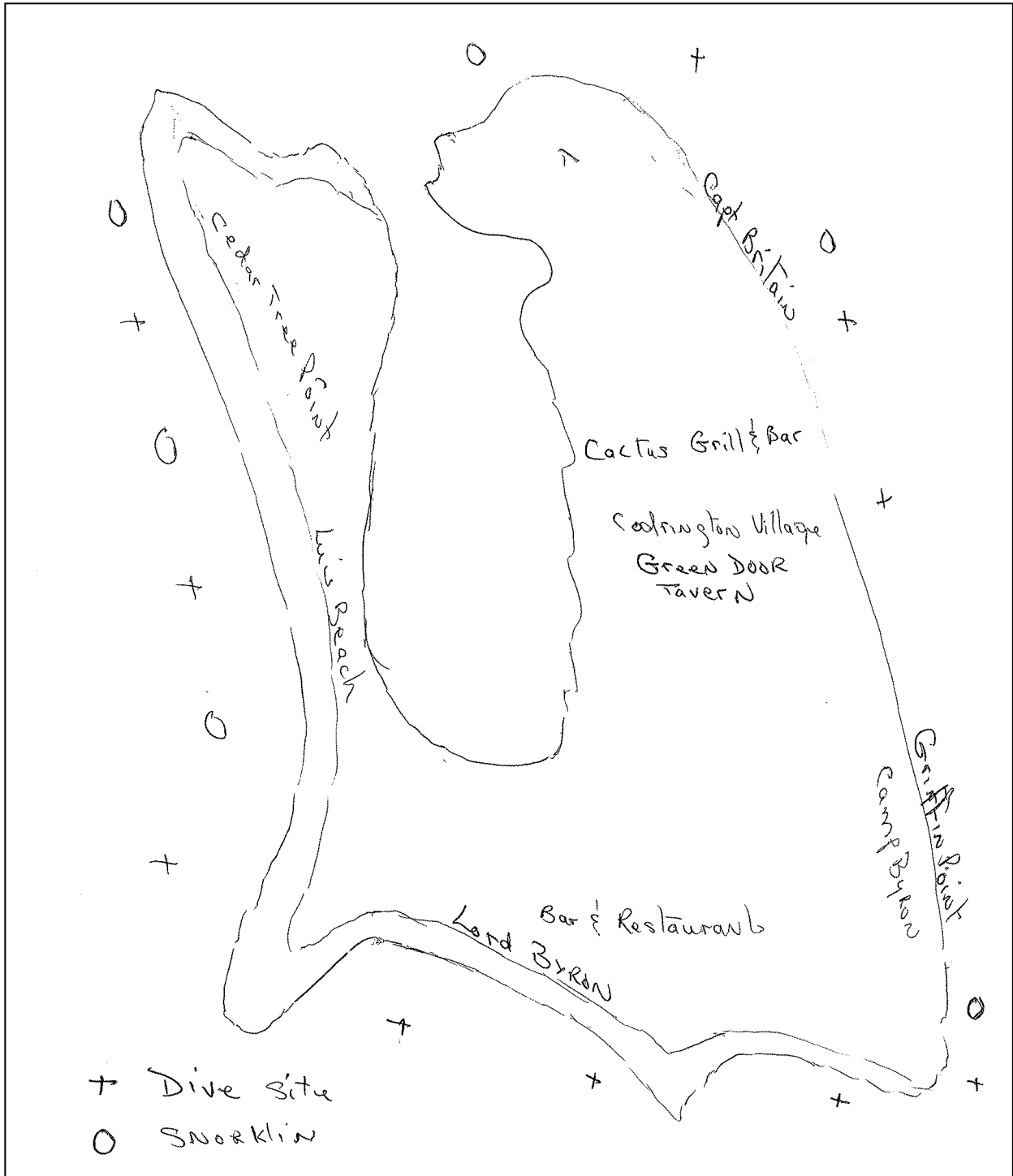
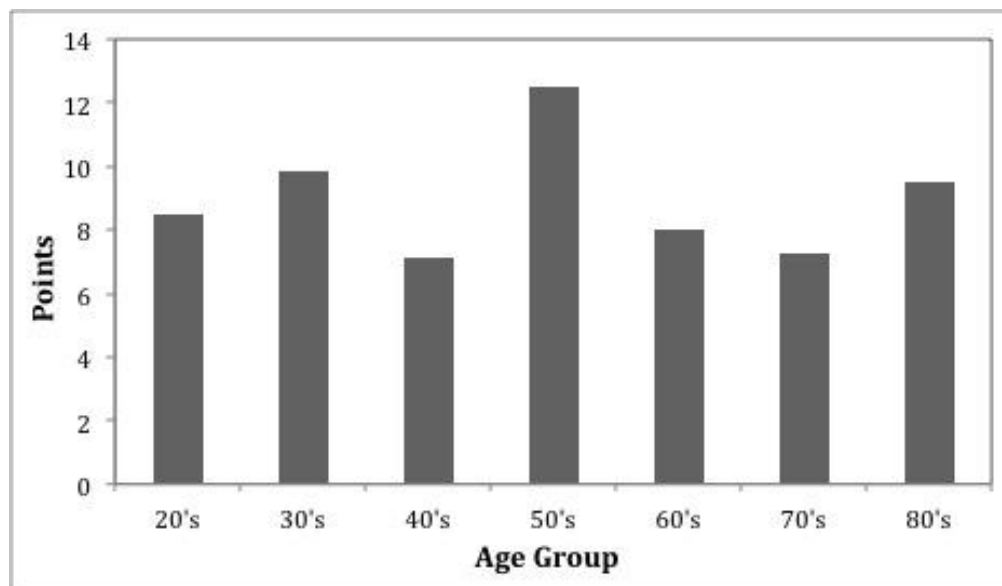


Figure 4.3 Tourism Focused Mental Map

**Table 4.3 Barbudan place names included on 25 percent of participant maps**

<b>Location</b>	<b>Count</b>
Coco Point	31
Codrington	28
Lagoon	21
Two Foot Bay	21
Spanish Point	19
Frigate Bird	18
Palmetto	17
River	17
Martello Tower	16
Highland	16
Low Bay	12



**Figure 4.4 Average number of points per age group**

within a single place category based on age. I argue that it is not enough to simply see that a variety of age groups included the same place on their map, we must also ask how exactly each age group interacts with a particular place. The excerpts in Table 4.4 appear in age progression, youngest to oldest. The follow-up interviews are indicative of the changes taking place on the island over the last 30 years. In the case of Castle Hill, the youth use it primarily as a camping spot. While older Barbudans also utilized it as a campsite, it was under entirely different

**Table 4.4 Mental map follow-up interview excerpts**

*Palmetto*

Brenda called this area the beach ridges on her map. In her follow-up interview she expounds and says “Palmetto area is very important to take pictures, look for shells. I’ve been there for conch and to pick up shells.”

Russell—“It’s the main point where the hotel is, Palmetto Hotel, Beach House”

Andrew—“It’s the southernmost tip of the island. Grass that grew there would be used for thatching. Sedge, the edge is sharp. Before you had galvanized iron materials for roofs we used sedge for roofs. Thatching roofs. Most is beach and it has pink sand. It’s open to hurricane movement from the ocean. Not a safe place.”

*Coco Point*

Jamie—“Used to work there as a bartender.”

Christina—“Used to work there three years as a waitress.”

Luke—“First hotel on the island. It’s where both of my parents first worked. It’s something for us to keep and maintain.”

Frank—“One of the oldest establishments for employment. Only hotel running right now.”

Brenda—“Coco Point is the last point on the south side of the island.”

Linda—“Coco Point was the only lodge, hotel on the island when I was growing up. I was born in 62 and Coco Point existed back around that time... My mother works there as a maid. My father, oh he was, oh my God he’s an everything kind of person. My dad was a steel band owner. So seasonal, every year when Coco Point opened the guests coming from New York and all over they like the local steel band music because that’s what was there. So Coco Point was always to us, standard practice in town because for the guests because my mother worked there, my father worked there we would get ... things like toy things, like things we celebrate with on holidays ... we get a chance to sometimes go there with my mother and she’s working at night and she would bring us there to keep her company because she was a maid and my dad was the band owner and Saturday nights when they have to do a band play for the guests so Coco Point was always to me my Santa Claus. Because I’m going to get nice little things.”

Russell—“One of the main points. It’s appealing on a map.”

*Castle Hill*

Jamie—“When I was small we would camp out there. Hunt deer and land turtles.”

Christina—“Place to go and camp on a hill. It’s shaped like a porch.”

Gerald—Did not illustrate Castle Hill on his map but he did discuss it in his follow up interview. He said he does not have the recreation time that he used to boast since having children. “Castle Hill, I would go snorkeling, shoot fish and catch soldier crabs there.”

Table 4.4 Continued

Russell—“It’s where the people used to go to camp out. Green Door. Powder Cave. Over the years, where the older folks would go and sleep. They would work the cultivation from Monday to Saturday and sleep there at night. I would go with my mother. The younger folks drink beer and hang out there. Barbudans would make their living up in this area growing peas, sea island cotton, watermelon, cantaloupe, pumpkins, squash, peanuts, sweet potatoes, and melons. At night they would make their way to the caves. The place is sandy.”

Katherine—“Men would go out and hunt and sleep out on weekends. Look for deer and soldier crab. In my younger days we would go there and look for grapes. Cook and enjoy the weekend.”

Georgia—“Ships came in years ago and wrecked. Part of my family wrecked there. He is Wales. That’s how the name Thomas came in, it was my great grandfather. Two brothers married the two blackest persons in Barbuda . . . I have my father’s complexion. Our family went to prove we are from South Wales. Place where we would go up and camp out. Sleep and cook with the kids.”

*The Highlands* (also Highland Road, Willy Bob and Highland House)

Ian—“Up there is a tourist attraction. The caves where the Indians lived. People mark on it.”

Katherine—“I have a garden on Highland Road with a lot of fruit trees.”

Georgia—“Where we would cultivate the land.”

*Lagoon*

Christina—“I love the lagoon at sunset”

Luke—“Good breeding ground for lobsters and fish. We need to preserve it.” Andrew—“Go fishing, lobstering on the banks. People would have cultivation plots and now we have hotels going in.”

*Goat Island*

Jamie—“Always see it on a map. Never been there”

Brian—“As the name speaks for itself, there were a lot of goats at this island. I like animal like goats and we eat them. They’re delicious.

A: Do you go to Goat Island ever?

Brian: I’ve been to everywhere in Barbuda.”

Brenda—“Go there for campouts around that area. Been there a few times with friends.”

Russell—“It’s on the Northern side. It’s a historic island by itself within the land. People go to camp there over the weekend. You can shoot fish, hunt, swim out to the rocks and shoot fish. Used to go out there and look for crab. Go out and catch by the thousands, thousands of crab. Burn charcoal. There’s nothing here I haven’t done.”

Andrew—“It’s the northern extremity, uninhabited. Good for fishing, crabbing. I used to go on the other side for fishing.”

Arthur—“Goat Island is another place too . . . I used to go and charcoal out there. . . . When I get married to make a living to buy this house here.”

circumstances. Instead of a place of leisure and time away, this spot served as a resting place in-between workdays cultivating the land. The Highlands example again reveals how older Barbudans have a direct relationship to place. Katherine still has land set aside on Highland Road for fruit trees, and eighty-year-old Georgia associates The Highlands with land cultivation. Younger Barbudans think of it in terms of the caves and an attraction for tourists. In Andrew's discussion of the lagoon, he recounts cultivation plots located where hotels are now going in. The follow-up interviews, particularly with the older Barbudans, reveal a different relationship to land and the resources of the island.

If you look for more general patterns between age categories some interesting relationships emerge. Younger Barbudans were more likely to include place names in the village of Codrington than older Barbudans. If you think about this in terms of the changing nature of the island, it would make sense that older Barbudans would emphasize place names outside the village where they would hunt, cultivate land, and tend to livestock. Younger Barbudans generally speaking, no longer cultivate the land and raise livestock (some do hunt and fish) their jobs now located in the village or the major resorts on the island.

The follow-up interviews from Goat Island are especially telling of the generational differences on the island. Twenty-seven year old Jamie chose to include this place on her map despite never having been there. Sixty-three-year-old Russell on the other hand is quite familiar with Goat Island, an area he associates with activities like crabbing, charcoal making, and fishing. The knowledge of place in the example of Goat Island has become an oral rather than an experiential one, passed down generationally.

When comparing Barbudan places by gender (See Appendix III), Barbudan women are more likely to include village locations on their map, particularly schools, grocery stores, and



churches. Men were more apt to include places associated with fishing (Fig. 4.5). In light of the earlier discussion of Goat Island, perhaps gender also plays a role in Jamie not having been to this place as some of the activities linked with this place are male dominated.

### **Emergent Themes**

A number of themes emerged based on the follow-up interviews concerning the places Barbudans included on their map. The following section highlights those themes, which include modern-day recreation, tourism, development, the migration experience, fishing, indigenous association, and disappearing cultural practices.

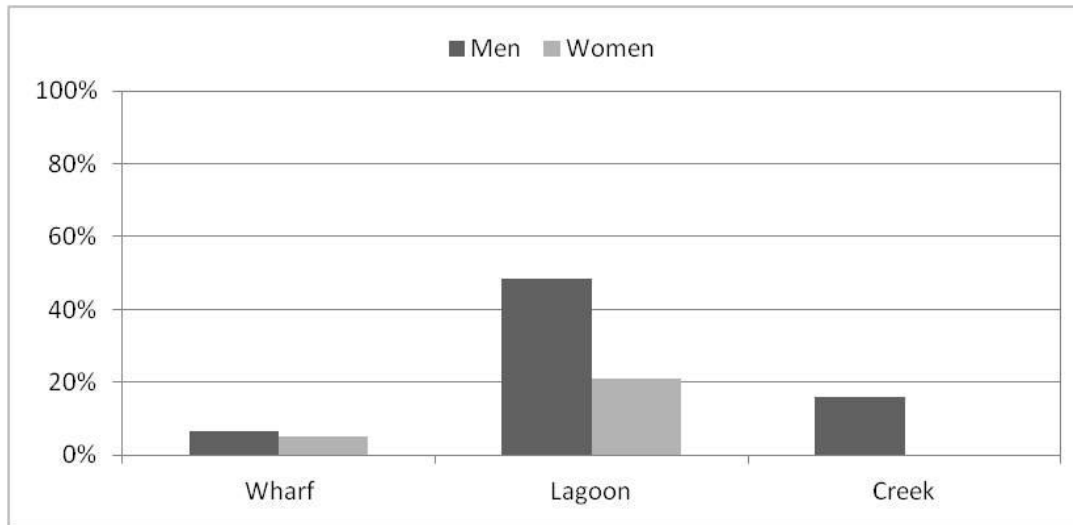
#### Camping/Picnics/Hunting

As the island has moved away from shifting cultivation and livestock, areas that were at one time associated primarily with agriculture pursuits have given way to recreation. The mapping exercise revealed that coastal areas hold great meaning to Barbudans because they function as a gathering place on holidays and special occasions for activities that include picnicking and camping. In 2009, I had the opportunity to camp out overnight with about 30 Barbudans over the Whit Monday<sup>20</sup> Holiday weekend at Two Foot Bay (Fig. 4.6). Camping provides the opportunity for domino playing for men and women, cooking, bathing in the sea and general relaxation away from the village. Barbudan men will often use this time to hunt. Carl, an Antiguan-born Barbudan included “picnic area near shore” on his map (Fig. 4.7), which prompted a discussion concerning the importance of these traditions to Barbudan culture.

What do I have here now, picnic area, near shore? Now this section of the island is special in that it's on the Caribbean side, it's very calm but then the shoreline is so picturesque in terms of the atmosphere that you get. So it's an excellent picnic area. It's an excellent area, which is tied into the traditions of Barbuda. One of our cultural tradition allows us when you have a holiday it's either picnicking or camping. And these are the areas, which are most used. And it's just a part of that culture and I'm very much afraid the significance of these areas will not be recognized by many and then we end up

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<sup>20</sup> Whit Monday is the Monday after Pentecost.



**Figure 4.5 A comparison of fishing places included on maps by gender**

losing them and not knowing that we are going to be losing something that is uniquely Barbudan if we do that.

One such area, White Bay, which is strongly tied to recreational use (discussed in greater detail in previous chapters of this dissertation), aroused great protest in 1997 as Barbudans sought to protect this important leisure area from a large-scale development projects.

### Tourism

Several follow-up interviews reveal that Barbudans find value in their island in terms of its potential as a tourist destination. In some ways it seems that Barbudans, particularly younger Barbudans, now see their home through the lens of the tourism economy, what they perceive tourists to value or where they can find work. A number of factors could be involved in the mapping focus on tourism. Coco Point Lodge, a five-star hotel, started operations on the island in the 1960s. Thirty-One Barbudans included Coco Point on their map, more than any other location on the island. The island has a Tourism Office near the wharf, and in 2009, I participated in a tourism and hospitality training seminar, attended mostly by women. The



Figure 4.6 Camping at Two Foot Bay

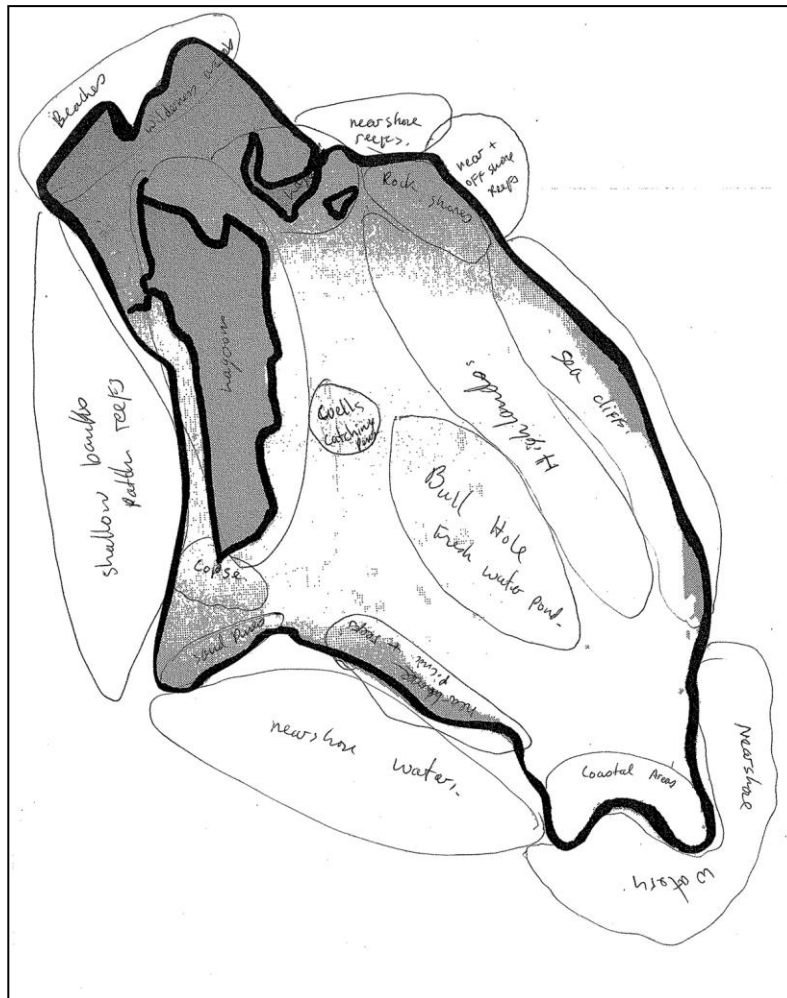


Figure 4.7 Mental Map

following interview excerpts in Table 4.5 from Barbudan follow-up interviews are illustrative of this largely tourist focus. In addition to a focus on tourism, these follow-up interviews reveal a shift in language, from an inclusion of place on a map based on personal experience to a focus on the perceived aesthetic value of a place, with such phrases as, “it’s extremely beautiful,” “ooh, it is breathtaking,” “one of the most beautiful areas in Barbuda,” “nice scenery,” and “dazzling beach.”

### Development

In light of Barbuda’s land tenure system of common property, conversations with Barbudans of all ages revealed on the part of some participants the desire to “develop” their island and specifically what this idea of development looks like. Chris, a Barbudan holding an architectural degree from the United States, wants to see small-scale developments operated by Barbudans year-round. He included Uncle Roddy’s restaurant on his map as a model for other future development proposals.

But I think over time through proper engineering and land developments we’ll be able to get the place in shape and its going to be an eye opener and serve as a catalysts for other Barbudans to actually take the risk and do something on their own along those lines. Because when you think of it, if many Barbudans would just venture to open small operations like that, lets say they get an acre of land or so and put down two or three units, perhaps just one to start up with and then two over a period of time that can sustain them and their families and if you have an area that’s more or less developed along those lines or by ... even if they partner with non-Barbudans so to speak, it’s a place and the sum total of the all would be the equivalent of a hotel development but its individually controlled and it will be opened year around because it’s a livelihood of people they going to ensure that they are running year around. I think that’s a model that we should follow instead of trying to attract these larger hotel establishments, when things go wrong financially they have to shut down. That’s what has been happening. ... operating for less than 10 months a year is really not beneficial to us.

Barbudans talked about development in terms of Barbudan land-use, particularly at Spanish Point.

**Table 4.5 Mental map follow-up interview excerpts with a tourist focus**

*Frigate Bird Sanctuary*

Brandon—“That’s like the first place most tourists would like to go is the bird sanctuary, it is the second largest colony, no it is the largest colony within the Western Hemisphere for frigate birds. Also it is situated on the second largest lagoon in the Western Hemisphere. It’s like a huge tourist attraction and just recently we established a lagoon stakeholder board with the conservation of the lagoon and using it as a means of revenue for the island. And under this board we have dedicated the lagoon as a RAMSA site, thus making it a national park.

Ashley—“I’ve never been but it is the main tourist attraction.”

Charles—“We go there and take people who are foreign.”

Luke—“Something we need to protect. People say it’s one of the most unique spots in the Caribbean. People will pay anything to see them.”

Melanie—“Well the Frigate Bird Sanctuary I mean that’s one of Barbuda’s trademarks. If you are coming to Barbuda, what is there to do? Some people think that only thing here to do is actually to visit the Frigate Bird Sanctuary, so that’s how much of a significant natural icon this Frigate Bird Sanctuary is to Barbuda. So yeah, the Frigate Bird Sanctuary definitely has to be there as we know it is the largest colony of Frigate Birds and globally at this Frigate Bird Sanctuary in Barbuda so it definitely should be on everybody’s map.”

Russell—“Popular historical site. Most people come to the island want to see the birds.”

*Airstrip*

Chris—Of course that’s our airstrip, [laughs] that’s what more or less introduces people to the island. That’s where they get their first taste of what the island is like... I’ve been in a plane landing with tourists sitting behind me and they point and say is that is the airport and they ask in amazement because they just can’t believe... They are accustomed to seeing things on a grander size. Once you land there again it speaks of the island. It tells you that we’re relatively small in terms of population size and not very developed along certain lines.

*Two Foot Bay*

Thomas—It’s a very nice place for guest and tourist to come and see, sightsee. Very good thing for Barbuda.

Chris—“The caves are there. It’s a tourist attraction. It’s a wonderful place that spans the Atlantic Ocean, rough waters and breaking waves. Really wonderful, majestic and ancient looking place that is frequented by Barbudans and visitors alike.”

Brian—“Two Foot Bay is a site, tourist attraction site. You can’t come to Barbuda without seeing Two Foot Bay. ...

Amy: Why is it a tourist attraction?

Brian: Because here we have caves, fat caves. I mean you can go up through Gun Shop go up on the hill take pictures and photos. Have yourself some nice scenery.”

**Table 4.5 Continued**

*Palmetto*

Brian—“I include Palmetto Point. That is one of the areas or locations for one of our five-star hotels and one of the most dazzling beach you could find in the whole world.”

*Hotels*

Marley—“The Coco Point Hotel that’s one of the mainstay of economy of Barbuda. It has contributed a lot to our economy, to the GDP, our revenue collection, and it’s also the first hotel in Barbuda. You know and it’s a beautiful spot on Barbuda, and it’s one of the most beautiful areas in Barbuda.”

Brandon—“I include these hotels on our map in relation to tourism, which is the nation’s leading economy... means of revenue. I’ve highlighted these on the island to symbolize the different areas in which tourists can come and visit the island.”

*Coconut Plantation (Fig. 4.8)*

Brandon—“I put it on my map because it’s extremely beautiful. A lot of tourists come and have said to me they would like to see the coconut plantation. Something about seeing all those coconut trees in one area gives a tropical look about the island. Very Caribbean like.”

*Codrington Ruins*

Marley—“Oh it is breathtaking. So when I go up there I didn’t want to move. I said man this is beautiful. I think they need to put back those ruins if they could get an old print and start to reinstate them in the old form and so on, get people to really act some of these things it would be a good thing for tourism. You know what I mean. I think that it would good thing for tourism and they can have lunch and so right there and so on. A little way from there they can probably build a few cottages and so on in the old time way you know. And people can stay right there and have like the Great House where they can go and have their full meals and a nice area see down the view, the panoramic view. From there you can see the Atlantic and you can see the Caribbean side.”

It’s unofficially our national park and will be developed along those lines in our near future. We see the possibility of that area and the bay around there becoming a somewhat developed area in a sense introducing a small marina, very, very small. Because a lot of yachts frequent the area during the holiday time, so on and so forth and we see the opportunity to derive significant revenues from that type of operations and services... It’s an area that local people really, really, enjoy. Once there’s a holiday or a long weekend, everybody’s up there camping in the surrounding area.

Melanie, in keeping in line with developing Barbuda on the island’s terms, feels her job working for the Codrington Lagoon National Park allows her to be part of developing the island for the



**Figure 4.8 Coconut Plantation**

good of the environment.

It gives me the opportunity to be apart of the development of Barbuda. Not only development taking away from its original form but maintaining and preserving the natural structure of Barbuda, while at the same time offering opportunities for sustainable tourism.

Wayne included Codrington Village on the map because he felt it is in need of infrastructural development. Part of that development includes the Council expanding opportunities for small businesses.

Wayne: Codrington Village. It needed development. Need a lot of development. Word.

Amy: How so?

Wayne: The roads. The vegetation in the village is too high, the animals, they need to control the animals coming through the village. You understand? And the government need to start giving people small loans for small businesses. You can count the businesses on your hand and it's primitive....Lot of development needed in this village.

Other Barbudans in their interview included locations on their map that have caught the attention of investors. Palmetto Point for two Barbudans, equates to interest in further development.

Marley: And then you also have Palmetto Point, which is mainly sand. We also have a hotel down there and a lot of investors have interest in that particular area. Of building hotels and all them things.

Melanie: Oh Palmetto Point. It's not a place that I've frequented but for some reason just visiting there I'm just seeing that so much could be done to Palmetto Point. So for the future that's not a place that's really in my past or so much in my present. But I do see that it has a lot of potential for development. I'm keeping my eyes on.

Another Barbudan, Peter, expressed how sickened he is over sand mining in the area of Palmetto but the area in its current state could also be useful for development that could ultimately be beneficial to the island.

The devastation that is going on down there now it sickens...speaking about it...it ain't going to stop. It sickens me. It might be a little bit destructive. What is there now? Well in my mind, in terms of say we have to deal with what is there now. The destructive part of it. I can't take it. Sickens me that's about it. In terms of development that would be a very good area to develop if they're going to do anything, stop from doing anything it's a good area to make a channel way for a small little mini harbor. What I can say in terms of development? That's where I would put development... it would be beneficial to us. But right now where it is, it benefit us still but it's being destructive. You understand? But if we develop like an area like a mini harbor to accommodate the boats when the yachts or so just a safe haven so when you have weather, passing people who want to just have a travel can pull up ... It's sickening and parts of me done sick ... digging it, digging it, digging it up. I agree that there's a lot of people employed by that. I don't really don't want to touch the bread line but you know there's nothing. ... people can learn a trade you understand and you can sell things down there. You can open a small mini mall or whatever you choose to do.

The efforts to generate revenue for the island in order to support the Barbuda Council's nearly 400-person payroll have not come without cost to Barbuda's environment. An article in *Antigua Observer* revealed that the Environmental Division of the country directed that sand mining should cease in 2006 but the division gave permission to continue to mine an additional 103 acres so the Council could find alternative means to support the local economy (Hart 2010). As late as August 2010, mining was still taking place. Mining has often exposed the water table and left the island vulnerable to hurricanes. One Barbudan even wrote "No/No" next to the words "sand pit." He told me in his follow-up interview that the sand pit



Is a vital area because of where it's at, the point that it's at. And believe me these people know too, every time there's a bad weather especially the west wind, hurricane, couple times we almost lost this thing in the island. And they have the nerve digging out this island, still taking all the sand where the water gonna hold. Come on. This is going to mess up the ecosystem of this island. Going to mess up the balance of the island....It's being destroyed at a rate so rapid that it's primitive. ....A lot of people talk about it but they do nothing about it. That's one thing with Barbuda people. They only talk. (2009)

In addition to highlighting Barbuda's natural resources, the mapping exercise prompted one Barbudan who works for the Barbuda Planning Commission to include Coconut Plantation and the Salt Pond because of their value for potential development (Fig. 4.9).

Brandon: Salt Pond is one of the leading natural features here on the island and you know the mineral of salt in its natural form is the best taking out all the preservatives and so forth and in the dry season maybe from the months of July to October it is very crystal like in nature. Ponds is extremely dry when the sun hits on it it has a glare that you can see from the air quite clearly and when you drive past it's a beautiful sight to see....

Amy: Why is it important to you?

Brandon: It's important because the Council is also looking to bottle it and have it as an export to be for the island. As it sits there it's valuable. It's encouraging as well for business.

In a similar vein, for Brandon, Coconut Plantation is also important because of its exporting potential.

Coconut Plantation is home to over a thousand coconut trees in which the Council is actually looking to make use of the plantation in terms of making coconut extracts for like hair greases and drinks and different things....So it's something that the Council has in their plan of development for the island.

Again, as the discussion of tourism reveals, in these instances Barbudan places are described for their value to potential development and resource export. The interviews do reveal a desire overall to develop on Barbudan's terms, whether on a small scale that would promote Barbudan entrepreneurs or in a way that is sustainable and will not greatly disturb the "natural" environment.

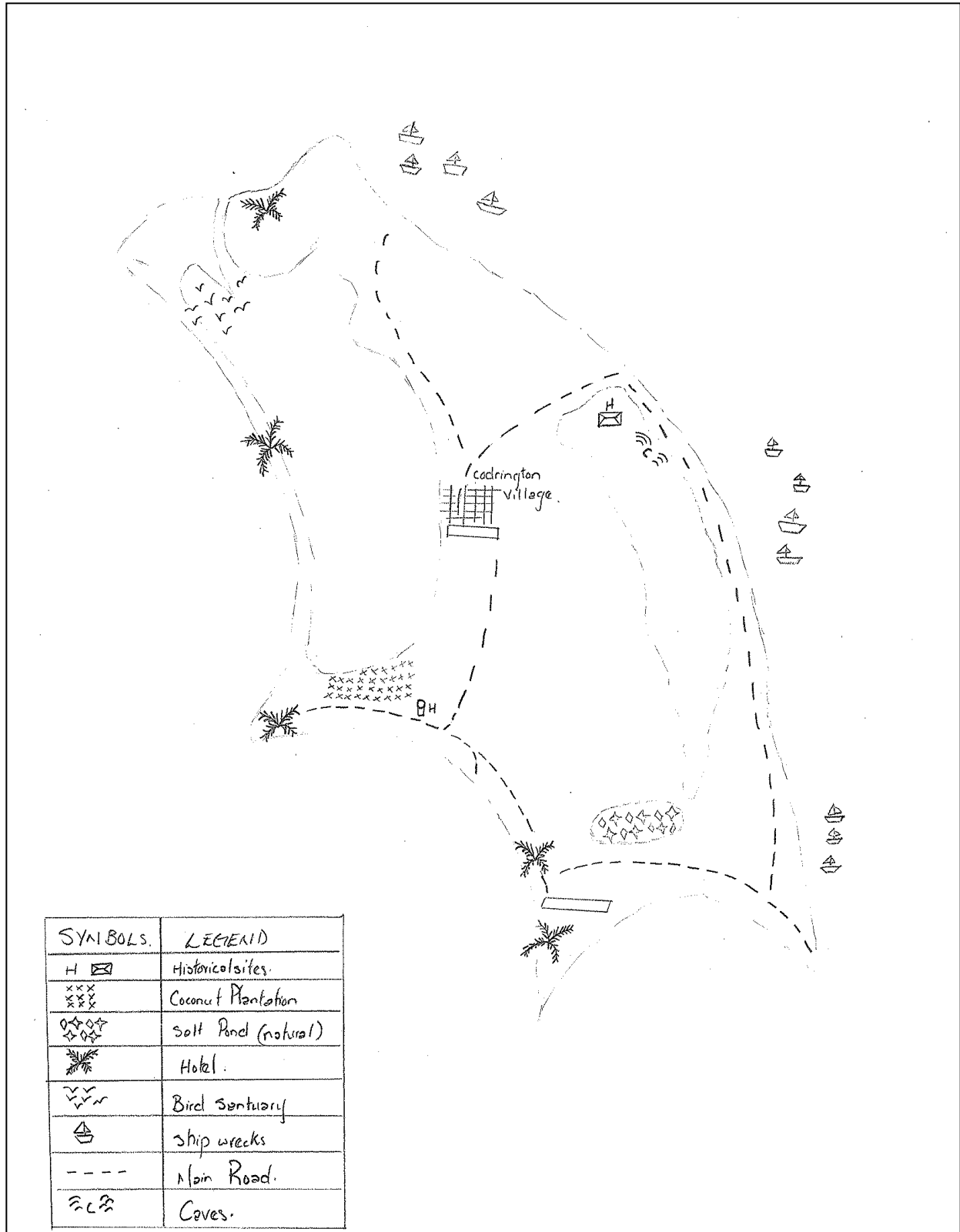


Figure 4.9 Mental Map

## Migration

Mental mapping has the potential to serve as another useful methodology for migration scholars to further understand migrant's complex relationship to home.<sup>21</sup> This distinctly geographical method is largely absent from transnational migration research, with the exception of two researchers who employed the technique of thematic drawings in order to understand children's migration experiences due to the effects of HIV/AIDS in Lesotho and Malawi (Van Blerk and Ansell 2004). Mental mapping has great potential alongside other useful methodologies (see Rose 2003 and Tolia-Kelly 2004) that evoke home as a place of memory utilizing material culture and family photographs (Blunt and Dowling 2006: 212). The follow-up interviews based on mental maps were quite revealing in how Barbudans of varying migrant experience express knowledge of and connection to their island home.

Forty-five-year-old Melanie, born in another part of the Caribbean, recently moved to Barbuda for the first time. She recounted memories of drawing water at the Village Well when she would visit the island as a child. The Village Well is symbolic of her Barbudan childhood, a memory she is trying to impart on her American-born grandson.

Melanie: When I came I was small. I used to visit Barbuda with my father and we would stay at my Grandma's house. So that for me is where it started in Barbuda. The Village Well is right around the corner from my Grandma's house, and that's where we would fetch water. We didn't have running water. We didn't have the piped water. We had to go to the well for the water supply for the house. [Where I'm from] there's not a water problem. I never knew what a well was, and the only time I would have to go to the well was when I would come to Barbuda. So it was fun for me even though I was doing something that was necessary. For me it was fun.

Amy: And you said you have a picture of your grandson in front of the well?

Melanie: Yes. Yes. Yes. And my grandson now is two. So now I'm having his picture when he is two on this well that I used to go to when I was seven or eight years old. So I think that's pretty cool.

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<sup>21</sup> Alison Blunt and Robyn Dowling in their book *Home* use a feminist/critical geography approach in defining home as both a place/site as well as feelings/cultural meanings and the relationship between the two (2006: 3).

Another Barbudan woman Abigail living in Canada used her map to showcase places she would go when visiting the island in her 20s. She included Sunsetview Resort, Timbuk, and The Lime nightclub.

I came at the age of 21. That's where I went to party. I went to dance. There was a bar there. I could have any drink I wanted at the time. They made it. Wow. This is nice. I thought. This is Barbuda. Is this what Barbuda is going toward?

Now in her 40s, she is disappointed with the lack of evening entertainment options Barbuda provides during the weekday. This excerpt is a reminder of unfulfilled expectations migrants often have for their native home because of enhanced opportunities from a life abroad.

That's another thing that we're upset about when we come here. Nothing is open. This is the problem. They should have these things every day. In Toronto, if you want to go to a bar, it's open. Still, when we come here we're expecting that.

The map exercise reminded 62-year-old Fiona, who lived abroad for 30 years how a non-Barbudan man called her "Barbudaness" into question while she was living in the U.S. Virgin Islands because she was not familiar with the place known locally as "Willy Bob" (Fig. 4.10).

Fiona: He stayed at a place named Willy Bob. I said Willy Bob? I don't know any place in Barbuda named Willy Bob. And you know what he told me? 'If you don't know Willy Bob, you're not from Barbuda' [Laughs]. And now that was embarrassing.

Amy: This man said this to you?

Fiona: This white man said, 'That if you don't know Willy Bob you are not from Barbuda.' So I wrote home, we didn't have telephones then. So I wrote home and asked my brother, where's Willy Bob? He said, 'The Highlands.' I said, 'Oooh I know Two Foot Bay but I never know Willy Bob. That actually I never been there.' And when I came home that year I took the journey to see this place called Willy Bob, which is up in the Highlands, this area.

Another Barbudan woman Roselyn encountered a similar experience while living in England. She recounted in her follow-up interview hearing about Two Foot Bay from her brother and visiting the area for the first time on her return visit to the island. She moved to England at the



**Figure 4.10 Codrington House ruins atop the Highlands, also known as “Willy Bob”**

age of 10.

When I was a child I didn't know about Two Foot Bay. It's sort of when I came back actually when I was visiting here my late brother promised to take me to Two Foot Bay. He always used to talk about Two Foot Bay, and he says when you come to Barbuda I would definitely have to take you to Two Foot Bay. So I always wanted to take this trip. And I'm telling you my first impression was 'Wow!' Why I was so impressed I actually went in the cave itself and climbed to the very top, was like wow. That made my day. That was great. I was very impressed. .... That area, that Two Foot Bay area, that's where I take my children, my students, my students on field trips, we go to look for shells, sand, and all the different things on the beach. We always enjoy that when we go. Go for a walk on the beach.

Castle Hill was also a place to visit on a return trip to the island for one Barbudan man in his sixties. Waldon left Barbuda at 19 and lived abroad for 37 years. During a return visit to the island in the 1980s, his family camped out at Castle Hill. Even though he has since retired to Barbuda, he has never returned to that location, yet pictures in a photo album serve as a reminder of this place.

Because you know ever since we were growing up those were the places we know of. I didn't used to go there. You know. We have a place here in Barbuda called Castle Hill.

Well a lot of these people go and they camp out. Even at my age, I've only been to Castle Hill once. This was when I came down here on vacation in 1984 and it was myself and my two brothers that came down and then the brother you had an interview with, he brought his two little daughters with him at the time. So those times I remember of Castle Hill it was a very nice place. I have some pictures still from when I was there. There in an album at the house. This little baby brought it out to me on Sunday on Father's day when they came up to see me and she brought out the albums and showing me and I'm looking at the pictures.

June, a 65-year-old Barbudan woman used her map as an opportunity to reflect on a place she would often imagine while living in the United States for 23 years.

When I got to River, when I was in the State sometimes I get stressed out, I say, 'Oh, if I was home. Oh, be in this water.' . . . always think about River. Yeah. I come here you can get down River anytime. You can't get down to Low Bay anytime because we don't have no transportation. But down here we get our transportation and go down there. That's why I like it.

Transportation can often be problematic for Barbudans who live abroad and return for a short visit and want to explore home. The island has undergone a mobility transformation from a population largely accustomed to pedestrian transportation to one now centered on the automobile, which has enabled Barbudans to build beyond the confines of the village. The mental mapping exercise prompted an extended conversation about transportation with a 30-year-old, first-generation Canadian-born Barbudan visiting from Toronto.

Lauren: I've never been to the Frigate Bird. Have you?

Amy: Twice.

Lauren: You see my parents take these things for granted because we don't have a vehicle. So without a vehicle it's kind of hard getting around. I always seem to come when everyone's working. Before I was younger it seemed like no one had a job. [Laughs]. And now everyone has a job. No one has time to take you out. I can't fill this map in for you. I just don't know anything.

Amy: And that's OK.

Lauren: I don't know the landscape. This is Codrington that's it. . . .I've never gone to the caves. Never been to Martello Tower. I guess Barbudans just take all these things for granted. They don't tend to take you around.

Another Barbudan named Waldon also revealed the limitations of knowing his island home. “*I can’t tell you about anything within* but around the island it’s nice to have. I’m glad we have those kinds of areas that way we can visit.” (2009, italics mine).

A number of Barbudans with a variation of migration experiences noted in a multiplicity of ways the naturalness of the island in their semi-structured interviews. The mental mapping exercise was no exception. Arthur, an 83 year-old Barbudan who lived abroad for 22 years told me, “I love this little island of Barbuda because I travel to New York, I travel to Canada all what I see is man made things. What I see here is a real natural things that man haven’t made or do anything to it” (2009).

It was this love of nature that has retained Peter, a Barbudan, who spent up until his early adult life in Antigua, on the sister island. In his follow-up interview for his map Peter compared Antigua to Barbuda and reflected on the differences of engaging with the natural environment on the two islands.

I was born in Antigua. . . .Times when you have a little frustration and so forth you want to go take a walk in the woods and you know kind of calm you down . . . . I’m not going to say Antigua didn’t have these things to offer but the problem is they are too far you understand they are too far to go to you have to take a bus. Antigua was developed you know what I mean. So you know just have to take a bus it’s costly and you have to pass like four other village before you reach that destination. Here now you don’t have do that. You have the village and you have the woods and the Highland Area.

Peter continued:

This line is representative of hiking and hunting (See Fig. 4.11). That area is where now as I tell you if sometime you get a little upset and things are little hard instead of you getting yourself frustrated and go smoke, do drugs and drink a lot really to get things off your mind. You can still go and do a little walking in the afternoon just to vent your frustration. Walk and do your hiking up in the Highland Areas and you know what I mean you get a feel of nature. You get to see the trees and you walk a little water you drink. You just walk around in the woods and you see goats, you see wild boars, you see a deer. You see cows and so forth, you know. If you are a lover of nature and birds and so forth just nature itself speaks to you. And it just kind of keep you calm. You understand? They say music sooth the calmness of the beast. Sometimes you just need to have a little

nature. It all depends what kind of person you are. If you are a lover of nature. I'm a lover of nature. And I love it you understand I love that part of it so I will take a hike in the afternoon. If it weren't for that I would not be a better person today either.

Fiona, who lived abroad for 30 years, is organizing a "Barbuda Reunion" in 2012 with school children and church groups. She wants to hike around the island starting somewhere between Billy Point and North Beach. "It should take us a week," she said. When I asked her what her inspiration was for planning such a venture she told me, "Barbuda is so small that we need to get to know Barbuda. Get to know the points. For instance, you hear about Two Foot Bay. It's a mystery. Especially the Highlands area and the caves. I've never been to any of the caves. I'm not that adventurous but my sister has been in some of the caves" (2010).

Mental mapping as a methodology is useful for scholars conducting migration research as it can further aid in our understanding of migrant's relationship to "home." The follow-up interviews reveal that "home" is not just an idea but again very much rooted in place and experience. This is highlighted most poignantly through the contrast in interviews with Lauren, when she describes Barbuda as home in a semi-structured interview.

Knowing that I'll retire here. Knowing that my parents have this home . . . so when they go it's just [my sister] and I, and little one [my niece] doesn't understand. . . . But it's important she knows she has somewhere to come to when it gets crazy. There's security. There's home. As long as people get to know her and understand who she is she has a home. That's always been the draw. Getting to know. I'm one generation removed. That's it. It's important come home. . . . You really got to stay connected. (2009)

Yet it is through the mental mapping exercise we find out that "home" can at times be frustrating because of a general lack of mobility and actual personal experience with Barbudan places.

Mental mapping provides the opportunity to get past abstract conceptualizations of home and is a way to address a variety of questions raised by scholars as highlighted in Blunt and Dowling's volume on *Home* (2006: 197): 1) When does a location *become* home? What is the difference



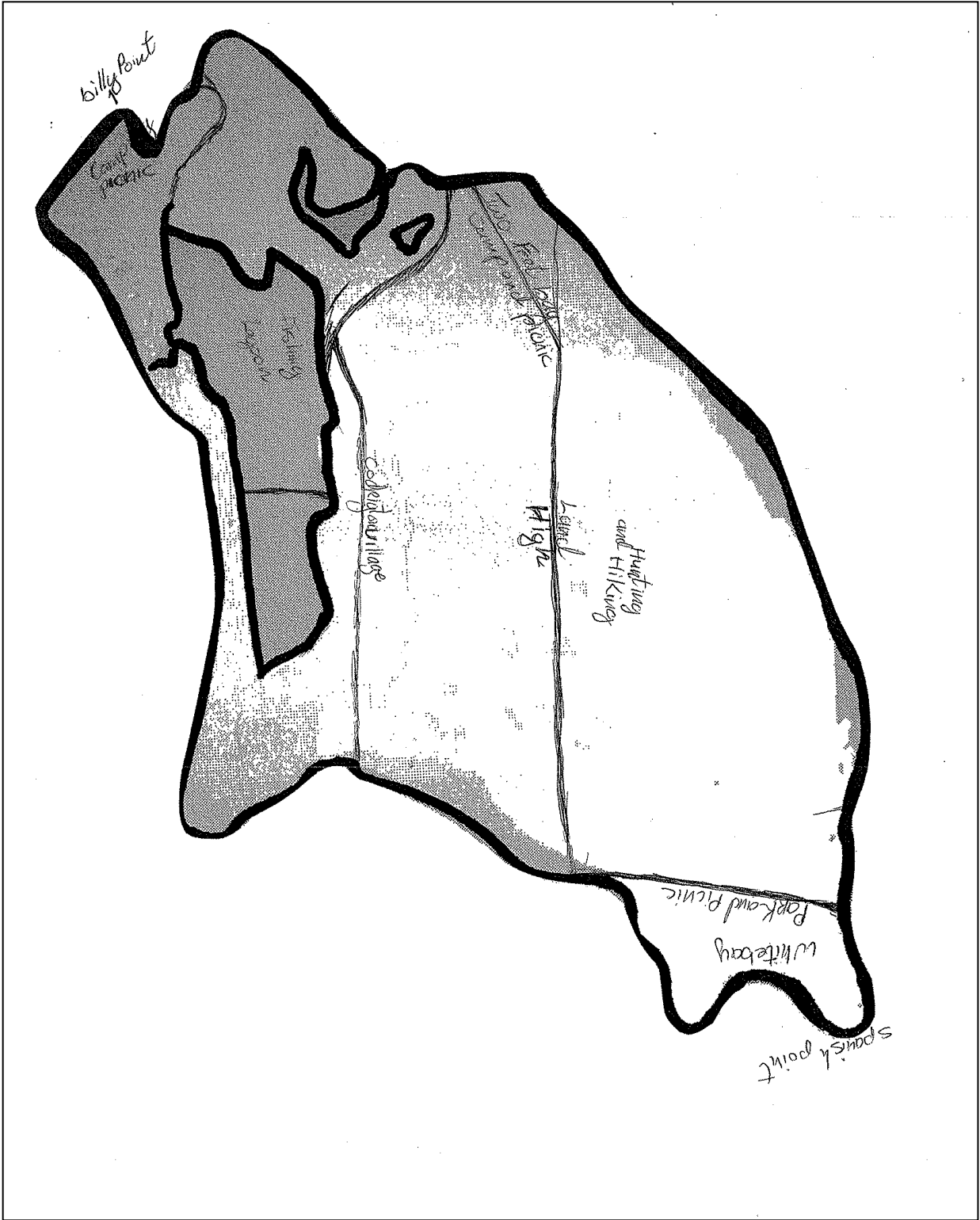


Figure 4.11 Mental Map

between "feeling at home" and staking claim to a place as one's own?' (Brah 1996: 193) 2) 'What does it mean to be at home? How does it affect home and being-at-home when one leaves home?' (Ahmed 2000: 77).

### Fishing

Barbudan researchers in their effort to highlight Barbuda's land tenure system of common property have overwhelmingly (with the exception of Riva Berleant Schiller 1984 and Barbudan marine-biologist John Mussington) neglected Barbuda's other commons, the lagoon and surrounding ocean waters.

One 81-year old Barbudan reminded me during our interview, "We lived from the land and the sea. That's how my great-grandparents lived, by the land and the sea. We had ground time we have to go to the ground, cultivate the ground for our ground provisions and then go to the sea for our fish and hunt for our meat, deer, wild pigs. Yeah" (2009).

Follow-up interviews from the mapping exercise reveal the unpleasant effects of overfishing and the depletion of resources in the Barbudan water commons. The lagoon, in the collective memory of Barbudans, is described in the past as overflowing with lobster but now lobster divers must push further out into the ocean for catch. Overfishing has ultimately led to restrictions on lagoon fishing as noted by one Barbudan on his map.

Amy: What is this line right here? (See Fig. 4.8)

Peter: Basically I was just drawing the area where we had as the park rangers a No Take Zone.

Amy: No Take Zone?

Peter: Where we trying to preserve. So this area is now a No Take Zone. We are preserving that area over here so we can have more fish, more lobsters, right. So far they are not respecting it but I am respecting it and I am fishing outside this area in the night. I only fishing when I'm in need of fish for my home. . . . You can fish in that whole vast body out there. . . at the same time this portion we are going to restrict just to build up our food source. We depend on the fish and lobster to sell and plus we use the fish and the lobster to eat. And if we come into a hard time where things become scarce we have to have something we can turn back to.

While the water commons is largely outside the scope of this dissertation, further research would reveal the impending “tragedy” of its overuse (Hardin 1968).

### **Indigenous and Codrington Era**

Barbudans, when talking about historical places, tended to emphasize in their follow-up interviews landmarks associated with the indigenous peoples of the Caribbean. In eleven separate instances, Barbudans mentioned the former indigenous occupants on the island. The indigenous history of the island of Barbuda is believed to date to 400-500 C.E. where Amerindians lived at Sufferers, near Spanish Point (Nicholson 1991). To date, archaeologists (Watters 1980) have identified 19 indigenous sites on Barbuda, the two largest are found near Two Foot Bay (Fig. 4.12). By 1200 C.E., those indigenous peoples moved westward toward the Virgin Islands. The Caribs would then occasionally come from Dominica to seek marine resources as evidenced by the remains of conch shells at Spanish Point (Nicholson 1991).



**Figure 4.12 Amerindian Petro glyphs in Indian Cave at Two Foot Bay**

In Barbudan's follow-up interviews, the Codrington family who leased the island for nearly 200 years (ca 1680-1870) was mentioned roughly nine times. Alongside specific references to the Codrington leasehold, Barbudans occasionally mentioned a more general European presence (both Spanish and British). Only one Barbudan connected the village name of Codrington to the former lessee holding family. The Codrington era has played a key role in the oral history of Barbudans and their communal land tenure, yet it was surprisingly absent overall from the interviews following the mapping exercises. Even the remnants of a more recent colonial past, formally concluding on November 1, 1981, with such structures as the warden's residence known as Government House only was mentioned in two interviews. The mapping exercise suggests an indigenous island history is now being emphasized alongside a colonial one (See Table 4.6 and 4.7).

The previous quotations illustrate a growing acknowledgment of indigenous history alongside the Codrington/Colonial era in the follow-up interviews based particularly on individual Barbudan's decisions to include The Highlands, Spanish Point, Two Foot Bay, and Martello Tower on their map of Barbuda. These four locations all have some tie to the period of Codrington family control<sup>22</sup> (Watters 1980). David Watters' archaeology of the island designated and identified ten historic sites (1980). "Most but not all are provisionally referable to the period of the Codrington leasehold (ca. 1680-1870) (Watters 1980: 125). These ten historic sites "include single structures, groups of structures, locations at which buildings are known to have existed in the past, and places where no structures are known to have occurred but where artifacts have been observed in some numbers" (Watters 1980: 125). Watters' archaeology, though lacking in discussion of indigenous sites, provides an important foundation for

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<sup>22</sup> There is some conflicting evidence as to whether a decaying structure known as Gun Shop Cliff located at Two Foot Bay is actually associated with the Codrington family or a structure constructed 20 years after their lease hold ended (Watters 1980).

**Table 4.6 Codrington/Colonial Period References**

*The Highlands/Highland House*

~Frank—“Where the **Codringtons** used to live.”

~Melanie—“It’s historical significance. You can’t think Barbuda without thinking the **Codringtons** of Highland House because of the historical significance.

~Brandon—“It was said that the owner of the Highland House, at that time **Mr. Codrington** he used to have the slaves signal the boats from the Eastern side of the island and when they come close and they damage theirself on the reef they would salvage the ship taking off its like ornaments whatever it has on it in terms of cargo and so forth and take it back to the Highland House. So it was like a means of sustainability for them by doing these things [laughs].

~Bob—“The Highlands you know like it’s the highest point on the island. There are some points on here where you probably have a panoramic view of some nice spectacular view. You can see there from the lagoon all the way to the east coast very beautiful. In fact the **Codringtons** had some house up there.”

~Marley—“**Codrington** Ruins. That’s the slave owners for Barbuda. The **Codringtons** from England they used to live up there and if you go up there you still see buildings. The most majestic view, Oh God it’s, you ever been there?

~Pat—“The Highland. Well that is where we learn about **Codrington**. That is where they have the Codrington House, that kind of stuff.”

~Peter—“Sometime I go up on Willy Bob where **Codrington** used to have his estate. That alone you know what I mean shows me that well **Codrington**, if **Codrington** have choose up there and everything up and down I said to myself well he was a visionary because in a sense he choose the best spot and if we have all these areas and we didn’t preserve them and so forth you know what I mean if we have preserved them we would have seen more history. You understand. Now the site is broken down. Maybe time, every time I travel up to Two Foot Bay Road I have to take a journey, detour and go up at Willy Bob. Because history was there and nobody is preserving it up to today. It’s the same old ruins and it’s going to deteriorate until it’s just gone.”

*Spanish Point*

~Frank—“Part of our history. Where the Spanish came in to avoid the British. The British used Martello Tower to spy on the Spanish.”

*Castle Hill/Bay*

~Chris—“There are some old ruins I think back in the colonial days, there’s some rest stops, ruins of those rest stops that were used by hunters in times past. I think **Codrington Days**. I’ve seen only one of those so far.”

Table 4.6 Continued

~Georgia—“Ships came in years ago and wrecked. Part of my family wrecked there. He is Wales. That’s how the name Thomas came in, it was my great grandfather. Two brothers married the two blackest persons in Barbuda . . . I have my father’s complexion. Our family went to prove we are from South Wales.”

*Codrington Village*

~Phillip—“**Codrington** was a slave master. This man that used to get every year for the land. . . . Compensation for land. For the purpose of the Queen. . . . Codrington see that this place really at that time it was about 8,000 slaves at the time around here right Barbuda was a breeding ground for slaves and he probably see something that beyond our imagination see something we’ll do that for the slaves. He probably love the slave. Probably treat them over the years do it for the slaves, do something good for the slaves. Give them the land. Right? Half the land, the land belongs to slaves. Compensation. Give them compensation. . . . The land is their compensation. That’s the reason why Codrington village remind me of the thing that made us unique from every other island in the world.”

*Martello Tower*

~Frank—“Part of our history. Where the Spanish came in to avoid the British. The British used Martello Tower to spy on the Spanish.”

~Waldon—“It’s a good landmark isn’t it. For the island of Barbuda. You know its been there for years. You know. And I think there’s one time I’ve gone somewhere to stop when ships were coming in you know because these places used to be raided. [Laughs]. Queens used to send their people out to steal. Which is a true thing.”

*Government House (Fig. 4.13)*

~Timothy—“Another landmark is of course the ruin at the Government House. And that used to be the official residence for the Warden at that time. It used to be very nice. Right in front used to have a nice little area used to have cocktails like on special occasions, Queen’s Birthday or empire day. Things like that. Empire Day used to be the 24<sup>th</sup> of May you know they have the saying, ‘Britain rule the waves, Britain never, never shall be slaves.’ At the 24<sup>th</sup> of May the school used to have a program where they would give a treat and could be bun, whatever it was to drink, biscuits, milk, whatever, and then in the evening they would have a dance, a special cocktail at the government house. This used to take place.”

~Marley—“Ah, the Government House. That used to house the Warden. And all the government officials from abroad will stay there and it was an opulent place. Oh God, you didn’t want to see that place in its days. I can remember as children you could not go in you had to jump and put in another on a back just to look in and see what you’re looking at. You didn’t want to see when it was opulent, really majestic you know. All these old furniture, real antique you know. And it burns my heart to see how the

**Table 4.6 Continued**

government allowed that place to be declined like that. And the yard was where they used to have this big pond, where the bird bath. They just put up a little trap to put sugar and feed the birds and so and so they used to have a lot of birds in that place and it was well kept just east of the post office and you had the guard. It had a guard, if you go there you can still see the lining in the wall.”

**Table 4.7 Indigenous References**

*The Highlands/Highland House*

~Phillip—“I went to the place where the cave at. While I was in the cave I saw the image of native Indians. Man these people must of have lived like New York. We go ghetto fabulous. People living like bush fabulous. You know what I’m saying. People like living like bush fabulous. They have the cave . . . Peaceful.”

~Brenda—Wrote in Highland House on her map. “It takes you way back. Caribs so on dwell there. Indians.”

~Christina—“I think Arawaks and Caribs watched from the hill to see the boats coming in. There are caves there as well.”

*Spanish Point*

~Andrew—“Spanish Point has a salt pan behind it. A big good-sized salt pond. There used to be a Carib/Arawak village there. The Spanish landed there. One of the ships went on a reef. It’s now classified as an environmentally protected area and an underwater protected area.”

~Chris—“There’s the area right below is called Sufferers. There’s Indian bones that have been found in the area so actually we are protecting a portion of that area for archaeological purposes.”

~Lauren—“This is the old village. This is where the Caribs lived. If you go up there, if you dig deep enough you can probably see remnants of the Indian village. They lived on this side. Freaking gorgeous. And I can totally see. And this probably one of the highest points. It’s like a cliff and you can see the Atlantic. Oh my gosh. I get chills.

*Two Foot Bay*

~Brandon—“It’s very important because it also shows the Natives that used to live here. For example, the Amerindians and the Arawaks that were here. It holds the home of these people that settled there a long time ago and within these caves you can see markings and carvings that symbolize that were here, the existence and the way of life that were. And one known cave is also known as the Indian Cave, which has quite a bit of

**Table 4.7 Continued**

markings and some rituals and some holy sanctuaries and so forth within it. So it's a very good historical site that gives a feedback from how it used to be back in those days again."

~Charlotte—"Where the Arawaks have lived."

~Christina—"It's a historical site. The Arawaks and Caribs drew themselves in the caves. I go every once and awhile. I've been there so many times now it's nothing."

~Dave—"Caves are our historical points. There's history behind it."

~Brenda—"Two Foot Bay Area has lots of caves. I've been hiking there a couple times in the caves. It's a historical site also. It's an area that can teach you about the Indians. You can learn a lot of history."

establishing places on the island that may have had some relation to the time period of the Codrington lease.

The discussion of the Highlands, for instance, is illustrative of this indigenous emphasis. Highland House was said "to have been a retreat or residence of the Codringtons" (Watters 1980: 135) and is designated on the new tourist map as "Highland House ruins." When I asked Brenda to expand on why she included Highland House on her map, she made no reference to the Codrington family. Instead she told me, "It takes you way back. Caribs so on dwell there. Indians." Christina could have also mentioned the decaying remains of Highland House atop the 125-foot Highland Plateau but instead imagined Arawaks and Caribs watching "from the hill to see the boats coming in." Another example came from Luke who labeled "Willy Bob" on his map. Barbudans told me "Willy Bob" is the local name for Highland House, yet again there is no mention of the Codrington family. When I asked him to expand on "Willy Bob" he instead said, "Caves are our historical points. There's history behind it." At Spanish Point there remains a structure that was used for defense, observation and storage, constructed during





**Figure 4.13 Government House**

the Codrington era, yet Andrew first references the Caribs/Arawaks and then proceeds to talk about broader European colonialism. Frank positions Spanish Point entirely in terms of a broader European history.

Another popular location on Barbudan mental maps was Castle Hill. While this location did not render descriptions of indigenous occupation in the broader dialogue surrounding its inclusion, there was only one mention of the Codrington time period. As indicated earlier in this chapter, Castle Hill is now most associated with recreational activities including camping, hunting and crabbing. According to Watters, Castle Hill “consists of one or more small stone buildings located near an outcrop on the windward coast of the main land mass of Barbuda” (1981: 130). A traveler’s account mentioned this site in 1852. “We came at length on the wild windward coast and arrived at Castle Hill House, a mere wattled cottage now used to pen wild sheep in. Close by is wooden hut, to shelter the watchman, who occasionally visits this look after evil-doers from Antigua in the shape of sheep stealers” (Day 1852: 294).

There is a growing literature acknowledging an indigenous resurgence in the Caribbean (Forte 2006; Hulme 1993; Maybury-Lewis 1997; Wilson 1997). As Peter Hulme writes, “One debilitating consequence of the way in which the native Caribbean has been locked into an ‘ethnographic present’ of 1492, divorced from five-hundred years of turbulent history, has been that the present native population has usually been ignored: some seemingly authoritative accounts of the region even appear written in ignorance of the very existence of such a population” (1993: 214). Maxmilian Forte writes that the “extinction myth” served four purposes: (1) The claim of impending extinction was used in antislavery campaigns focused on the tragic situations of Amerindians on Hispaniola. (2) The same argument was used to import African slaves. (3) This myth could create a self-indulgent illusion of imperial control and power. (4) It served a variety of national and class interests (Adapted from Forte 2006: 10-11). A number of studies have highlighted the growing interest in the indigenous Caribbean, including the survival of Taino cultural practices in Cuba and the Dominican Republic (Barreiro 2006 and Guitar et. al 2006) and the rise of indigenous organizations in the Caribbean (Palacio 2006). Studies have also shown how DNA testing has validated indigenous identity in the Caribbean, particularly citing that 62 percent of Puerto Ricans are of Taino descent (Veran 2003).

Perhaps one can think of Barbudan’s indigenous resurgence (Barreiro 2006), drawn out by the mental mapping exercise, as similar to those postcolonial struggles for a Pan-African identity as discussed by Frantz Fanon. He writes, “Directed by the secret hope of discovering beyond the misery of today, beyond self-contempt, resignation and abjuration, some very beautiful and splendid era whose existence rehabilitates both in regard to ourselves and in regard to other. Colonisation is not satisfied merely with holding a people in its grip and emptying the

native's brain of all form and content. By a kind of perverted logic, it turns to the past of oppressed people, and distorts, disfigures and destroys it" (Fanon 1963: 176). This is in line with Phillip's description of Barbuda's former indigenous inhabitants as "bush fabulous." Perhaps Caribbean peoples are turning to indigenous history as a way to get beyond the misery brought about by colonialism. Stuart Hall reminds us that

Cultural identity . . . is a matter of 'becoming' as well as of 'being'. It belongs to the future as much as the past. It is not something which already exists, transcending place, time, history, and culture. Cultural identities come from somewhere, have histories. But like everything which is historical they undergo constant transformation . . . Identities are the names we give to the different ways we are positioned by, and position ourselves within, the narratives of the past. (1993: 225)

The emerging indigenous cultural identity of the Caribbean could quite possibly be a reflection of the repressions of the past. The developing literature on the indigenous Caribbean garners some context and perhaps provides some answers as to why Barbudans generally references the island's former indigenous inhabitants alongside the Codrington period and subsequent colonial era.

### **Barbuda's Disappearing Cultural Practices**

With the gradual demise of cultivation, certain cultural traditions are also falling by the wayside. The mapping exercise provided the opportunity to discuss how Barbudans in the past made use of natural landmarks like the tamarind tree (See previously highlighted interview with Timothy). Not one Barbudan under the age of 40 mentioned nor included any of these markers on their map.

George: Now down that road we used to have two stones called John and Will.

Amy: Two stones?

George: Two stones, and they used to call John and Will. We used to always keep John and Will.

Amy: Why did they name them John and Will?

George: I have no idea. I grow up people calling them John and Will. And I used to like the idea of having them put a fence around them and save it because that's what the older

people how they walk along this road and when you reach John and Will you know how far you are to or from the Village. It's like a halfway mark.

Amy: Are they still there.

George: I believe so, but the place is probably grown up so with bush all around and stuff.

Two Barbudans also mentioned in their interview a place called Copse, known today as Palmetto, near the sand mining area. Carl describes how Barbudans would gather materials for broom making, house roofs, and bedding from the area. These resources are fast disappearing due to sand mining (Fig. 4.14 last remaining dune).

Carl: This section here Copse, this is extremely special to me and maybe to other people as well because it's the last remaining stands of vegetation and sand dune, which has not been mined out. If you want to get a picture of what this entire area used to look like when in its natural this is the last remaining section of it. It's not the best in terms of the height of the dunes and so forth. It's what it used to be untouched and this area where the palmetto palm grows naturally and that palmetto palm is associated with broom making. It's associated with the thatch roof. They used to take the material from it and the roofs. It's associated with the fish traps. That art of actually weaving fish traps, in terms of the mesh. Only one or two persons in Barbuda still have that ability. When they die that might die with them. This is something unique, which is tied to the lagoon and the whole question of catching fish for a family and feeding them and so on. It's all associated with that. So the raw materials that they would need going back to the original people's time, that is something that is linking that area.

Amy: And you're concerned it's going to disappear in terms of the sand mining.

Carl: Yes, the sand mining took out a lot of it. We're hoping as part of the national park to get it protected as a unique and special area in terms of providing an example of what the entire area used to be. In fact, there are several plants in there that we have not even identified. So that tells us that we've lost a lot of biodiversity in that area. (2009)

Despite their historic designation on the new tourist map of Barbuda, when creating their own map, Barbudans on the whole excluded the agriculture and livestock wells located outside the village, with the exception of five Barbudans over the age of 40. In addition to the wells located outside the village, five Barbudans 40 years of age and older, included either Castle Well or the Village Well (see also previous discussion on migration and mapping). When I asked Carl why he included the designation "wells/catching pen" he said:



**Figure 4.14 Barbuda's last remaining sand dune at Copse in May of 2009**

It's so much apart of the culture. Barbudan. In that as I told you my earliest memory of Barbuda is William Well, and that's associated with you having to go get water. It was a time when you used the opportunity to meet your friends and when you get up to mischief. It's a time when you meet the cattle and they would chase you and . . . going to the well is associated with so many other things that are unique to Barbudan culture.

It is not surprising that those under the age of 40 would not include these features on their map as the government introduced piped water in 1973. Berleant Schiller wrote in 1991, "Village Well was an important social center, which is now lost" (p. 100).

### **Conclusions**

Based on the method of mental mapping and the follow-up interviews, I can loosely draw the following conclusions. Though I want to be careful not to glorify the time period in which islanders attained their livelihood primarily from agriculture and livestock endeavors, follow-up interviews reveal that generally older Barbudans have more personal experiences with various locations on the island outside of the village of Codrington. In the follow-up interviews, discussions on the significance of place names on their map summon stories of fishing and cultivation. Younger Barbudans are more likely to include place names within the village and

those locations associated with tourism. If there is any similarity in place inclusion among older and younger Barbudans, it does not render a description of traditional uses such as fishing or cultivation but rather activities of leisure and enjoyment. As Barbuda's economy moves away from cultivation and livestock, Barbudans see their island for its touristic value, namely its beaches and resorts, rather than Barbudan's own intimate experiences with their place of birth. Yet Barbudans in their mapping exercises, reveal a strong desire to develop on Barbudan terms, small-scale, conscious of the natural environment, and to the benefit of the Barbudan people.

As I wrote in my introduction, cognitive mapping reveals individual differences concerning places of importance on the island. Barbudan's individual interests and occupations certainly shined through on individual maps. For instance, Natalie's job deals directly with tourism on the island. As expected, she included places of touristic value on her map. Cognitive maps also locate where Barbudan's basic activities take place, and helped me to understand Barbudan's changing spatial behavior. The maps and the follow-up interviews reveal younger Barbudan's knowledge of the island consists mainly of the village and their leisure time spent on the island's beaches. The long term question remains to be answered as to whether the gradual demise of activities that bring Barbudans face to face with their island will result in the demise of the common property regime all together. Finally, this chapter most importantly advocates the use of mental mapping in the study of communal land tenure change as well as migration research. The map, particularly for migration studies, is another useful tool to further articulate migrant's attitudes and connections to home.

## **Chapter Five: Barbuda's Transnational Spaces**

*I'm enjoying the best of the two worlds really. I go to the United States when I'm bored. I come back when I want peace of mind, so I don't mind having the best of both worlds (Benjamin 2007).*

Benjamin<sup>23</sup> could very well be the poster child for transnational migration. Born in Barbuda, he moved with his family to the island of Tortola in the British Virgin Islands (B.V.I.) when he was but a few months old. Though he grew up in Tortola, he spent his childhood traveling between the two islands with frequent stays at the home of his Barbudan grandparents. Benjamin finished high school in the B.V.I.'s and upon graduation moved to New York City where he went to college in Yonkers and worked for 28 years undertaking several jobs. Despite his lengthy stay in New York, Benjamin made frequent return visits to Barbuda selling American clothing and merchandise and for a few years he even owned The Lime, the Barbudan nightclub situated near the lagoon. In 2004, he left New York and moved back to Barbuda. He had grown tired of “feeling like a prisoner in his own home,” tired of having “four or five locks on his door” (2007). He wanted to return home to Barbuda where he would feel free. Though he has returned to the island, Benjamin still has retained three passports: British, U.S., and Antigua and Barbuda.

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<sup>23</sup> Pseudonym

Benjamin's story is quite exemplary of the proliferation of work devoted to transnational migration (See for example Blanc et al. 1995; Basch et al. 1994). This chapter seeks to both recognize and extend beyond the "Benjamins" of Barbuda to engage with those whose lives come into contact with its transnational spaces, while also pushing the bounds of migration research to include the interests of emotional geographies (Davidson et al. 2005; Boehm and Sank 2011; Faier 2011). In order to understand Barbuda's transnational spaces, this research draws upon ethnographic methods in multiple localities (Crang and Cook 2007, Hannerz 2003, Marcus 1998; Radway 1988). While I spent the majority of my time on the island conducting semi-structured interviews and partaking in participant-observation (Watson and Till 2010), I also found it necessary to conduct interviews in Antigua as well as the Bronx, New York. I digitally recorded nearly all interviews and transcribed them. In order to provide anonymity to Barbudans, I have assigned most interviewees pseudonyms.

### **Barbudan Migration Patterns**

Aspects of Barbudan migration patterns mirror that of other parts of the British Caribbean, especially over the last century. My oldest interviewee was born in 1919 in New York. His father a boat caulker and mother a domestic worker, returned to Barbuda shortly after the end of World War I when he was but four months old. His sister, born in Barbuda in 1933 recounted that following the war, times became very tough for her parents.

And some of them lost their savings. Go bankrupt and everything like that. And that's how it was. Thank God they come down and they build a home and we raised down there [Barbuda] and we know what a penny is. (2009)

World War II ushered in a new phase of migration for the Caribbean, wherein the United States, Britain and Canada sought to replace their now overseas workforce. Bonham C. Richardson writes, "In short, the war had opened a window on the world, at least the North



Atlantic world, which black West Indians now saw in a more familiar inviting, and accessible light” (1983:46). One Barbudan woman recalled:

It was a time after the Second World War ended ... England started to talk about they need workers, they need people to help them develop their country because England was badly damaged during the 1939-45 War. And I thought, oh maybe this would be a good opportunity for me to go and do something else, if not do something else, develop just my education. (2009)

In the early years to Britain, travel was by way of boat (many of them Italian ships), eventually replaced by the airplane (Gmelch 1992: 45). The following excerpt describes the journey by boat for one Barbudan woman (quoted previously) now in her 70s who migrated to England in her early 20s.

The name of the boat, it was an Italian boat, it was called Minerva or something like that. ....I went to Barbados and caught the boat there in Barbados, spent five days in Barbados because that was the way to go. I think the cheapest way also. But I didn't mind going on the boat, going between Antigua and Barbuda it was by boat. You know, so that was something that I was used to, boat rides. But not a big boat like that. I enjoyed the trip but I was seasick for two days. But I enjoyed it. I was in a cabin with three other girls, three other ladies and I had some good times. We stopped um in the Canary Islands, two places in the Canary Islands, I remember we stopped in. We stopped at Madeira and also we landed at Genoa in Italy, because it was an Italian boat. We took the train from Genoa to Folkstone. We came by train so it was a journey. It took about 15 days. So coming to England, when I arrived in England oh I was very disappointed because England, it was a September morning, although it wasn't very cold, it was like smoke coming out of everybody's houses and I couldn't understand what it was because Barbuda is bright most of the time, sun is shining ... .And it wasn't any smoke it was just a fog. It was so damp that your nose, you felt as if your nose wasn't part of you. And it was dripping all the time. Oh it was horrible. I wanted to come back. I just, the first night I couldn't sleep. I was so cold. I was so cold....When I complained how cold I was well my cousin said, 'You wait until winter comes.' I said, 'I'm not going to stay here. I'm going to go back.' But as time went on you got used to it. I was there for a purpose. (2009)

West Indians destined for Britain settled in the Midlands of Leicester, Birmingham, Manchester, Derby, Nottingham, and Liverpool (Gmelch 1992). Barbudans, however, primarily settled in Leicester, where they are still concentrated today. An interview with a 51-year-old British-born Barbudan in 2010, reminds us of this fact.

I call it a Little Barbuda. Because when I go, you're in the market and you're somewhere downtown you see someone who is from Barbuda and they tend to cluster in that same area. It's not like they're far apart. You have more of a concentration. So I would say maybe even a number, I would say maybe it has to be a good 800 to 1,000. (2010)

The British government took notice of the increasing number of emigrants from the West Indies and in 1962 it sought to restrict Commonwealth Immigration to Britain.<sup>24</sup> “West Indian migration to the ‘home country’ had been unrestricted during the 1950s, and in 1962 it peaked at more than 50,000....The almost complete shutdown of this important population safety valve have had dire consequences for Caribbean nations on the eve of independence” (Kasinitz 1992:26). One Barbudan I interviewed described how he entered Britain when the doors were but “half open.”

We had boats coming to Antigua. Britain had sort of opened the way for the colonies to go to Britain to help rebuild Britain after the war. They short, labor shortage. I guess money was there to rebuild the country. And so they opened the way. I went in 1963 when the doors practically half open. The door wide open before. (2008)

During the time period when Britain began closing its doors to immigration, Canada and the United States eased restrictions, shifting the momentum of migration toward North America.<sup>25</sup> In 1962, Canada passed the Commonwealth Immigrants Act. A few years later, the United States modified its Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, which originally placed a quota of 100 immigrants from each West Indian Territory. The new Hart-Cellar Immigration Reform Act in 1965 now allowed 120,000 immigration Visas to West Indian and Latin American peoples, with no individual quotas per count.

U.S. recruiters traveled to the Caribbean in search of laborers interested in short-term contractual work in agricultural fields. Sir Eric Burton was one such recruited worker. He

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<sup>24</sup> The Commonwealth Immigrants Act of 1962 sought to shut off emigration to Britain. Bonham C. Richardson estimates total Caribbean migration between 1951 and 1961 to be anywhere from 230,000 to 280,000 people (1983: 23).

<sup>25</sup> One-hundred-thousand British West Indians went to Canada while 200,000 entered the U.S. legally between 1950 and 1972 (Richardson 1983: 23).

recounts his experience in the United States in the early part of the 1950s as an agricultural contract worker traveling through the Jim Crow South during the winter months.

During the summer we work up state, Wisconsin and we work in Michigan and Ohio. Well when I was going back up in May only four of us were going up as colored and the bus was so hot because as you know the Greyhound the engine in back and everything's hot. So when they sent the bus I took the first seat there and when I noticed where the white folks were was full, where the black man was they want my seat. And one guy said, 'Hey nigger get in the back.' I said, 'Who the hell you talking to?' Like that you know. He said, 'There's a seat back there.' You couldn't tell me do something like that in the Caribbean. . . . I said, 'There's a seat back there. You can go back there.' And everybody start to look around you know. To be honest I had a semi-automatic gun in my pocket . . . that was Selma, Alabama and he go right up to Tennessee and Kentucky. He never sit because where the white people were there was full. And there were seats in the back and everybody looking at me. I remember this colored lady from the United States came to me and said, 'Where you from?' I said, 'I'm from the Caribbean.' She said we need some people like you here in the States. I said, 'Well they couldn't do that stuff in the Caribbean you know? We don't suffer that kind of crap.' So when I noticed Rosa Park a couple years after . . . I laugh and say look at that? No publicity about it, you know. But I refused. I wouldn't get off my seat. I tell the guy get back in the back if you want but then it was remembered with Rosa Park. I think it was 1955 or something like that when she refused to give up her seat . . . . We actually West Indian refused too in 1952, refused to sit in the back. (2007)

Burton's encounter with racism in the United States is not uncommon during that era. Racism is often mentioned in interviews with Barbudans who have lived in the United States and even the United Kingdom in more recent years.

Those that arrived on a more permanent basis settled in large cities such as New York City and Toronto. Though Barbudan migration is dominated by three major Global North centers, New York City, Toronto, and Leicester, the land applications discussed in chapter three suggests that internal regional centers like the Virgin Islands and Antigua are also important places of migration (Allen 2006; Simonian and da Silva Ferreira 2006; Theije 2006; Samaroo 2006). Bonham C. Richardson also notes that tourism created a boom in migration, particularly

to the United States Virgin Islands (U.S.V.I.),<sup>26</sup> where there was a proliferation of construction jobs. He notes that other migrants found jobs as maids, taxi-drivers, tour guides, and domestic workers and in St. Croix, the former Hess Oil Refinery served as a major employer (Richardson 1983: 23). One Barbudan woman, now in her early 60s, who migrated to the U.S.V.I.'s in her late teens, recounts how one incident on September 6, 1972, known as the Fountain Valley Massacre, changed everything for migrants living in St. Croix.

Well in the beginning when I first went to St. Croix I didn't need an American Visa. Strange, it's an American territory but I was able to buy a ticket on the plane, go into the country, given time to find a job, and I got a sponsor to sponsor me with a work permit, and I was able to work there four years. Then after, things changed after there was a murder on a golf course. [Fountain] Valley Golf Course, seven or eight people were killed. Fingers were pointed at people who are called aliens. So they started to treat us differently. So things like that I worried about the change. People were just hunted down and being deported. People were denied rights and everything. If you had a work permit and you should lose your work permit today and within a few days you don't find another one they just deport you, send you home. Wouldn't give you time to look for a job. Even people who had been there for 20 years. Things got very difficult after that incident on that golf course. So I said I think the best thing is to get naturalized. Because even the green card I really can be threatened. So I decided to, I got naturalized. (2010)

Barbudans have also settled in Antigua because of its long-standing association with the island. One Antiguan-born Barbudan now in his fifties recalled how Barbudan boats would pull up adjacent to his waterfront neighborhood called Point Area.

It was a common thing when you come up they drop you off in Point and everybody have somebody in Point where they could stay by and just so the migration taking place. I think one of the places in Antigua where you would find the most Barbudans living that just come over in Point. As a result of that I guess like areas Upper Fort Road, Yorks, and Villa Area you find a lot of Barbudans migrate into those areas, more urban. So after they migrated they come over and stay in Point for a while. Eventually you started work, you started to develop for yourself eventually build a house. You find a piece of land in Upper Fort Road, and you build a house. These communities, you find a lot of Barbudans who live in Antigua for long enough to build a house in one of these areas.

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<sup>26</sup> "In 1975, semiofficial population estimates on the Virgin Islands put the number of West Indian 'aliens' at 10,000, the majority from the Leeward Islands of Antigua, St. Kitts, Nevis and Anguilla" (Richardson 1983: 23).

Interviews with Barbudans also reveal a complex web of migration that extends beyond Antigua. At least five Barbudans I interviewed migrated to Leicester and then after some years migrated again to New York or even Toronto. Barbudans in the United States will often move out from the traditional core of New York, some going to Atlanta or even the Miami area. Others will start with a regional Caribbean migration and then move on to the mainland of the U.S (See Fig. 3.1). One Barbudan family living in England decided to move to Canada to give their daughter better opportunities for education. The following excerpt illustrates the often-failed efforts of the Canadian government to settle incoming migrants in less populated areas of the country to ease pressures on major cities such as Toronto.

It was structured in a way that I would only get to say the age of 16 then right after you finish how you say high school and then right after that you would find a trade. Now, at that time he [my dad] wanted me to continue on to higher education. That was I think the main reason was because of the educational system. And then at that point at that time Canada decided to open its doors of immigration. Elliot Trudeau was the Prime Minister at the time, and the wave was opened again for immigrants to come in. People that were associated with England, it was easier to get in. So it was an easier process just to get in. From what I remember we were told we were to move to Muskoka. Now Muskoka, when I see Muskoka now that's north, that's way north of, we're in Ontario, that's way, way north. Up to now. So what the heck would my parents be doing in Muskoka? They would have to be farmers or something stupid like that. But my dad decided to still just venture to Toronto because that's where his cousin lived. And then his sister who lives here she went directly to Canada. So she lived there. His sister said, 'Come to Toronto cause this is where it's at. This is where everything is and you come here.' So my dad came first to get an apartment to get settled, get a job. Three weeks later we flew to Canada, and that's where life began. (2009)

In the United States, Atlanta and Florida are increasingly becoming attractive places to settle (See Fig. 3.1). Some of the traditional centers are also losing their appeal, as Barbudans are fed up with life there, choosing instead to return to their island home (Potter et al. 2005; Conway and Potter 2009). One woman in her forties explained why she returned to Barbuda from New York:

I basically had enough. I had a daughter, well I have a daughter. She was seven. She used to go to school in Yonkers, and around that time there was a shoot-out. They went into school and shot up the school, and that was a reality. I can't take this crap no more. It's

time for me to get out. Other little things add up to that. I had enough basically. I couldn't take it I said I need to see my daughter grow up, and I think the safest place is to come back home. (2007)

Another British-Barbudan woman grew increasingly annoyed with the surveillance cameras in the U.K.

I feel as if my privacy has been invaded because the cameras everywhere, police are everywhere. . . . I feel as if I'm claustrophobic there. Everywhere I move, everywhere I go, somebody's watching me. The British believe that it's a good thing but it's a good thing for who? For them? What about the people that have to endure in this everyday. I know there's health and safety issues, yes, but we have police on the street. What are we doing making their jobs easier. Because they ain't policing shit. And if they are policing shit, it's racist shit. (2009)

Again, as in the United States, this Barbudan woman is fed up with what she perceived to be racism on the part of the police and the surveillance of U.K. streets.

### **Transnational Spaces**

Instead of limiting this study to those “Benjamins” of Barbuda, transnational migrants who engage regularly with two or more worlds, this chapter seeks to explore what happens when those worlds collide in unexpected ways to create transnational spaces and flows. Rather than focus on transnational migration alone, which can be quite limiting (see for example Waldinger 2009), this chapter finds the framework and notion of social field or more importantly space<sup>27</sup> a much more productive approach. As Roger Waldinger writes, “transnationalism is a rare condition of being and transmigrants an uncommon class of persons” (Waldinger 2009: 40).

Transnationalism is defined as

A process by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement. We call these processes transnationalism to emphasize that many immigrants today build social fields that cross geographic, cultural, and political borders. (Basch et al. 1994:7)

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<sup>27</sup> A transnational social field explores “the web of connections between distant places,” typically focusing on a “particular (ethnically defined) transnational” community. A transnational space includes those who do not migrate as well as the influences of those not apart of that particular (ethnically defined) transnational community (Jackson et al. 2004: 13).

Transmigrants are then those “migrants whose lived experiences transcend the boundaries of nation states,” maintaining familial, economic, social, organizational, religious, and political relationships (Blanc et al. 1995: 684; Basch et al. 1994: 7) across international lines and borders. Alejandro Portes, Luis E. Guarnizo and Patricia Landolt argue three elements are critical for transnationalism to occur: regularity, routine involvement and critical mass. “While these activities of immigrants and refugees across national borders reinforced bonds between the respective communities, they lacked the elements of *regularity, routine involvement, and critical mass* characterizing contemporary examples of transnationalism” (Portes et al. 1995: 225, italics mine).

Michael Peter Smith and Luis Eduardo Guarnizo in their discussion of transnational flows write:

Transnational flows are not limited to transmigrants bodily and geographic mobility. They also include multiple exchanges of monetary and non-monetary resources, material and symbolic objects, commodities and cultural values. Even in the highly unlikely event that every new immigrant became ‘settled’ and severed all her or his connections with their country of origin, a continuous flow of new arrivals and material good may produce a transnational social field. (Smith and Guarnizo 2002: 19)

While Peter Jackson, Philip Crang and Claire Dwyer are critical of Smith and Guarnizo’s “Above” and “Below” binary approach, they do find aspects of the social field useful to expand the scope of transnational migration. Jackson and others advocate for a refocus on the spaces of transnationalism rather than transnational communities themselves. “Rather than taking space as a passive backdrop to transnational social relations, we argue that space is *constitutive of transnationality* in all its different forms” (2004:1). This opens the possibility to explore the “multiplicity of transnational experiences and relationships” (2004: 3).

Roger Rouse discusses the spatial complexity of what he calls a “transnational migrant circuit.” He describes the social space of postmodernism as “the continuous circulation of people, money goods, and information.” That in fact, “the various settlements have become so closely woven together that, in an important sense, they have come to constitute a single community spread across a variety of sites” (Rouse 1994: 45).

Geographer Carmen Voigt-Graf defines transnational space as

the sum of the nodes and flows between them. The emphasis is on the fact that it is shaped by social activities and in turn shapes them. The transnational space as a whole comprises different sub-spaces defined by the sphere of transnational activities with a focus on economic and cultural spaces. (2004: 29)

Taking into account the complexity of a transnational space or flow, this chapter emphasizes George Marcus’ approach that highlights people (especially migrants); the thing (commodities, gift, money, works of art, and intellectual property), the metaphor (including signs and symbols or images), plot, story or allegory (narratives of everyday experience or memory); the life or biography (of exemplary individuals); or the conflict (Jackson et al. 2004: 10; Marcus 1995). Alongside these characteristics that serve to create a complex transnational space, I also advocated for a “rediscovery of the senses” (Lorimer 2005: 86), to put emotion back into our understanding of transnational spaces. Emotions are critical to our understanding of how migrants experience space and place and I seek to highlight emotion as it came forth during the semi-structured interviews (Jackson et al. 2004; Davidson et al. 2005; Thrift 2008; Boehm and Swank 2011; Faier 2011). While other aspects of Barbuda’s transnational spaces have been accounted for in earlier chapters (see for example the discussions of Barbudan migrant’s relationship to the land and transnational activism) this chapter expands the scope of discussion by giving further consideration to experiential and emotional dimensions of transnational space.



### Remittances

Important aspects of Barbuda's transnational spaces are economic in nature, particularly monetary transfers in the form of remittances from abroad. Of particular use to understanding the transnational nature of the island is a simple household census conducted by anthropologist Riva Berleant-Schiller in 1971, in which she surveyed 103 households, which at the time covered about half of the island population. In this census, she asked the households to indicate whether they received some form of cash support from abroad: which includes categories such as cash from a pension or Social Security, occasional gifts from abroad, money that comes into the household from a family member who does seasonal migrant labor or remittances sent by absent relatives or household members (Table 5.1). According to the census, more than half of the households she sampled received some form of support from abroad. This data provides us with a historical understanding of the transnational nature of the island of Barbuda and the variety of connections and spaces maintained through monetary exchange.

### Immobility

In her chapter calling for a particular research agenda for transnational migration Sarah J. Mahler writes, "Studies of transnationalism need to address whether bodily mobility is the exception or the rule for different groups of transmigrants" (2002: 79). Transnational migration research above all privileges, capital, mobility, and health. I too, want to further engage with bodily mobility as researchers are forced to consider those migrants that are bound to one side of a transnational social field because of various factors of immobility, whether health, familial obligations or other reasons. This section particularly focuses on the story of two elderly Barbudans I interviewed in New York City in 2009. The following excerpt is from a 90-year-old man living in the Bronx.

**Table 5.1 Berleant-Schiller Census, 1971**

<b>Household Type</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>Total</b>
Type 1	Totally dependent on cash received from abroad	
1a	Cash in form of remittances sent by absent relatives or household members	7
1b	Cash in form of pension or Social Security	6
Type 2	Partially dependent on cash received from abroad	
2a	Household member migrates seasonally	3
2b	Relative or household member abroad contributes regularly	33
3	Occasional gifts or supplements from abroad	16
4	No cash support from abroad	41

Dan: Yeah. I invest myself in America.

Amy: Why?

Dan: Because there is no other place for me to go. I stay, I raise my children. I got two boys. They have their own homes up in Mt. Vernon. . . . I lost my wife about five years ago now. I've been living by myself.

Amy: Why not go back to Barbuda?

Dan: I'm under doctor's care. I can't stay away for maybe two weeks, a month. I got to take treatment.

Amy: So if that were not the case, you'd be there?

Dan: I thought I was going back there to stay. That's why I fixed my father's house. But I had to take serious operation; so that's where I am. . . . I write letters. I call. (2009)

Dan visits Barbuda as often as possible but is limited in the time he can spend there because of medical problems. Another Barbudan woman living in the Bronx feels bound to her New York home since the passing of her husband.

Amy: You told me earlier that your husband's passing has made it harder for you to go back?

Mary: Yeah because winters are harder for me to go back because this is my home. I can't just leave me home there and close it up and don't have nobody to take care of it. You see what I mean. When I used to go, my next-door neighbor here look after it and snow and troubles and everything. He passed away too. 81. I don't want to pressure, and I don't want to give my keys to any, everybody. Because I don't know who's who. You see that's why I can't go down there. . . .

Amy: You never thought about going back to Barbuda?

Mary: . . . That's what I was doing when my husband was alive. He liked to go down in the summertime. He go in the summer, and when he come up I go down in the winter, and I spent three months, sometimes he spent three months for summer. Get his vacation cause. he used to spend three months in the summer time and when he come up I go

down in December, I come back up in March. That's how we used to have it, and it was good. But now I can't. I can't.

Despite this "immobility," all things Barbuda surround Mary. Her brother lives but a few blocks from her own home and she regularly attends service at Ebenezer Pilgrim Holiness Church (discussed in greater detail later in this chapter).

I also had the opportunity to interview Barbudans who had since returned from a life abroad, leaving family members behind in the migratory home. Again, the following excerpt reveals how health concerns can complicate return. Forty-six-year-old Julie returned to Barbuda, leaving her parents behind in England.

Amy: So your parents are still there?

Julie: Yeah. My parents are there.

Amy: Do they want to return to Barbuda?

Julie: They can't because of medical reasons. But my father comes down for six months every year. So he'll be down in September, October time. So he'll spend six months and go back up. So he spends the winter here, summer in England, and my mom, well, she can't move cause she's in England. She got a stroke about eight years ago, crippled her motor skills, so she can't walk. She's in a wheelchair. My mom would have loved it. But no, there's no plans for them to come. (2009)

On the other side of the social field you find Barbudans who have never migrated. David Conradson and Alan Latham write about what they call middling forms of transnationalism "recognizing that transnationalism is in fact characteristic of many more people than just the transnational elites and the developing-world migrants who have been the focus of so much transnational research" (2005: 229). Shawn Malia Kanaiaupuni's study of Mexican women who remain in Mexico found that they were essential to the migrant process enabling family cohesion, distributing economic provisions and organizing networks at home (2000). This middling can include any type of relationship together with family or friends. This brings forth the story of a 63-year old Barbudan named Mac who has never lived anywhere but in Barbuda. He told me in 2007:

I have not been to the United States. I could have been there several times. I can still go there if I want to although I don't have a valid visa right now. But the last one I had was ten years ago, and I used it maybe two times to go to the U.S. Virgin Islands. I could have gone there. The culture here is so different. I mean until recently you go into your house and you don't close your door, you just walk in and go to sleep. You have your money and you lay it down there on the table and you go back and you leave it there. You go out in the bush. They have lots of things out there to eat and you don't have to think about being poisoned. It's just different. You know. You grow up you go out, I don't know if you've been to any of the caves, you go up into one of those caves you feel so close to God. The tranquility is so nice the breeze you feel like you're almost in heaven already. It's just different. And I love it. That's the reason why I cannot depart from it. I just love it here.

Despite his seemingly "fixed" life on the island, his existence is very much entwined with Barbuda's transnational spaces. He has siblings in Antigua, Montserrat, Canada (two living in Vancouver, one in Toronto, all Canadian citizens), another brother who spends two months out of the year in Barbuda when he is not living in Toronto, a brother, nieces and nephews in New York as well as aunts in England. In his immediate family, he and his wife decided to give birth to their second child in the United States.

Yeah. Our daughter was born there. But we deliberately and purposefully did that. We deliberately did that because we have family there. We decided we wanted [her] born there. So when my wife was pregnant, she end up there and have the kid there . . . . There's lots of Barbudans that done that. And I guess other Caribbean people do. But I can speak for here. Lots of the kids that you see around here, they were not born here.

Despite Mac's involvement in the decision-making process, the experience of having a child away from home is ultimately a gendered one. The fathers of these children often visit upon birth or not at all

### Gendered Transnational Spaces

Feminist scholars have noted the gendered dynamics of globalization (Nagar et al. 2002) as well as that of transnational migration (Ho 1999; Radcliffe et al. 2009). Sarah A. Radcliffe, Nina Laurie, and Robert Andolina use a feminist analysis in order to understand gender and its relationship to indigenous development. They write, "Notions of masculinity and femininity, and

their differential valuation, are part and parcel of transnationalism. Yet theorization of transnationalism has often been implicitly masculine, founded on global-scale views and other seemingly male-dominated arenas (finance, formal politics, formal-sector work) instead of built on the interaction between public and private spheres or between women and men across a number of scales” (Radcliff et al 2009: 195). In light of this dissertation study on Barbuda and Barbudan’s transnational experiences, I would like to highlight the often-gendered experiences that came forth from interviews, participant observation, and archival research focusing especially on women’s decisions to have their children abroad, Barbudan women and the informal economy, as well as Barbuda’s gendered politics.

The new definition of a Barbudan in The Barbuda Land Act, 2007 reflects the increasing number of children that are born in Antigua and abroad. When Barbudan women give birth to children outside the country of Antigua and Barbuda, they “have resorted to a family strategy of base building in multiple locations. The meaning of these fluid and dynamic linkages and complex systems of exchange extends beyond material acts of mobility to symbolic acts of resistance” (Ho 1999: 51). One woman, over the course of my time in Barbuda, gave birth to a child in Canada and then a few years later a second child in the United States. Another Barbudan woman had two sons in Miami and a daughter in New York. She told me this decision was based exclusively on the opportunities for her children and the chance that she too might one day become a citizen of the United States. She wants to eventually put in 10 years’ worth of work in the U.S. so she can collect a Social Security check upon retirement age. Alternatively, Nancy, left the island five months into her pregnancy to have her children in England.

Nancy: Yeah my eldest daughter, she’s 22. She lives in England. I’ve got a 22-year old, a 16-year old, and a 10-year old, and an 8-year old. The 22-year old lives in England but the rest of them living with me.

Amy: Are they British citizens?

Nancy: Every one. Every damn one.

Amy: Why is that important to you?

Nancy: What? Imagine the money I would have to fork up to get my children the education that I really want them to have. Going to college, going to Uni to get a master's degree. . . . [Education down here] not even up to the British standard.

Amy: So you chose to have them there?

Nancy: Oh yeah. Every one. When I was about five months pregnant I went up with every child. Every single one. So all of them are British.

The experience of leaving home for several months—moving in with family members while one anticipates the child's birth and then the wait on paperwork after the child is born (i.e. U.S. passport)—can be an experience wrought with emotion—with fear.

When I was in New York baby born sometime, I want to go out and my sister go to work, children at school, and the baby would be sleeping. I don't want to take her outside, nobody's home. I want to go to the store to get the baby some food or whatever . . . I go to the corner store where I walk and hurry back, things like that. Many times I have fear. Get so frustrated. Say oh, someone's going to take my baby or something's happened. If somebody was home I wouldn't have that fear but nobody's there. Have to keep the baby there alone you know. It's cold. I don't want to take her out there. (2009)

In addition to childcare responsibilities, in the Caribbean, the obligation to care for aging parents often falls on the female child. Christine Ho writes that the bond between mother and child is placed above all else, resulting in “adult children's essentially becoming ‘old-age’ insurance for elderly mothers” (1999: 36). An aging mother served as a catalyst for one woman to return to Barbuda on a more permanent basis.

My youngest sister here decided she wanted to go up to college. University of Miami. He wasn't going to be around, my younger brother. I didn't feel right. Things didn't look right for me to leave my mother alone. Well, I had an older sister but she was married and had a lot of kids on her own and she wasn't able to live with my mother. So I decided to stay. I decided someone must take care of my mother. She was losing her sight at the time. So I decided to stay. Never did go back to Carolina to take up that job. (2010)

Another Barbudan woman who migrated to Canada in her teens and has since returned to the island in her 50s found the expectations placed on her as a caretaker of the home, the role of mother, and her full-time job limited her ability to stay involved in the happenings of Barbuda to

a much greater degree than her husband. The familial obligations placed upon women, which often include a full-time job, childcare, and household care, can often limit the types of connections to “home.” The following interview revealed how one woman’s connections abroad were limited to family correspondence.

Amy: Did you when you were living abroad stay involved in what was going on in terms of the politics, independence? Did you know what was going on?

Vanessa: Yeah. When they independence, I know. As I said my husband, really getting involved in that. Still I know what was going on. Know who win. But it wasn’t much. Ok I will call and write. . . . Yeah. Cause sometimes we would get the paper from somebody who send the paper up. He [my husband] mostly was, he mostly narrating. You know. Not really me. If the paper there I would read it. Eh. Yeah, yeah, yeah. As I said I didn’t have much time raising the children and then going to work you know, it was hard. (2009)

Caribbean childcare is also a collective responsibility, in which “whoever is in the best position to accept responsibility for a child does so” (Ho 1999: 36). This responsibility usually falls on female kin, particularly grandmothers and sisters (Fig. 5.1). The following interview highlights how Lauren returned to the island at six months of age so her parents could continue to work abroad in Canada.

Amy: So growing up, how often would you come to Barbuda?

Lauren: At six months I moved here. My parents packed my little bags I was colic and at that time I think women only had six weeks and so I was a premature baby so I was on incubation for one whole month. And when it was time for me to come out my mom had only two or three weeks left to come at me and because of that disconnect of being incubated I was very colic and they had to work. So my dad had enough at about six months and packed my little bags and packed the stuff up and he dropped me off. So I was here until I was about two, and I came back and I don’t really remember being here but I do have memories of my grandmother. I came back at four. After coming back at four, I came back again at 11, so that was quite a stretch. After 11, I came back again at 19. Another stretch. (2009)

This excerpt illustrates the transnational spaces of raising a child between women in Barbuda and Canada. Another Barbudan’s parents moved to Leicester while she remained behind in Barbuda with an older sister.



**Figure 5.1 Grandmother and Grandchild**

When they went, I stayed with my oldest sister. She got married at a young age, and it was her and her husband but she was like in her late teens when she got married so I stayed with her. (2009)

The responsibility of two additional children in the family prompted one Barbudan woman to migrate to the United States Virgin Islands to ease the financial burden on her mother.

After school days I had a friend who went to the Virgin Islands St. Croix, visited with an aunt, she came back and she talked so much about how it was really nice and everything. I just had a feeling to go away because I thought there was better in life. More in life than this. Leaving school nothing to do. I got pregnant had two children, it was like a

burden on my mother. Added burden. She had two other children in school. So I decided to go away. At that time, people were going to the Virgin Islands to get work, so I felt like migrating.

Well my main reason for going away was to help my mother with the other two she had in school, so yes I went away. I worked. I got a job, I worked for some people who were from Tampa, Florida. The man was sent to the Virgin Islands as the Attorney General of



the Virgin Islands. I got a job. They had a housekeeper I was like a nursemaid. They had three young children I took care of those three young children for two years. After, well I worked in the Virgin Islands I got me enough money to take care of myself because it was a live-in-job. So I was able to take care of myself and send money to my mother to help her take care of the others. (2010)

Beyond the familial responsibility, one Canadian-Barbudan left her small child on the island with her mother in the hopes that as she grows older, she would be “known” by the people living on the island home just as she was.

Luckily I would come down here or they’d never know me. People that I used to play with they know me down here. Abigail you were born here, we know you. So it’s important that I bring my daughter down now so that people know her that she knows Barbuda and appreciates it the way I have. That heritage now continues. (2009)

This mother is fostering a web of social relations in Barbuda for her child.

Children are often sent to live with grandparents in the Caribbean while the parents work in the Global North. This family obligation, however, also extends to the place of migration as one man I interviewed has since returned to Barbuda leaving his children with his mother and sister in Canada.

Bob: No they were born here. But my mother emigrated to Canada and so my sister. I have three sisters and a brother in Canada as well. They emigrated there so my children were adopted by my mother and my sister. So they get to stay there. They were young so they can come up in the Canadian society.

A: Is that what you wanted for them to grow up there?

Bob: Actually the access to modern education is more available in Canada, You’re more exposed to a developing society. And they have a choice. They can either stay or come here. When you are here without the papers you have to stay in one place. But now they know I’m here, they there whatever. Now I’m having them children born up there and they come down here, hey granddaddy. Yeah I like that. (2009)

Not only did this arrangement facilitate “papers” for his children but it also provided them with a perceived “modern education.”

Kay, a 46-year old Barbudan currently living in Antigua, finds it easier to maintain independence as a woman living on the sister-island.

Kay: [In] Antigua, just being very self-sufficient. Independent. I found that it was easier to be independent there more so than here.

Amy: Expand on that a little bit.

Kay: I think when you're in kind of rural setting, it's like living on a farm. Can you really go and milk the cows, skin the pig, light the fire, hoe the hay, you tend to need more masculine help. . . . I'm sure there's studies done in New York City, they're going to be far more single women who are independent compared to if you went to rural New Hampshire or Alaska cause you need somebody to shovel the snow. It's just because of the tasks you know. You move in the building there's no gas hookup. You just turn on the stove. In Barbuda, it's like could you buy me gas? How much is it? One-hundred pounds? Well can you help me lift this? It's so easy being independent there than it is here. Raising two kids. It's just where there are people in place for tasks that need to be completed. A gardener, you can call up, Here uh. I just need to get my lawnmower started. If it's broken. (2010)

In line with research that takes the body seriously, I want to draw out how one British-Barbudan's body is emblematic of home and is often a source of contention living in England.

The men are better. Caribbean men are better than the British men by far. You see down here they... In England they think a slim trim body is good. There's a stigma right? Fat is ugly. Down here I love my size. . . . In England you probably won't even get a look at because they don't like fat women.

Elizabeth Grosz writes, "If bodies are objects or things, they are like no others, for they are the centers of perspective, insight, reflection, desire, agency" (1994: xi).

The following discussion of Barbudan migrant women's entrepreneurial activities is characteristic of an already established foundation for women's work on the island. Berleant-Schiller detailed women's small-scale business ventures in her ongoing fieldwork, taking note of "retailing in small amounts what the women have purchased in larger amounts" (Berleant-Schiller 1993: 76) things like school supplies, kerosene, matches, and sweet drinks. During my fieldwork, these small-scale entrepreneurial ventures had morphed into selling African movie DVD's, fruit, hamburgers, jerk chicken, chicken roti, and sweet treats.

Those who live abroad also participate in these entrepreneurial endeavors. These activities cannot be overlooked as migrants maintain regular connections to home through

business ventures particularly in commodities. Claire Dwyer in her discussion of British-Asian fashion as transnational spaces of commodity culture writes, “Commodity culture is a valuable way of bridging the unhelpful separations of transnationality as an abstract cultural discourse and transnationality as a lived social field” (Dwyer 2004: 75). At least six Barbudan women I interviewed established long-distance entrepreneurial activities while living away. One woman living in St. Thomas, began shipping clothing and other items to the island to sell as a result of some unfortunate circumstances in December of 1968.

Fiona: I was able to come home at first every Christmas. Then Christmas of 1968 I came home . . . there was a wedding of one of my school friends. She was getting married so I was to attend that wedding, and I took sick with the dengue while I was here and I was sick for two weeks so I did not get to go to the wedding. The clothes I brought home to wear to the wedding I sold them to somebody who did not have a wedding garment for the wedding and that’s sort of who set me getting involved in this business. From that selling of my clothes I got some orders from other girls some of my friends that they wanted a dress for Christmas or Easter holiday. And I came back home I think it was for Carnival, Caribana, the next year I brought them a ripple of clothes to sell. [Laughs]. Then on and on I started getting orders for this and that. Started bringing home selling in my mother’s house. It got overcrowded so I built a small wooden building right here, started the clothes business, shoes.

Amy: So once that started were you coming back just once a year?

Fiona: I would come home every time I had a good shipment, sometimes three times a year I would be home for Easter holiday I would be back for Caribana. Sometimes Carnival in Antigua over holidays. (2010)

This set of circumstances eventually paved the way for her to return

Amy: Now um you have a clothing shop, how did it become this store?

Fiona: Oh good question. All right I started with clothing, anything people wanted. I started with it. So stuff I sent to my mother all the time, I send her big boxes of food, turn into barrels. . . .Sending clothing became difficult. I was bringing the things with me sometimes and sending them up and customs was not as difficult as they are now. They would check them, ‘Oh your selling things because you have five dresses, 10 pairs of shoes. This is not for family this is a different camp.’ Then sometimes you get things lost in customs you know you cannot go through with this five pair of shoes. So after I moved home here, since I wasn’t in the Virgin Islands, I didn’t want to shop and send things home. So I was here I didn’t have anyone to depend on to do that. It evolved where I shop out of Antigua. Things I would get in the Virgin Islands. My daughter lives in the U.S. and she will shop ship things cause we have a container in Antigua that’s supposed to be cleared in the week. Lots of toiletries. (2010)

Some women who have returned from a life abroad or travel between home and migrant destination will often rely on family member networks in the United States or take advantage of long-term visits to the Global North in order to purchase items for their businesses. The following interview with Tracy reveals the complex web of connections involved in acquiring merchandise for her Barbudan store.

Amy: Where do you get all your merchandise?

Tracy: St. Thomas. Most of them.

Amy: Do you have to travel back and forth to pick it out?

Tracy: Well most sometimes, most of them come from the States. My daughter and my son up there and I have friends up there they go shopping up in the States come from North Carolina. Cause my son is in North Carolina. And my daughter is in Orlando. I have somebody in Jacksonville, Florida she do shopping for me. And then they ship them to St. Thomas. Then after they ship to St. Thomas when the sand barge goes to St. Thomas delivering the sand they come up and bring it back. (2008)

Tracy lived in the U.S.V.I's but has since returned to Barbuda opening a store called "Follow the Flag: All American Shopping" (Fig. 5.2).

Amy: Why did you choose the name All American Shopping?

Tracy: [Laughs]. Because most of the stuff I shop from America so that's why I use it. When I come up here at first I had some flags. The guy up there used to announce follow the flag just follow the flag and you'll find the store. So I just keep it like that. Then I realize, let it stay like that. Follow the flag.

Amy: You had a U.S. Flag last year?

Tracy: Yes I have they get torn down. That's what happened. Two years. I did have some flag that people could know there's a new place here. He used to announce follow the flag and you'll find the store. So that's why it says follow the flag. Let me name it follow the flag. (2008)

One Barbudan when living in New York, would return every four to five months in the early part of 2000 to style hair, a pattern she continued for four years. Returning to Barbuda allowed her to make extra money because the island did not have a beauty parlor at the time. Eventually, she decided to return to the island on a more permanent basis.

Jamie: This place we are right now was the beauty parlor. The first beauty parlor was out a little bit going down towards the gas station if you know where that is. It was a small place



**Figure 5.2 All American Shopping**

in my parent's yard and then when I came home I opened it in here. But I think my dreams were a little bit bigger than the village. I had to downsize, the clientele wasn't as big as I thought it would have been. Most people do a friend's hair and you do family, you know stuff like that. Folks wouldn't really spend money to come get their hair washed. A sister would wash your hair for you.

Amy: So then what happened?

Jamie: I stayed in hair for two to three years and then I said I think I can do something else because the money wasn't flowing as I'm accustomed. So I decided, I opened at my parent's bakery a little thing in the afternoon and only open the beauty parlor at certain times and then I cooked lunch at my parents bakery, certain days a week and certain times and then that seemed like it was doing well, so I said maybe the best thing for me to do is downsize on the beauty parlor. I had a young lady working for me and I asked her to buy the stuff out of the place, and she did. She opened a little place across the street. That's where that is. That's why I am here right now. (2007)

Jamie's business endeavor paved the way for others to open their own beauty parlor.

Even the *Barbuda Voice* is primarily an outlet for men of Barbudan heritage to express their views on important issues related to the island. New York-Barbudan Glascoe Punter calls forth a response from *both* Barbudan men and women in the following excerpt: "Sometimes I sit

and think about the situation in Barbuda and how Barbudans have been sucked dry and still are. I wonder what the younger men and women of Barbuda are thinking?" (BV July 1971: 4). Despite this summons, female submissions to the newspaper rarely address political matters, taking on a different form mostly as poetry or letters to the editor expressing appreciation for the newspaper's existence. Only on a few occasions will women openly put forth their opinions regarding the future of the island. In the following chapter, I highlight how Barbudans often invoke heritage in reference to the land. Only one of those eighteen examples comes from a female Barbudan. Despite the general lack of female visibility and voice among its pages, there are some powerful exceptions. The following two letters are examples from the first five-year period of the newspaper's existence. One Sylvia Harris Hicks wrote:

The fact that we cannot control our land that is rightfully ours is only symptomatic of the total problem imposed upon us by her inability to determine decisions that influence our future.

Whites already consider us social lepers. Their repression tells us that we are to them unclean and unworthy. (BV, June 1970: 3)

Victoria Teague's write-in was chided in the following issue of the newspaper for her views on independence. She writes:

It is very obvious that our island is in very bad shape and all we can do now is to fight hard to put things close to where they were. We do have our own personal grievances, but we would be selfish if we should think only of ourselves...Everybody is upset, and it is all because of inflation but we want you to know that it is all over the world. It is tough here but we are fighting. We are not politicians and I hate to pull the group into such things, but we are BARBUDANS and we will have to look out for our country's interest. Mr. Bird did very well for Antigua but I am sorry to say, Mr. George did not try hard enough... Independence?—NO, we are too poor for independence. We would appreciate help from anywhere to stop Antigua from doing this to us. (BV, February 1974: 6)

Despite these poignant opinions from two Barbudan women, they are in fact quite rare, so much so that Sylvia Harris Hicks chastises the general silence of women among the pages of *The Voice*. Her write-in is also a reflection on the position of women within Caribbean society:

Where are the voices of the Barbuda Women? Why are they not in action for the welfare of their homeland? The women of the Island may be handicapped in some ways, but not so in New York and England. Barbuda women must join forces of women all over who are taking a stand for the betterment of their children's (and others to come] future. NEW YORK WOMEN OF BARBUDA, YOUR SILENCE IS DEAFENING!!! (BV, April 1973: 2)

The Barbudan Canadian Organization in Toronto, formed in 1973, actively fundraised for a hearse for the island. This organization was described as a:

4 month old group, which has been formed by some Barbudans living in Toronto which consists mainly of girls. The Organization's main purpose, is to help Barbuda in every way possible. (BV October 1973: 8)

This discussion is indicative in some sense of women's political involvement on the island. Only two Barbudan women have served in political capacity. Frances Beazer served as Chair of the Barbuda's People's Movement while Francilla Francis was chairwoman of the Barbuda Council.<sup>28</sup> Beazer told me in 2009 why she wanted to be Chair.

Why did I want to be chair? I felt that I could have made some in roads into what was going on politically because what I wanted, I wanted to show people that even though you support one faction of the political divide you can still be friends with the other side. You don't have to use them as your enemy. And unfortunately this is one of the bigger problem here. So I was trying, I was hoping that we'd bring the sides together. All factions together. *And also that I wanted to show that women can do things even better than men.* (2009, italics mine)

Interviews with Barbudan women shed light particularly on women's migration experiences and transnational spaces. The types of connections women can maintain to the island home can often fueled by familial expectations and the role placed upon women in Caribbean society as brought forth in interviews and an analysis of the *Barbuda Voice*. It is also through interviews I emphasize the base building activities of women not only for themselves but also their children as they seek alternative citizenships for their offspring. Finally, I show how

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<sup>28</sup> Barbudans elected female businesswoman Dorcas Beazer-Williams to serve on The Barbuda Council in spring of 2011. She is only the second woman to be elected to the Barbuda Council.

Barbudan women are creating their own entrepreneurial spaces as they continue to connect to their island home.

### **Emotional Transnational Spaces**

A transnational space can be an emotional experience, a pull or a longing. One Barbudan felt the island was summoning her throughout her life in little ways.

Amy: What is it about living in Barbuda?

Melanie: I think it's just a spiritual connectedness yeah. And even when I was in the States strange enough almost every time I moved I would have some experience about Barbuda and I felt it was probably that spirit maybe the angel of travel if there's such a thing who would probably be coming to tell me, 'You're moving again from the United States, you need to go to Barbuda.' But I always had that presence of Barbuda that even when I couldn't put my hand on it and didn't know what it was but just something about Barbuda would come up, whether it was an aunt coming to visit the weekend I am moving I have a dream of my father. There was just some presence about Barbuda when if I moved and now that I'm here I'm realizing it was something telling you, 'You don't need to go there. This is where you need to go.' So now that I'm here I feel so much at peace. Even staying up in the garden before I got this new place, I was staying it's a little 12 by 15 room. It's a little cottage in the garden but it's so peaceful there and most would say I can't imagine that you're living here you know all the way in the woods by yourself. But it's just like I'm living in another world. I'm just so much at peace. I feel like I'm on a vacation in Barbuda. You don't want to leave. (2009)

Another Barbudan man living in Toronto also had an intense longing to return to his island home.

So I've been saying I'm going home next year or year after and I can remember one time. . . I wanted to go home and didn't have the money so I was stuck, stuck, stuck. You name it problems . . . and life was good on one hand bad on the other because all I can think about was to come home and relax in Barbuda. . . . So all I could think about every year was coming home and to build something like a beach bar as you can see. I put in the back in my head since I was 19 and I couldn't get it out. (2007)

While the previous examples elicit positive emotions toward the island, one Barbudan found it difficult to return. She needed time to heal from the expectations placed upon her as a female child—29 years to be exact.

It took me a long time psychologically to say, huh, I need to go back and not feel bad bad. . . .I think growing up because my mom had 10 of us and nine of us were actually



here and having to be responsible for my siblings and you know and just knowing that I had to be the one to do everything because I was the girl. You know here the girls carry all the burden for cleaning, cooking, washing and being five and six years old and having that responsibility. Mostly I just felt that I was a slave. [Laughs]. And that and always have that connection. That's the memory of Barbuda. Always having to work hard. . . so you know life is just hard and difficult. Even though it's beautiful. Oh this is it. (2010)

Her memory of Barbuda “the place” could not disconnect from those early childhood experiences.

### **Linguistic Spaces**

On a hot and sticky August afternoon in 2009, after a lively three-hour Sunday morning service at Ebenezer Pilgrim Holiness Church in the Bronx, New York, I had the opportunity to interview a 76-year-old Barbudan woman who migrated to the United States at the age of 27. It was during our interview and subsequent West Indian meal she prepared for me that I noticed a gradual transformation in the conversation. The longer we conversed the more excited she became and would quite frequently slip into the rich and elongated Barbudan dialect as she talked about her island home. This conversation is emblematic to me of the complexity of a transnational space evoking the island in the intimate spaces of home. This occurrence is akin to anthropologist Karen McCarthy Brown's experience visiting a Vodou Priestess in Brooklyn, which she writes,

Our nostrils filled with the smells of charcoal and roasting meat and our ears with overlapping episodes of salsa, reggae, and the bouncy monotony of what Haitians call jazz. Animated conversation could be heard in Haitian French Creole, Spanish, and more than one lyrical dialect in English. . . I was no more than a few miles from my home in lower Manhattan, but I felt as if I had taken a wrong turn, slipped through the crack between worlds, and emerged on the main street of a tropical city. (Brown 1991: 1)

While my Barbudan interviewee's outward transformation came about linguistically, I felt in that afternoon together, recounting memories of Barbuda as we shared a West Indian meal, I too had been transported back to Barbuda.

In other interviews with Barbudan women, language came up as an important way to connect with fellow Barbudans and Barbuda. When I asked 34-year old Ava, who had since returned to Barbuda, what the community was like in the Bronx, New York she said:

You try to be as much of yourself as you were back home even though you're up there but when you get together with a Barbudan it's like you're down here. We speak with an accent. When we're on the street we speak proper English but when we get together, it's like the party atmosphere from down here. We try to just have some fun and relax. (2007)

Another 49-year-old Barbudan living in the Miami area remembers reading a column in the *Barbuda Voice* called "Small Talk" (Fig. 5.3).

Lynn: This was the most interesting thing in the *Barbuda Voice*. We went to school to learn English. We write and speak English but we also have a dialect, which we never learn how to write. If you hear it was like, what is that? Because we never write this dialect. We can speak it but we never write it. We never learned how to spell it. Isn't that strange? A language that we don't write. You write letters everything is in English. So I was fascinated with that article. The Small Talk.

Amy: So you would read that section?

Lynn: Always.

Much like language, music is "an effective medium to orchestrate personal remembering and an affective one when—without warning or preprogramming—it renders us speechless charges our body or transports us somewhere else" (Lorimer 2005: 87). This was the intention of Emma Harris whom in 1971 wrote in the *Barbuda Voice*

Last, but not least, I couldn't leave Barbuda without hearing a Steel Band. So Peter Frank and the boys played while I recorded the selection on tape. The folks here in New York enjoyed hearing you play. Never let the islands of Antigua and Barbuda be without a Steel Band. It is very much a part of West Indian life. (*BV*, August 1971: 5)

## **Natural Disasters**

While they are not of the everyday, natural disasters have in the past been an important factor to evoke action on the part of those living abroad, a sense of community, and a heightened awareness and emotion toward home (Lowenthal 1972:140). After the October 8<sup>th</sup> earthquake in 1974, one Barbudan man now in his 70s living in the Bronx at the time formed an Earthquake

SMALL TALK

Mary: Simon you can swim  
 Simon: Look oman, no tek no libatty wid me, wa ya mean if me can swim? Ya tek me fu wan anti-man? Anyway, a wa mek ya ass me dat, ya warnt fu go a beach wid me?  
 Mary: Jus tap ya farwudness, me no go a beach wid marrid man. If ya want smaddy fu tek day a beach, tek ya wife.  
 Simon: Now ya see how life funny, a you start de sudden an now ya warnt fu mek chubble.  
 Vie: Wa chubble a gwarn in ya.  
 Mary: Nutten man, me juss a ass Simon if he carn mek fish pat.  
 Vie: You warnt fish pat?  
 Mary: Gal, ya no hear dat fish a fifty cent a poun?

Figure 5.3 Small Talk by “Playmate” in the *Barbuda Voice*, April 1974, p. 3

Committee. He wrote a letter to the December 1974 issue of the *Barbuda Voice*:

On 8<sup>th</sup> of October, an earthquake rocked our homeland, the Island of Barbuda, causing severe and extensive damage to the Holy Trinity Church and a few homes. . . we must prove to the world and the Antiguan government that although Barbuda was the last to be heard of, we the Barbudans living at home and abroad, will support and defend her to the end. It is with this attitude that the Barbuda Earthquake Committee was formed. (p. 6)

When I interviewed him in 2010 in Barbuda I asked him why he got involved?

Well what happened there, I wasn't here, but after I heard of the destruction of the earthquake I sort of tried to organize some Barbudans for us to raise funds to send home. Well it wasn't easy, right? I got one fella and well two or three ladies. Well I had to do it financially. So what I did I went and printed some tickets and I went to the hall that was 149<sup>th</sup> Street in the Bronx, The Renaissance, hired a band. It was a Barbudan who owned the band but we had to pay them and then the funds after the expenditure. . . . We presented the check I forget the amount for the rebuilding of the church that was badly damaged. So that was our aim to get some funds.

Amy: What compelled you to get involved?

Interviewee: My heart is in Barbuda and these are things that would compel me to do something.

Category Four Hurricane Luis and its aftermath served yet again as another rallying point for the same man who was now living in Miami.

Just like when Luis came I was in Miami and doing real estate I watched the news cause I had a television in my van. The van is here now. I said, 'No, I've got to do something.' I went on radio in Miami and I was contacted by an Antiguan organization after they heard me because Barbuda was never on their mind to get anything and after that, went to the meeting I spoke, went on the radio again and I appealed to people and the same van I printed up a sign and I put it on the back of my van. Doing real estate I had to drive around a lot, and people would see the sign and they would donate. So I actually came here with two trailers of food, clothing, water etc.

Members of the Barbudan community in the Bronx also rallied together to respond to Luis' devastating aftermath.

Normally when there is anything to do if they are looking at fundraiser for here we normally respond because I remember in 95 when we had the hurricane here we formed a Barbuda Hurricane committee and we send down five containers of stuff but all them didn't come here. What they did is they said it would be unfair to send the five trailer loads of the food and clothing to Barbuda with a population of 1,500 people and they have other Eastern Caribbean Islands that is suffering so they send some to St. Maarten, St. Kitts.

Aside from the goods shipped from the United States to Barbuda, Hurricane Luis created a heightened awareness of home in the days following the storm. One Canadian-Barbudan in her 30's recounted how she felt at the time:

How easy is it to get rid of 1,500 people? You know what I mean. And quite frankly it's the grace of God. I think about it all the time. All the time. And I remember in 95 Hurricane Luis we got reports back, the planes flew over Barbuda and, there was nothing. And I think every single Barbudan cried that day. You couldn't call. What do you mean? This is impossible. And for days, nothing. Nothing. Oh my gosh, Oh my gosh. You couldn't see the devastation. You couldn't hear from anybody. What's scary is that you missed community. Period.

Hurricane Luis also served as a catalyst to leave Barbuda creating important spaces to connect with the island home once in England, whether through family ties, food or drink. Claire Frank recounts in the short story "In the Middle of Nowhere" the move from Barbuda to England from the point of view of her daughter Asha. Frank took her children to England three months after the Hurricane hit the island because the school did not reopen immediately. Frank and her children went to live with her white mother in Norfolk. Claire's husband, Mackenzie Frank, a Barbudan

Senator, remained on the island.

Then I come to school in England for a while, so I soon get to know what England is like. It after Hurricane Luis, when the Barbuda school blew away. . . . After three months of no school, Mum give up trying to teach us and we come to England to live in Granny's house. . . . And every now and then we have a funeral to go to and we go see Dad's family. Those cousins live in Nottingham. Nottingham then seem like it so big, man. Full of cars, police sirens and people rushing about—but none of them lookin' at you. Every time Mum show us our old house and the hospital where me and my sister was born, and we always go in our old park if we have time and look at where we used to play. We buy plenty samosa to bring back to Norfolk from our friend's shop down the street and our cousin eat them all even though they live there all the time, and so we go back for more to eat in the car on the way back. And whenever Granny next get in our car she say, 'Claire, why does your car always smell of curry?' When we go there the whole family want to see us and we visit all them house, one after the other. The last time I see some of them was in Barbuda; they always come when flights are cheap . . . . *Sometimes in Nottingham, when all the family together, we start to feel like we back in the Caribbean, and soon we drink too much beer and soda and fill up with stew chicken and john cakes, and my auntie ask me, 'A when you a go back, Asha?'* (Frank 2008: 55-58, italics mine)

In the previous excerpt Asha describes the comfort she feels when visiting Nottingham, police whizzing around not taking notice of her skin color. It is here through the spaces of interaction created through family and food that Asha and her Barbudan family “start to feel like we back in the Caribbean” (2008: 58).

### **Religious Organizations**

In order to understand Barbuda's transnational spaces one cannot overlook the importance of religion, particularly in the form of churches and the role it plays in the life of migrants (see Levitt 2001b). The island of Barbuda has seven churches. During my time in Barbuda, I was told on several occasions a visit to the Barbudan community in the Bronx, New York was not complete without attending a Sunday service at Ebenezer Pilgrim Holiness Church (Fig. 5.4). Reverend Newland R. John, a Barbudan by birth, founded Ebenezer Pilgrim Holiness Church in 1934. John recounted the church's early setbacks at a dinner honoring former church leadership in May of 1971. *Barbuda Voice* recounted the former pastor's commentary. Rev. Newland R.



**Figure 5.4 Ebenezer Pilgrim Holiness Church**

John

Remembered how he was advised by one of his close, supporting members during the darker times, to close the Church, we can't make it. Rev. John answered, 'if we must die, let us not die lying down, let us die fighting, remember we are serving a great God.' From that time on with few faithfuls, an empty bank account and a lot of faith they continued and with the help of God are now established in their own building. (*BV*, June 1971: 7)

Recent interviews with Barbudans revealed that the even today, the church serves as an increasingly important place to connect with Barbudan relatives and friends as the Barbudan community in the Bronx becomes fragmented.<sup>29</sup> While the church's membership today reflects the wider Caribbean region, it is still an important gathering place for Barbudans and acts as a meeting place beyond Sunday mornings for Barbudan Benevolent organizations. Since Rev.

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<sup>29</sup> The home I stayed in during my fieldwork season the summer of 2009 had a church calendar.

John's retirement and the retirement of his son Rev. Jerome John, another Barbudan Pastor John Harris has since taken on the church's leadership.

Amy: How did you end up the Pastor of this church?

Pastor Harris: That's an interesting story. Well actually when I got here in 1983 the former pastor Reverend Jerome John was about to retire. So he had been for some time before I got here talking in terms of retiring but there wasn't any, he did not see any forthcoming individual perhaps who would be willing to take the position, and so when I came in 1983 it was almost, just about 9 years after that I actually took over after he retired. And before him was his father. There is a generation of Johns that was here before.

One 83-year-old Barbudan who migrated to New York at the age of 38 did not have the time to get involved in such organizations as the BUD Society (Barbuda's United Descendants). His connection to the island came through church attendance.

The Bud Society. I haven't got much with the BUD Society but I used to attend church every Sunday. Ebenezer Pilgrim Holiness Church. Because I have to work six days a week and so I got Sunday after I go to church and that is the best place because I wouldn't be in the wrong place at the wrong time.

Another Barbudan woman in her 40s recounted that Sunday church gave her the opportunity to socialize when she was in New York having her baby.

Amy: Did you get to spend time with the Barbudan community there?

Jenny: No. When I go to church.

Amy: Where did you go to church?

Jenny: [Ebenezer] Pilgrim Holiness Church. That's where I see the Barbudans. I would see a few of them on the road, in the stores that I recognized. Where I go to church, that's where I would see all the Barbudans. You know things like that. Actually socialize and stuff.

Peggy Levitt wrote that the Dominican church both in the U.S. and the Dominican Republic served as a place for "transnational religious ties" (2001b: 179). While perhaps diminishing in Barbudan numbers, the Ebenezer Pilgrim Holiness Church in the past and in some respects today allowed islanders to maintain religious faith in New York City as well as providing an important space/place to connect with Barbuda and Barbudans.

## **American Cultural Landscape**

Just as Barbuda creeps into the crevices of everyday life in the Bronx, New York, so too does Barbuda's affiliation abroad manifest itself on the island's material landscape (see also Marcus 2009 on Brazilian sending and receiving communities). Having lived my entire life in the United States, my bias of observation leans toward recognizing an American<sup>30</sup> material landscape. The center of Codrington bears the name Madison Square Garden. Madison Square is an area of social gathering on the weekends and a place where politicians often set up chairs and hold public forums. Large speakers border the forum that then reverberate the political message out to the village. One Barbudan told me why he calls the village center Madison Square Garden, named after the arena in the heart of New York City.

Because when you used to go to Madison Square Garden used to go and watch where they fight. When these politicians go out there and they curse you, you retaliate. (2007)

The street-naming project, enacted by the Barbuda Planning Commission, formalized the name in 2007 (Fig. 5.5).

## **Conclusions**

The island of Barbuda has a long and storied tradition of migration. In my research with Barbudan migrants I would be hard-pressed to argue that the majority of those Barbudans I interviewed with some migratory experience fall in line with Portes and others rigid definition of transnational migration (1999). Transnational migration privileges one's ability to go back and forth, whether through the ready availability of capital to travel or through physical mobility. As Mahler writes, "I find that mobility constitutes a centerpiece of transnationalism" (Mahler 2004:

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<sup>30</sup> American in this context refers to an association with the United States of America.





**Figure 5.5 Madison Street**

76). Transnational space reconciles this condition and takes into account the complexity of dual lives, which include relationships that involve everything from commodities to emotional experiences. Transnational space occurs in absence of physically connecting to place. It allows for the connection to home or even the place of migration through such things as familial relationships, remittances, emotions, memories, commodities, and religious organizations. This chapter has also sought to illustrate how transnational connectedness can look different based on gender. Familial obligations can decrease the ability to travel back and forth to the physical place but there is still a notion of connectivity through the possibility of transnational space.

This chapter seeks to push the bounds of transnational space to include Barbudan's emotional geographies. It also seeks to include those who never left and those who are perhaps stuck on one side of a social field. While much of this paper has focused on how those abroad experience transnational space, I have also tried to show how those who may have never migrated are also active in creating transnational space. This space can include children of a

differing citizenship, caring for siblings or grandchildren on the island, connecting to a web of family members scattered throughout the Global North, items made available for consumption by transnational storeowners, and even the material landscape of names inscribed in and around Barbuda (i.e. Madison Square Garden and “All American Shopping”).

I conclude this chapter with a ghost story recounted to me in 2009 by a Canadian-born Barbudan female in her 30s.

That’s why I’ve always loved Barbuda . . . because it was safe. . . .You want to walk at 3 o’clock. You’re gonna walk at 3 o’clock. The only person in Barbuda is probably an old ghost. They’re around. I just want you to know that. Ok? People die here they come back all the time. And that’s a reality. I can tell you another story. This lady just died two weeks ago in Canada. Her name is Beverly. Her niece just saw her at Madison the other day. ‘Hi Aunty Bev.’ Bev said, ‘Hi.’ The niece didn’t know she died. Didn’t have no idea. Everybody was like what? She died two weeks ago. She starts, ‘Eh, I know my aunt.’ I said, ‘Hi.’ So I’m telling you they’re around. But I’m telling you because you never know who you are seeing.

Some Barbudans might argue that Barbudan migrants are connected to their island home even in death. Though this story might seem unusual, Jackson and others write, “We must not let the often elite ideology of transnationalism blind us to the practical and emotional importance of attachments to and in place” (2004: 6-7). Even in death, Aunty Bev of Toronto has “slipped through the crack between worlds” (Brown 1991: 1) to find her way home.

**Chapter Six**  
**In Between:**  
***Barbuda Voice* as a Transnational (Communicative) Space (1969-1974)**

*The people who first built a path between two places performed one of the greatest human achievements. . . . The bridge symbolizes the extension of our volitional sphere over space.*  
(Georg Simmel 1994: 5)

The story of the *Barbuda Voice* begins with a man who loved his father. His father loved his homeland of Barbuda, and held fast to a dream—a dream that one day his people would be united through the pages of a newspaper (Russell John 2009). The son, Russell John, born in America in 1927, on 145<sup>th</sup> Street in New York City, had the means to make his father’s dream a reality. In the fall of 1969, serving as Editor-in-Chief, Russell birthed a monthly newspaper out of the Bronx, New York, a newspaper that would finally run its course nearly 21 years later in 1990.

The story of this man Russell John and his newspaper the *Barbuda Voice* served to bridge the people of Barbuda together in a way that was unprecedented in the island’s history. A bridge is symbolic of *The Voice*, as it is bound between two places, both here and there, and in-between.

## **Background Literature**

Scholarly work examining the intersection between transnational migration and communication has focused primarily on the role of changing technologies in maintaining connections between transnational migrants and persons at home, particularly mobile phones and the internet. Some studies, rather than focus solely on those who leave, highlight the effect of these technologies on those who remain. Heather Horst's (2006) study of mobile phones in Jamaica follows a line of inquiry that explores internet and transnational cultural flows (Appadurai 1996; Miller and Slater 2000) and phone card usage (Vertovec 2004). Daniel Miller and Don Slater's work on the internet, predominantly email and instant messenger use in low-income homes in Trinidad, found that the internet was not as successful in maintaining ties between those at home and those abroad because of the lack of infrastructure and high cost associated with the service. However, Horst's study came to somewhat different conclusions. She found that new communication technologies like the mobile phone are central in the process of rural Jamaican's abilities to request items such as shoes, clothing, appliances, soaps, detergents, foodstuffs, rice and cooking oil that are included in barrels sent back to the island (Horst 2006: 154). She also found that the mobile phone increased contact between those on the island and those abroad creating more realistic expectations of the migrant experience. She writes, "The comfortable distance many transnational migrants may have enjoyed or required for a successful settlement in the country of migration may dissipate with the expanding availability of telecommunications such as the mobile phone" (2006: 155). There remains, however, a level of power differentiation as Horst notes that at the core, people at home "are still dependent on those family and friends located outside of Jamaica" (2006: 155). Some scholars such as Marie Gillespie argue that theories about wide spread internet use in maintaining contact and reproducing community are embellished

(2000) As both Gillespie (2000) and later Elizabeth Poole point out, modern technology is not necessarily an equalizing force but may continue to reinforce “social structures, power relations and capitalist ideologies” (Poole 2002: 57).

The journal, *The Public* featured a special issue on “Diasporic Communication: Transnational Cultural Practices and Communicative Spaces.” In the opening article, Shehina Fazal and Roza Tsagardousianou lay the groundwork for the issue articulating that “diasporic cultural practices entail imagination, institution and spaces that often extend beyond the boundaries of place” (2002: 5). It is in these spaces, they write, that identity and solidarity are expressed. Of particular interest is Elizabeth Poole’s study of Muslim communities in Britain, in which she calls for more empirical studies to show if indeed new technological advances allow for greater connectivity to home communities (2002).

The literature on transnational migration emphasizes how innovative communication technologies have enabled the increased interaction between transnational migrants to their place of origin. However, very little is written about other forms of communication, particularly newspapers. One such detailed account of newspapers can be found in Alixa Naff’s *Becoming American: The Early Arab Immigrant Experiences* (1985), in which she discusses Arabic publications in America that appeared at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. She estimates that between 1892 and 1907, 21 Arabic dailies, weeklies and monthlies were published in New York City, St. Louis, Philadelphia and Lawrence, Massachusetts (Naff 1985: 319). “The editors reported events in the homeland, social news of Syrians in America, immigrant success stories, feature items and literary works” (Naff 1985: 321). Many of these newspapers had their start because of the political motivations of their editors. *Al-Hoda* “was motivated by his opposition to the religion and the Ottoman allegiance of the Arbeely brothers” (1985: 320) while *Meraat al-Gharb*

opposed “the political and religious biases of *Al-Hoda*” (1985: 321). Written contributions from immigrants was quite commonplace, in which they “asked questions, voiced opinions, and reflected on their aspirations” (p. 321). The newspapers were typically four to eight pages in length with significant advertising for Syrian businesses and products (p. 321). Many of the editors had no previous journalistic experience prior to starting the papers. Syrian publications served an important role in educating Syrian-Americans not only about their homeland but also in the habits and customs of the United States. For many Syrian immigrants, newspapers “kept the homeland alive in their minds and stirred their emotions” (p. 321).

A rare account of the Caribbean press in the United States can be found in the book *Caribbean New York* by Philip Kasinitz (1992). In his section on “Community Press” (pgs. 70-73) he briefly highlights the rise of *Everybody’s* magazine, *New York Carib News* Haitian magazine *Le Critique*, and *Le Haiti Observateur*. Kasinitz notes that ethnic newspapers have two phases, initially directed at a more cosmopolitan orientation. As the immigrant population learns English it then “becomes more specialized, taking on a specific political, regional, or neighborhood orientation. Often it becomes less a source of information than of points of view” (1992:70). Initially Kasinitz finds that the *Jamaica Weekly Gleaner* satisfied the desire for news from home. However, “the independence of a growing number of Caribbean nations had increased the immigrants’ appetites for wider Caribbean news, thus making the increasingly parochial *Gleaner* inadequate” (1992: 71). The editor of *Everybody’s* received a regular flow of complaints expressing a desire to read news from some of the smaller islands. Linda Basch, Nina Glick Schiller, and Cristina Szanton Blanc add to Kasinitz’s discussion of Caribbean media in the United States. In reference to *Carib News* they note that the newspaper created role models, shaped identities, and identified common experiences of West Indians living in the United States

(1992: 91). The primary focus of these publications was, however, to “frame the New York West Indian identity” (Kasinitz 1992: 72).

In his study of Brazilian place-making in the United States and Brazil, geographer Alan Patrick Marcus briefly considers the cultural consumption of Brazilian immigrants in the United States in the form of Portuguese language Brazilian newspapers that focus mostly on immigration public policies (2009: 185). Building on these previous scholarly endeavors, this study seeks to investigate transnational newspapers on a deeper theoretical level to explore rich themes of place-making, identity, and connectivity among the pages of the *Barbuda Voice*.

As previously mentioned, literature on transnational migration and communication emphasizes how technological advances within communication are facilitating greater transnational interaction. Some scholars are critical of slower forms of communication. “Transnational enterprises did not proliferate among earlier immigrants because the technological conditions of the time did not make communications across national borders rapid or easy. . . . Communications were slow and, thus, many of the transnational enterprises described in today’s literature could not have developed” (Portes et al. 1999: 223). This chapter will show that a small monthly newspaper also served to facilitate transnational interaction at a time when the island of Barbuda had recently installed its first telephone. According to the *Barbuda Voice*, the first telephone call was placed from Barbuda to New York City on July 10, 1970, not quite a year after the first issue of the newspaper went to press. In 1970, there were only two telephones on the island and they were both in the station house, and only one was available for public use. This newspaper served as an important outlet for information prior to the onset of telephones on the island. “The ready availability of air transport, long-distance telephone, facsimile communication, and electronic mail provides the technological basis for the

emergence of transnationalism on a mass scale” (Portes et al. 1999: 223). While only air transport was available when the *Barbuda Voice* first went to press in 1969, the newspaper could have also served as a catalyst for greater transnational involvement on the island. One Canadian Barbudan<sup>31</sup> recalls not only *The Voice* but also other means for which Barbudans abroad would stay in touch with their home in the past.

Amy: Are you familiar with the *Barbuda Voice*?

Sydney: Yeah! That used to come, I don’t remember maybe once a month. Yeah, not that I would read them but I remember them coming. [Sydney was a small child during the height of *The Voice*’s publication]

Amy: But your parents read them?

Sydney: My parents received them. That’s how they kept abreast as to what was going on. I mean we had a telephone but I’m sure my sister mentioned to you the police station you had to go in there. There was a lot of letters back and forth. I think my mother probably wrote a letter a week.

Amy: Do you have any of these letters still?

Sydney: No. [Proceeded to explain the contents of the letters] You get caught up. How’s mama? How’s baby? Anything different? Ok. Who’s born? Who died? Who’s getting married? When you coming down? We miss you. That’s special. That was special. Now that we can just pick up the phone and call we don’t. It is unbelievable the letters. I remember the letters coming in. . . . How is everybody? How are things? And then the dreaded phone call at seven or six in the morning because you know that’s the only time someone has access. There were never too many of those calls that’s for sure. A lot of letters. We were much closer then. (2009)

Sydney highlights the difficulty for Barbudans in the past to make and receive phone calls because of limited accessibility to the telephone located in the Police Station. She also points out that letters served as an important means of communication, outside the focus of this study. Barbudans I interviewed suggested that the newspaper eventually lost its importance in the latter years of its tenure because news was already dated by the time of newspaper delivery the following month. The telephone eventually replaced the newspaper in facilitating information on and off the island. While only air transport was available when the *Barbuda Voice* first went to press in 1969, the newspaper could have also served as a catalyst for transnationalism on the

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<sup>31</sup> Pseudonym



island. Thomas Faist writes for transnationalism to occur, “Transactions must be regular, frequent, and *meaningful*” (Faist 2000a: 197, italics mine). It is through these *meaningful* transactions that I wish to explore the early years of publication for the *Barbuda Voice*.

### **Methodology**

While the majority of this dissertation research took place on the island of Barbuda over four summers (2007-2010), in order to understand the *Barbuda Voice*,<sup>32</sup> I also spent time in New York City conducting semi-structured interviews with Barbudans living there, particularly the newspaper’s editor, Russell John and his wife Peggy who facilitated the newspaper’s creation and publication for two decades.

In addition to interviews, this chapter is based almost exclusively on the first five years of publication of the newspaper (Hay 2005; Raitz 2001). This newspaper reveals how Barbudans living abroad joined together to protect the property regime from development initiatives. While the memories of Barbudans may have faded or even altered over the years, *Barbuda Voice* stands as a testament to the life and events of the people of Barbuda. In order to understand the broader themes that emerged from the first five years of publication, I incorporated the method of content analysis to understand the intricate relationship between Barbudans living abroad to the island as revealed in the pages of the *Barbuda Voice*. Klaus Krippendorff defined content analysis as “a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from data to their context” (1980: 21). From this systematic analysis, I can then make valid claims from the first five years of this historical written record.

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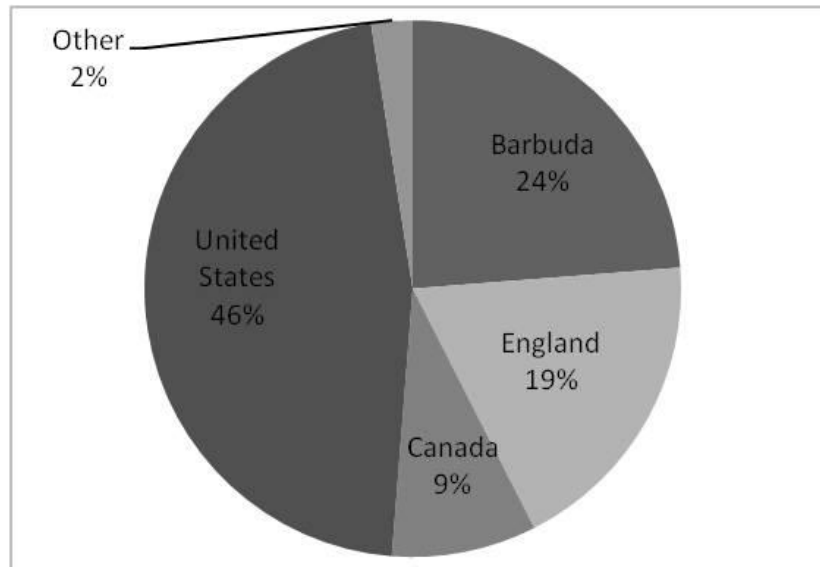
<sup>32</sup> I acquired photocopies of the *Barbuda Voice* from the Riva Berleant-Schiller Papers, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC, accession no. 2005-1.

## Newspaper Content

length, averaging 10 to 14 pages an issue. Each monthly newspaper featured island news, various announcements from around the world that could include weddings, deaths, and graduations, a number of advertisements particularly for Barbudan businesses in New York City, editorials, letters to the editor, opinion pieces, poetry, world news, interior design pieces for the soul and the home, and pieces from Barbudan religious leaders (See Table 6.1 for a breakdown of the newspaper content from Dec. 1969 to Dec. 1970). A further categorization of letters to the editor and opinion pieces reveal that a majority of the 80 write-ins throughout the year of analysis came from the United States (See Figure 6.1 for percentage breakdown). Letters from the island were a distant second, followed by England then Canada. Speculatively, the number of letters from this location could be an indicator of the strength of the Barbudan community in the United States, as opposed to that of Canada and England. The publication of the newspaper out of New York City, however, might also have been a factor. There were also two write-ins from other places: one from a Barbudan in the U.S. military stationed in Southeast Asia and another from a woman in the Caribbean region.

**Table 6.1 Breakdown of Newspaper Content, Dec. 1969-Dec. 1970**

<b>Content Description</b>	<b>Count</b>
Articles/Barbuda News	46
Announcements (Weddings, Obituaries etc.)	77
Advertising	97
Editorials	15
Letters to the Editor	46
Opinion Pieces	34
Poems	13
World News	15
Interior Design Pieces	5
Religious Pieces	7



**Figure 6.1 Place of origin for newspaper submissions, Dec. 1969-Dec. 1970**

### **Media Context**

Barbuda is part of the English speaking Caribbean where newspapers were established as early as 1718 in Jamaica and 1731 in Barbados (Lyew-Ayee 1991). Antigua launched its first newspaper, *The Antigua Gazette* in 1748 under Thomas Smith. Smith died in 1752 and American Benjamin Franklin sent his nephew Benjamin Mecom to run the Antigua newspaper after his death (Lent 1990). By the 1760s, the island had two newspapers and by 1849 it had nine. Though the number of newspapers would fluctuate over time, between 1900 and 1971, Antigua could boast nine newspapers.

A history of Antigua/Barbuda newspapers would be incomplete without the mention of left-wing publisher Tim Hector of *The Outlet* newspaper of Antigua, who published his newspaper beginning in 1968 under the Afro-Caribbean Liberation Movement (Lent 1990). His newspaper was often a thorn in the side of the longstanding V.C. Bird Regime. In editorials, Hector was often quick to criticize the government and to point out any impending quirky

development schemes, which would affect Barbuda. In a 1981 editorial entitled “A Solution” he writes,

Barbuda has a unique, and indeed admirable Land Tenure System in operation for 121 years at least. . . . To say that Antiguan must have a Right to purchase land in Barbuda may sound reasonable on Lester Bird’s glib tongue. But in reality, two, just two Real Estate Sharks in Antigua would control the best land in Barbuda by arrangement, above or beneath the table. (Hector 1981: 3)

Both the George Walter and V.C. Bird government enacted a number of legal measures aimed at the press, particularly Hector’s outspoken newspaper. Walter passed the Newspaper Surety Act, which required newspapers to deposit \$60,000 XCD in the event of a libel case, in addition to a \$600 XCD license fee, while Bird amended the Public Order Act of 1968, “that made almost any criticism of government a criminal act” (Lent 1990: 110). The Newspaper Surety Act temporarily shut down both the *Workers Voice* and *Times* because of the exorbitant bond and license fees required. The government arrested and jailed Hector a number of times due to his critical nature, seized copies of his newspaper, and raided his newspaper office (Lent 1990). It was during this time period, Barbudans were trying to find their own voice and protect their land from the Antiguan government. They found it through *The Voice*.

Within these and other public arenas attention has also been paid to the empowering nature of technologies for different ‘minority’ groups; this includes their potential to offer minority groups a mediated space in which they can produce their own material and where they have been previously marginalized in mainstream media forms. . . where people can throw off structural constraints and create new configurations of community on the basis of chosen identities. (Poole 2001:52)

It is in this oppressive political climate that the *Barbuda Voice* came into existence to create an outlet outside the control of the Antigua government.

Anne Lyew-Ayee highlights in her study of Caribbean media how difficult newspaper circulation can be in the region. She wrote in 1991,

Newspapers have not moved beyond their insular readerships. No West Indian newspaper can claim regional circulation, although some, such as the Barbados *Advocate*, are available on nearby islands. Physical separation adds significantly to the costs of distributing daily newspapers, especially where, in some cases, there are no daily air links between countries. (p. 382)

These obstacles facing newspaper circulation within the region make the barriers the *Barbuda Voice* had to overcome and the long-term sustainability of the newspaper all the more extraordinary.

### **Russell John and *The Voice***

The connections between the Barbudan transnational communities to the island are documented on the pages of the newspaper the *Barbuda Voice*. *The Voice* was a newspaper that came out of the Barbudan community in the Bronx, New York. It was an idea developed by members of the BUD Society, the Barbudans United Descendants. Its editor-in-chief, Russell John, also a member of the BUD Society, was an American born Barbudan who started the paper in 1969.

John's parents migrated to New York in the early part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century from Barbuda where his father was a carpenter and caulker of boats. When asked why his parents ended up in New York he said, "Everybody in the Caribbean wants to come to America. That's how they got here. Just the desire to be where the opportunities are" (Russell John, 2009). John recalled as a child hearing his parents recount stories of Barbuda with their friends. He told me, "Barbuda was common talk among their friends because all their friends came from Barbuda and they sat around the table and talked. My big ears picked up everything they said" (*ibid*). John's parents returned to Barbuda for a short period of time in his early childhood, eventually his mother passed away, and his father returned to the island on a more permanent basis. When asked what it was like to visit Barbuda for the first time he said, "I don't know how to put it into words. The

feeling that I had to see this place that my parents had been talking about. . . . It was a very warm, nice feeling to see the place my parents spoke about” (Russell John 2009).

The wishes of Russell John’s father, “who wanted to see a newspaper to bring the people together,” served as the impetus for the creation of the newspaper (Russell John 2009). John knew that Barbudans were spread everywhere, England, the West Indies, America, and Canada. He saw the newspaper as a “common thread among them” a way to see if he “could tie all those loose ends together” (Russell John 2009).

For nearly 21 years, this paper served to update all Barbudans about the happenings of Barbudans both on and off the island. In a telephone interview with John’s wife Peggy, she said “My husband wrote the paper from August 1<sup>st</sup> 1969. He did a lot of the work, all the typing we did right here at home in our kitchen. We sent out to the printers and mailed them to different people that subscribed at the time” (Peggy John 2007). The newspaper went out all over the world with circulation throughout the Caribbean, particularly Barbuda, the British Virgin Islands, New York, the United States, Canada, and England. In the interview she said, “We did it as a labor of love. Never got a salary for it.” When I asked her what kind of impact she thought the newspaper had she replied, “We really couldn’t say. We got so many complimentary letters we could never print them all. Whatever impact it had I could imagine it affected people” (Peggy John 2007).

In a later interview in person in the Bronx, New York with Peggy John (who was an active component in the monthly publication of the newspaper), she explained to me the process that went into putting each issue together.

Peggy: What happened is letters would come in . . . we would read the letters, figure out what could be published and of course we could only put in some letters because of the space. And that’s how the letters got in. If someone wrote something and someone disagreed with it, oh the letters would come in by the pound. And then you have to go

through them and choose what you thought was most appropriate, and that's what we would do.

Amy: So did you have corresponding reporters so to speak or did you just depend on the letters?

Peggy: With the paper going to so many different places and people reading the paper they might disagree with what was written or they might know of something that they thought was important enough to write about and that's how we organized the paper. Then of course we would put different little things to make it a little more light. You know, and McChesney George he did a lot of writing. He was the representative and Hilbourne Frank, he contributed. The people who lived on the island would write about what was done on Barbuda. All the letters didn't get into the pages. But the ones that we felt were worthy.

Amy: So just relying on letters?

Peggy: And then his [Russell John's] trips back and forth also to gather news of his own. (Peggy John 2009)

In an early edition of the newspaper, Russell John wrote in an editorial

*The Voice* is unique in that it is produced for a small number of people scattered around the world, which by itself is a great handicap for a fledgling newspaper. We cannot be expected to compete with or be measured by, newspapers produced for and sold to millions of people. *The Voice* will be different as we are different. The popular saying among the youth today is 'do your own thing', and that is what we must do. (*BV*, December 1969: 5)

Nearly 13 years after its first publication, in December 1982, *The Voice* was already exhibiting signs of decline. In an article entitled "The Barbuda Voice May Be Forced to Close" editors wrote that subscriptions had fallen below the level of financial sustainability (December 1982:

1). Interestingly, the editor chose to highlight what he thought were important accomplishments of the newspaper.

Through the last 13 years, some of which the island was virtually incommunicado, the *Barbuda Voice* kept Barbudans, The Antigua Government, Caribbean leaders, the British Government, U.S. Legislators, and the many influential friends of Barbuda aware of all the major developments in the island; from the 1969 land sell out scheme of the Canadian Robert Bradshaw to the 1982 proposal to create a sovereignty on almost half of the island by the Sovereign Order of New Aragon. Between those land mark incidents, such on-going items as; political turmoil, secession, elections, demonstrations, proposals for development, scholastic and social events have been reported in "Unbiased" articles. This journal has created a written history of events in the island for posterity (somewhat on the order of the Codrington letters).

...

In effect, the paper has been a medium for Governments, Corporations and private individuals to address the widest scope of Barbudans and other interested parties as possible. This is unique in that we do not know of any other small island with such an extensive facility. (December 1982: 1)

*The Voice* would hold on for eight more years and by 1990 (its last year of print), the newspaper was bi-monthly, its pages consisting primarily of obituaries and regional Caribbean news.

### **Barbuda Voice 1969-1974: Excitement and Challenges**

An analysis of the *Barbuda Voice*, unlike studies that simply quantify Internet traffic for websites, allows the researcher a two-way insight into the importance of the paper to members of the community it served (see Poole 2002). Barbudans were quite vocal to express praise for the newspaper project and its larger implications. Alvord Harris wrote from New York City, “We believe this paper will do more for Barbudans in the future than anything else that has been tried” (*BV*, December 1969: 6). For some Barbudans, the paper was perceived to be very powerful. “I think we as Barbudans, if we have any Brains at all, we will keep this paper going with our grievances, because this paper, whether you know it or not, goes into the hands of some very important people and people that can help us with our problems” (*BV*, October 1971: 3). Reverend Pat Thomas wrote from Cincinnati, “It does appear from the many articles written in the *Barbuda Voice*, that Barbudans on foreign soil and some at home are now realizing the plight of our beautiful country” (*BV*, July 1970: 8). A social club out of New York wrote, “We also wish to recognize the role played by the *Barbuda Voice*. I am sure that you agree with us that this medium is helping us tremendously to achieve our main objective of a UNITED BARBUDA” (*BV*, November 1970: 7). Toward the end of the first year of publication, the Editorial staff wrote, “We hope that through our efforts we have gotten to know each other a little better” (*BV*, November 1970: 8).



Despite great amounts of praise, the early years of *The Voice* did not come without criticism. Barbuda Representative McChesney D. B. George accused the paper of not being neutral on at least two occasions (see *BV*, March 1970: 1; November 1971: 3). After George lost the election in 1971, he wrote a letter to Milford Beazer later published in *The Voice*, which stated, “It has been some time since I read the *Barbuda Voice*, as I felt that during the last year of my position as representative and particularly during the effective period of the campaign, everything in the paper was slanted to ensure that C. E. Francis became the new representative and only his views, the views of his supporters or paid hirelings were reported in *The Voice*.” He continued writing, “You who have visited Barbuda recently would know that my defeat was engineered by the most dishonest campaign ever waged anywhere, including the effective use of the *Barbuda Voice*.” *Barbuda Voice* defended its position through an Editor’s note in the same issue claiming they had repeatedly offered front-page space to George, and that he stopped writing after he was criticized in some of the newspaper’s earlier columns. “The policies and principles of the *Barbuda Voice* have never been bent or twisted to favor any political party” (November 1971: 4).

Barbudans were not passive readers of the newspaper. One Barbudan writing from New York, Clifton Wynter in August of 1971 called for a physical checkup of the newspaper lest the paper succumb to “editorial vacuum.” “The Editor should not ignore it and perhaps he ought to take the paper in for a checkup. Perhaps he ought to find out what the readers think. The Editor should like to know the readers’ opinion and welcome any suggestions that might help” (August 1971: 5). The Barbuda Brotherhood Social Club called out *The Voice* in 1971 when it printed a report by Senator Teague that unemployment had decreased (see *BV*, August 1971:1) when conflicting reports from islanders indicated that it in fact had not. One response from the

Barbuda Brotherhood Social Club stated, “As Barbudans living abroad, we are very concerned with what is going on at home-or may-be we should say with what Is not going on at home. So we look forward with great anticipation for each issue of the *Barbuda Voice*, our only source of information. Be we are only thrust further into confusion and disappointment” (October 1971: 6).

In an interview with transnational migrant and former female politician Francilla Francis, she said the *Barbuda Voice* served an important function in dispelling rumors circulating off the island. “It was really good and helpful for us, the Barbudan community abroad, giving us firsthand info on what happened at home. You had people here who would send firsthand information and not somebody printing something they heard somebody say” (2010). Kenford E. Punter expressed similar sentiment and wrote in appreciation of the editor’s frequent visits to the Island in 1970, “One hears so many things that some time you don’t know which to believe. I am of what you have reported from your visit to the Island, and that many doubts have been removed from the minds of many of our people here and elsewhere” (*BV*, September 1970: 2).

### **Barbuda Nation**

Interestingly, Barbudans in the newspaper wrote of their island as a country despite the 1967 Associated Statehood Status with Antigua. Even today, after nearly 29 years of independence with Antigua, Barbudans in conversation will still refer to their “country.” Ernest Renan writes,

A nation is a soul, a spiritual principle. Two things, which in truth are but one, constitute this soul or spiritual principle. One is the possession in common of a rich legacy of memories; the other is present-day consent, the desire to live together, the will to perpetuate the value of the heritage that one has received in an undivided form. (Renan 1990: 19)

In nearly twenty instances in the five-year period of coverage do Barbudans refer to the island as their “country.” In at least three of those instances Barbudans are addressed as countrymen.

Many of the Barbudans who lived abroad and some that were not even born in Barbuda referred to Barbuda as home when they wrote letters to the editor. Edna A. Crutchfield wrote, “America is ok, but Barbuda will always be ‘home’ for Barbudians at home and abroad” (*BV*, April 1970: 6). Albert L. Thomas, also writing from the U.S., wrote in reference to the proposed Robert Bradshaw development project, “My reaction is rather terrifying, knowing that Barbuda is my hometown and I do care about what is happening back there” (*BV*, April 1970: 6). Rev. Jerome John wrote gave the reader a bit more insight about his feelings as a Barbudan despite being a first generation American. “I was born in New York City and I showed my allegiance to the flag by serving in the armed forces in the time of war. But my roots, my heritage, my ancestry is solidly implanted in Barbuda. Why? Because that little island gave life and foundation to my mother and father, and I am proud of them and of the place” (*BV*, June 1970: 6). One of the most powerful representations of this feeling and longing toward home was a poem by Russell John actually entitled “Home” (*BV*, October 1970: 7). In 2009, he told me he wrote it on behalf of his parents and other Barbudans living abroad who still referred to Barbuda as home (2009).

Those who were born or lived in Barbuda,  
Know of a different day.  
In the heat of the sun,  
Their morning’s work done,  
They bathe at River or Low Bay.

Those who were born or lived in Barbuda,  
Know of the “Village Well”,  
From slaves toil and sweat,  
Serves the Villagers yet,  
Could it speak, what a history to tell.

Those who were born or lived in Barbuda,  
“Martello Tower”, they know.  
They’ve viewed from its crown,  
Explored all its grounds,

Then for sea-side grapes they would go.

Those who were born or lived in Barbuda,  
Know of a different night.  
They stop and they talk,  
On Government walk,  
In the glow of soft moon-light.

Those who were born or lived in Barbuda,  
And ever chanced to roam.  
Where ere they may be,  
You can guarantee,  
They speak of this Island as "Home".

In this poem, John references a number of significant locations on the island, Martello Tower, the Village Well, Low Bay and River. He also seems to reach out to all Barbudans indicating that whether you were born on or off the island, all Barbudans can relate to some of these common experiences and places.

Barbudans use *The Voice* to remind their fellow islanders of their obligatory duty to their Caribbean home, the responsibility to care and write letters to *The Voice*. As Renan writes, "A nation is therefore a large-scale solidarity, constituted by the feeling of the sacrifices that one has made in the past and of those that one is prepared to make in the future. It presupposes a past; it is summarized, however, in the present by a tangible fact, namely, a consent, the clearly expressed desire to continue a common life" (Renan 1990: 19). Just one example out of many is the editorial entitled "A Message to Barbudans Everywhere." "It should be obvious to all Barbudans by now that the fate of their home is in their hands. THIS GENERATION OF BARBUDANS DO NOT HAVE TO DISCOVER THEIR MISSION, IT IS OBVIOUS. IT IS NOW UP TO US TO FULFILL OR BETRAY IT" (February 1973: 6).

## **Land**

In line with the broader themes of this dissertation project focusing on common property and migration, *Barbuda Voice* served as an active forum and engine of action on behalf of the land. The land is a rallying cry for Barbudans at home and abroad and is mentioned in some form in almost every issue of *The Voice* between 1969 and 1974.

### The Commons

The first hint at the communal nature of the land does not appear until July of 1972 with a letter from transnational migrant Hilbourne Frank, a Barbudan of note in previous chapters of this dissertation (See Chapter Three and the discussion of transnational activism). Frank writes, “To be very candid on the matter it is accurate to say that we Barbudans here have no regard for the law or any law which deprives Barbudans of collective ownership of and sovereignty over the lands we so deservingly inherited” (p. 9). Frank again writes in August of 1972, “Since we have our individual rights to the land, we therefore also have collective rights” (p. 1) He writes in December 1972, “It is therefore important that all lands remain public property” (p. 7). Among the pages of *The Voice*, Barbudans are negotiating their land tenure.

### Development

The first mention of the land is in December of 1969 in terms of a potential development scheme by Canadian Developer Robert Bradshaw of Tradewinds Investment Limited. The May issue of 1970 further clarifies the intentions of the Tradewinds Investments Limited, which would take nearly a quarter of the island and sell sites to prospective hotel developers and well as those wishing to build homes. *Barbuda Voice* describes it in this way: “This option on one quarter of the Island, was to be given to his company by the Antiguan Government in return for 20% of the Companies profits. Only 5% was to be given to a ‘Citizens of Barbuda Trust Fund’” (*BV*, May

1970: 9). The Bud Society set up a meeting with Bradshaw in New York City to discuss the project and its implications for Barbuda. Those attending the meeting in New York developed a signed petition that eventually made its way to Antiguan Premier V.C. Bird protesting the development project. *The Voice* discussed the project in great detail and presented the petition by way of newspaper publication to Barbudans in May of 1970. The petition reveals the involvement of Barbudans living outside the island and their desire to protect the common property from outside developers. It reads, “We the relatives and friends of the Natives of Barbuda hereby affix our signatures to this petition” (*BV*, May 1970: 9). Later on they write, “Let it be know that Barbudans living outside of Barbuda are UNITED AND AWARE, and will take any and all legal measures to protest any injustices perpetrated or intended to be perpetrated on their loved ones living on Barbuda” (*BV*, May 1970: 10).

### Land Acquisition

In the first five years of coverage there is a growing frustration with the process of land allocation, Barbudans are unable to secure new plots of land amidst growing population pressures in the village. During that time period, the Warden on the island and the Antigua government, as a result of the West Indies Act of 1967 were responsible for the distribution of lands. Patrick Thomas writes of this in 1970, “The partial replacement of a representative by a village council, giving preference to foreign investors to lease land for 99 years, while natives are prohibited from owning land and are saddened by the sickening tune of, ‘I promise you,’ Government” (*BV*, November 1970:8). In July of 1971, Patrick Thomas again writes, “I think the time has come for a change and that should come in making the land available to the people to build” (p. 3). Glascoe Punter wrote two years later in 1972:

They are taking everything from us, not only that, they feel like the land is theirs. Barbudan people can’t get their own land to build a house. The Antigua Government has

told us to put our names on a list. For the past seven years or more, Barbudan names have been on a list at Government House and hardly any land has been measured out. (*BV*, January 1972 p. 9)

Still five years later in 1974, problems of procuring land for home construction persisted. The Editor of *The Voice* Russell John along with Milford Beazer, even inquired to Representative Claude Earl Francis personally as to the procedure of acquiring building lots and wrote about the process in an article entitled “Warden and Rep. Asked About Building Lots.” Francis told them that they simply needed to go to the Warden to apply. They document their conversation with Warden Browne regarding their inquiries for acquiring land:

“I have not received any information or instructions regarding land at that New Village,” responded Browne. Then asked about those who are in the process of building homes at the site, did they apply through you? And if not, do you know how they obtained permission to proceed to build? I asked. “I have no idea,” he said. (August 1974: 2)

### Deeds

In addition to development projects and land acquisition, Barbudans were active to write in to the newspaper in regards to the subject matter of land deeds. Glascoe Punter wrote in from New York about the Antiguan government’s scheme to deed land in Barbuda. “I understand the new Government is planning to give deeds to the people for their land. . . . If Barbudan people accept deeds for their land the Government will sell Barbuda piece by piece and who don’t have land at the time would have to buy land from then on . . . . So anyone that comes to you with this story about giving deeds, he is planning to take away our privileges of *having access to free land* and is going to sell out Barbuda to help build Antigua” (*BV*, October 1970: 11, italics mine).

In a column in the June 1973 issue entitled “Title Deeds: Trick or Treat?” the editor wrote of a recent conversation with the then Premier of Antigua, George Walter. In terms of deeding land in Barbuda he told the newspaper, “It’s a very important project being pursued by the Government at this time is to give the people of Barbuda title deeds to their plots of land.

[this was also the endeavor of the Bird Administration]. To date, he says, the people have opposed it. This, he feels, is very foolish as he sees it as an advantage to them” (p. 8). The editor Russell John writes that he expressed to the Premier that the “nay movement toward title deed, should be given intense investigation before any decisions are made. That all the legal ramifications should be brought out for the information of the people” (*BV*, June 1973: 8).

Interestingly, British Barbudan Hilbourne Frank applied the current land crisis in England to the potential loss of his homeland in Barbuda, should the land be deeded.

Barbudans here in Britain wish to warn and advise our people at home and abroad of the dangers facing them with the land question and of the economic and social benefits which the proper cultivation of the land could secure in terms of general revenue.

Any student of history can easily recount how the European masses have been cheated of their land rights and today the people of Britain and elsewhere struggle to own a home. Inflation in land values has soared beyond the means of millions of families. It is the said rotten system of Land Titles which Barbudans at home are now queuing up to innovate within our legal framework. (*BV*, June 1973: 8)

Again in the very same issue Barbudans from England submitted nine letters expressing their desire that land should not be deeded. These letters reveal the variety of opinion among Barbudans as one Barbudan Raeburn Griffin writes of dissension in regards to title deed:

I heard people saying if they have title deeds they can borrow money from the bank. Yes, that’s true, but if this money is not paid back to the bank, your land has gone to the bank. . . . DO NOT SELL LIKE THE ANTIGUANS, SELL, SELL, SELL. (*BV*, June 1973: 8)

Another perspective about the deeding of lands comes from former representative McChesney George who calls out Barbudans living abroad particularly in England, of their supposed hypocrisy in trying to dissuade Barbudans at home from deeding their lands. In this excerpt, readers get a feel for the tension that often exists between those at home and those abroad.

Can you and any or all of the writers inform me of any Western Civilised nation where the people of a country are prevented by Law from holding Legal Title to lands they have bought and own and on which they have spent a great deal of money to put houses and



other amenities? . . . . Is there any good reason why Barbuda and Barbudans should not hold a Title Deed for the land on which their homes stand if they so desire?

Many of the people who write in from England, particularly H. Frank, owns his own home in England and I am sure he has a Title Deed for same. Is it right for him and others to hold a Title Deed for lands in England but their Compatriots at home to be denied the right to own land on which their home stands in Barbuda? Do you not think that this is the best way to deal with the question rather than publishing articles almost every month from people who imply that any Barbudan who may feel that Title Deeds should be issued are dishonest scamps? (*BV*, September 1973: 5)

*Barbuda Voice* is a conversation among Barbudans living all over the world, and George's comment to Barbudans living abroad did not go unanswered. Rolston Drinkwater responded to George in a letter to the editor in October 1973 pointing out George's own transnational connections, "We all know you McChesney George, you were born in Brooklyn, New York in America. You sold Barbuda once and still would like to do so because you are the one who would like Barbuda to have Title Deeds. No more selling" (p. 6). George's comments were still reverberating as late as July of 1974 when Raeburn Griffin reminded Barbudans:

In the *Barbuda Voice*, Vol. 5, No. 47 Sept. issue, page 5, McChesney writes that many of the people who write from England, particularly H. Frank owns his home in England and I'm sure he has a title deed for same. It is right for him and others to hold a title deed for land. McChesney, you do not know what you are writing about, the land that the houses are built on belongs to the crown, any time the local authorities or corporation can put a bulldozer through that land and the owner of the house cannot do anything about it. (p. 4)

The first ever Barbuda Convention held on the island in July of 1974 tried to come to some united consensus on Barbuda's land, particularly Title Deeds. Hilbourne Frank submitted a resolution from the conference related to the land in a later edition of *The Voice*. The resolution states:

- 1—That no Government, nor representative nor any administrative body, enact or force an enactment for the purpose of issuing Title Deeds for lands to the people of Barbuda or two individuals or anybody whatsoever.
- 2—That the people of Barbuda in the majority, reject any proposals for the enactment of any bills for the issuance of Title Deeds for lands in Barbuda and all lands in Barbuda must remain the communal property of the people of Barbuda for ever and ever.

3— That for the purpose of the ease of occupation or extensive agricultural pursuits the people of Barbuda be free to settle on any parcel of land at any place of his choice, save land set aside for special industry, (e.g. beach lands) and subject to the scrutiny and approval of the duly elected Council of Barbuda (*BV*, November 1974: 4)

This resolution among other numerous write-ins by Frank illustrate the involvement of Barbudan transnationals in the land affairs of Barbuda and their often-impassioned response.

My Brother Barbudans, I Sherwin Webber, hereby warn you! Beware of land-stealers who at present go about seeking to devour our native homeland. They come with their devious policies of land allocation and ownership. BEWARE! BEWARE! I cry! For they come for gain at your loss.

I call upon you all, fellow-brothers, to reject any form of land transactions. Money they will bring but don't be fooled land is worth more than money. Nobody ever bought land in Barbuda, therefore nobody should sell. I command you as a friend, reject these land-stealers. Keep the ground God has given you to till. (p. 8)

Sherwin Webber's passionate compliments an emerging theme throughout *The Voice* that in fact Barbuda's land tenure system is a birthright, an important heritage or legacy. The lively discussion of deeds would continue in later editions of *The Voice*, outside the five-year focus of this chapter.

#### Barbuda's Land: Birthright and Heritage

Barbudans attach important meaning to their relationship with the island's land and have a rich community discourse as to how they acquired their rights. An interview with long-time leader of Antigua V.C. Bird years later in *The Voice*, in December 1982 (p. 5) calls attention to this deeply entrenched oral history.

(V.C. Bird) You see, there's a misunderstanding in the minds of the people of Barbuda, that Codrington gave them the island personally as their own possession. And every time a new Governor or a new Administrator came, they all went down to meet him at the gate and to remind him that this was their own. And that went on until they had their own solicitors and I had to welcome the idea of Mr. McChesney George and Mr. Claude Earl Francis going to England and reading the will of Sir Codrington and saw for themselves the he didn't leave Barbuda for the people of Barbuda because he didn't own Barbuda. ... Around when that was coming to an end, it was around emancipation time and so Codrington left. For there were no longer those slaves to be held in Barbuda. So when he

left there, he left the land which belonged to the Crown, for Barbuda was always Crown property. So therefore, Codrington could not give them Barbuda.

As Bird points out, Codrington did not have the legal right to make such a relinquishment to Barbudans. Whatever the legality, however, some Barbudans today still proclaim the island was in fact willed to them by the Codrington family, (de jure vs. de facto) which in its own right is just as customary as law. Whatever the case, a powerful discourse remains surrounding the land, in which Barbudans often invoke the heritage of their enslaved ancestors under Codrington as a rallying cry for all Barbudans to protect and preserve the land. Table 6.2 is a collection of quotations from the first five years of publication in which Barbudans are calling upon their birthright often in the attempt to unite Barbudans around the world to take a stand against anyone seeking to rob them of their land.

In terms of migration research, particularly case studies of diaspora, evoking community through symbolism helps to maintain and foster a collective identity. In this example, Barbudan identity is often intertwined with the land.

Hence we can apply Anderson's (1991) notion of the "imagined community" where a particular idea of community is constructed around certain histories and symbols and practices. This notion is applicable to virtual communities in that they may exist solely on a macro level, hence they are imagined in that the participants many never meet but the narratives may also help maintain the collective identities of communities sharing a locality, a mosque web site for example. (Poole 2002: 55)

Thomas Faist identifies transnational communities as a third type of transnational social space, a topic discussed in greater detail later in this chapter. Transnational communities are characteristic of those who have migrated and those who have stayed behind, remaining connected through symbolic ties "over time and across space to pattern of networks and circuits in two countries" (p. 207). In order to maintain high degrees of social cohesion, communities

**Table 6.2 Barbuda's Heritage**

“I always thought that Barbuda was ours, God gave that land to us.”<sup>1</sup>

“We will be loosing our heritage and finally we will be slaves for him”<sup>2</sup>

“There are many of us who would sell our birthright for a little porridge and allow our children to suffer”<sup>3</sup>

“To have him intervene or buy us out of our standard operational procedures”<sup>4</sup>

“That Bradshaw bodes nothing but evil for Barbuda and is up to no good but to rob people of their Birthright”<sup>5</sup>

“Surely they do not wish to sell their birthright for work”<sup>6</sup>

“It is also our opinion that in order to best preserve the rights and privileges of the Inhabitants of the Island, any development project proposed for Barbuda should be under Leasehold terms for small areas and that development should be under the control of Barbudans”<sup>7</sup>

“The people and their heritage should never be destroyed”<sup>8</sup>

“Don't sell your privileges for money, keep it for your children's children”<sup>9</sup>

“Friends let me say if you are right, no matter if they kill you they can't take your rights away from you”<sup>10</sup>

“You who put your sweat and blood into the land for a century. You who were the first real inhabitants of the Island, you gave the land life when no one else wanted or cared about it”<sup>11</sup>

“... Without sacrificing your age old rights of freedom on the island”<sup>12</sup>

“So anyone that comes to you with this story about giving deeds, he is planning to take away our privileges of having access to free land”<sup>13</sup>

“We don't realize the privileges we have until it is gone and it will be too late then, so let us fight to keep our Island and don't let these land grabbing people who call themselves Government, get our land”<sup>14</sup>

“My people as squatters on the God Given Rock of Barbuda, are awakening to their rightful place in the sun ... we want the dignity of labor restored to our land, so that the joy, peace, liberty, self-respect and unity of living enjoyed by our fore-fathers, be a reality”<sup>15</sup>

**Table 6.2 Continued**

“Our fore parents have toiled, sweated and thrashed, all they got from this is the right to this land, which is handed down to the future generations. Let us keep this land to all Barbudans by birth”<sup>16</sup>

“So Barbudans, let us continue to raise our voices with meaning, this is serious business, they are after our BIRTHRIGHT and this is the only loophole they can use to sell our land from under us”<sup>17</sup>

“I felt that this was a most important matter dealing as it does with the one and only asset of the people of the island”<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>L. Frank, March 1970 p. 7

<sup>2</sup>Letter to the Editor, February 1970, p. 3

<sup>3</sup>Bud Grass, February 1970, p. 6

<sup>4</sup>Albert L. Thomas (sergeant) p. 6 April 1970

<sup>5</sup>McChesney D.B. George, May 1970 p. 1

<sup>6</sup>Raeburn Griffin, May 1970, p. 6

<sup>7</sup>Editors, May 1970, p. 9

<sup>8</sup>Rev. Jerome John, June 1970, p. 4

<sup>9</sup>Bud Grass, July 1970, p. 3

<sup>10</sup>Glascoe Punter, September 1970 p. 6

<sup>11</sup>Rev. Jerome John, October 1970 p. 8

<sup>12</sup>Rev. Jerome John, October 1970 p. 8

<sup>13</sup>Glascoe Punter, October 1970, p. 11

<sup>14</sup>Glascoe Punter, January 1971, p. 7

<sup>15</sup>Irene Punter, April 1971, p. 2

<sup>16</sup>Raeburn Griffin, June 1973, p. 8

<sup>17</sup>Glascoe Punter, August 1973 p. 4

<sup>18</sup>McChesney George, January 1974, p. 8

often separated by great distances rely on a “symbolic and collective representation” (Faist 2000: 208). It is these common representations and Barbudan symbolism that I have highlighted. The one thing that truly unites Barbudans is their unique land tenure. Faist writes, “Symbolic ties function to bridge vast geographical distances that cross nation-states borders for members of kinship or ethnic migrant groups” (Faist 2000: 110). Charles Tilly notes that this representation often involves a narrative, a Barbudan narrative such as the one described by V.C. Bird, with language of heritage and birthright evoked among the pages of *The Voice* (1996: 7).

## Connectivity

The major purpose of the *Barbuda Voice* was to connect Barbudans living all over the world to the events and happenings both on and off the island. An interview with Russell John provided an historical perspective on the involvement of Barbudans prior to the publication of *The Voice*.

Amy: How involved do you think Barbudans living abroad are or were at that time in issues relating to the island?

Russell: Only with their relatives. They would write to their relatives, that's it. In other words they didn't spread beyond who they knew on the island. That's one of the reasons the *Barbuda Voice* was there to bring it all together, to contact those people and put it all together into one paper. (Russell John 2009)

Barbudans all over the world remained connected to their island home in various ways. *The Voice* facilitated and highlighted a number of these political, philanthropic and social club connections on its pages.

## Politics

Much like the transnational political involvement of Haiti's 10<sup>th</sup> Department (see Basch et al. 1994) Barbudans held meetings with both Antiguan and Barbudan politicians outside the island, particularly in England and New York. In March of 1971, the newly elected parliamentary representative C. E. Francis writes, "I realise that the votes of those at home not only represent their interest but those of the many Barbudans and their descendants living in the United States, the Virgin Islands and the United Kingdom" (p. 1). That same year, Barbudans in New York attended a meeting with the new Antigua Minister of Industry, Trade and Commerce Selvyn A. Walter. In his address to the audience, Selvyn used the identifier Antigua and Antiguan without making reference to Barbudans. When an officer of the Antiguan Progressive Society passed forward a note informing him Barbudans were in fact also in the audience, Walter became flustered. In the question and answer period, *Barbuda Voice* editor Russell John asked him, "The note handed to you was from an Antiguan in recognition of the many Barbudans that came out in

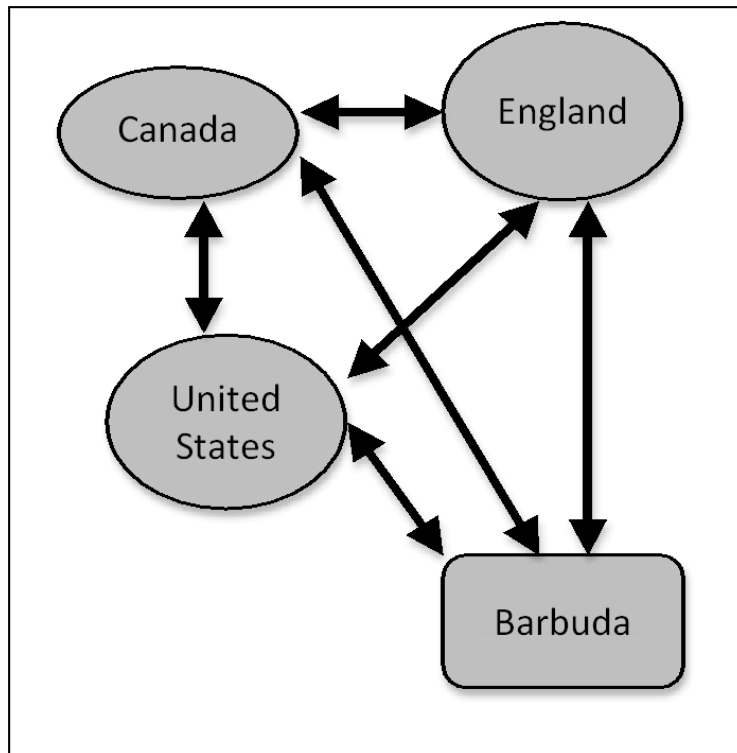
respect of you. Should your reaction be interpreted as Governments attitude towards Barbuda, a sort of anonymity for the Island and its people?” (p. 3). This was typical behavior on the part of transnationals engaging with politicians for recognition on the part of Barbuda and is something that still occurs today.<sup>33</sup>

An article in July of 1970 discussing initial Antigua and Barbuda Associated Statehood in 1967 sheds light on previous communicative processes between politicians and those living abroad before the publication of *The Voice*. Maxwell Walker write, “Mr. McChesney sent a 21-page letter to Mr. Frank to read to the Barbudans living in England, which send a petition to the Queen in support of secession from Antigua. He was right to read the letter to us” (p. 7). With the onset of *The Voice*, politicians could now use the newspaper as an outlet to address all Barbudans.

In addition to politics, the pages of *The Voice* highlighted the efforts of social clubs in New York, Toronto, and Leicester, particularly fundraising efforts for reading materials for the island library and the construction of a community center. The connectivity of Barbudans around the world and the efforts of Barbudan social clubs were far more complex than simply nodes of migration connected to the Barbudan cultural hearth (Figure 6.2 and also see Voigt-Graf 2004). Fundraising efforts were at times a multi-nodal or multi-nation endeavor requiring the cooperation of Barbudans in New York, Canada, and England. New Yorker Glascoe Punter started a campaign to raise funds for a hearse so that Barbuda might have a proper vehicle to transport their dead during a funeral other than being “hailed away in a garbage tractor” (*BV*, May 1972: 5). While the effort took two years, Barbudans living in England and Canada also made contributions to the New York initiated project. In May of 1974, the newspaper prints a

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<sup>33</sup> One Canadian Barbudan told me in 2009 that her mother would often call out Antiguan politicians who hold meetings with the overseas community living in Toronto when they fail to include Barbuda in the discussion.



**Figure 6.2 Complex Connections**

“thank you” “to extend our gratitude to the Barbuda Canadian Organization for sending a very generous donation for the shipping of the hearse for Barbuda” (*BV*, June 1974: 6).

Perhaps the most extraordinary example of connectivity illustrated and facilitated by *The Voice* is the July 1974 convention held in Barbuda that came about through the efforts of Barbudans living all over the world out of concern for events taking place on the island. The convention was an effort on the part of Barbudans all over, particularly in Leicester, New York, and the island itself. While not all Barbudans abroad were able to attend, “Mr. Hilbourne Frank delivered the opening address, read letters from well-wishers and played tapes of shorts speeches to the audience” (July 1974: 1).

The convention itself resulted in the culmination of a resolution signed by 391 Barbudans. The resolution reads:



RESENTING the indifference of the British government to the actions of the Antiguan Government in:

- 1- Failing to recognize the inherent dignity and the equal and inalienable rights of we the people of Barbuda as members of the human family.
- 2- Constantly suppressing and terrifying us by stationing large numbers of armed police in our quiet peaceful little island with the view of preventing us from desiring or demanding social, political and economic freedom.
- 3- Neglecting our numerous requests for economic, social, medical and political assistance and forcing us ever deeper into poverty and want.
- 4- Compelling us to be contemplating recourse to rebellion against the tyranny and oppression which they and their administrative officers, particularly the president Warden of the Island, are forcing up on us by their reckless disregard and contempt for our rights as Human Beings in a modern and civilized world. . . .

That we respectfully request that her Majesty's Government of Great Britain and the Government of Antigua take early steps, in conjunction with Representatives elected by this Convention, to arrange the orderly transfer of the power they now wield in governing we the people of Barbuda, into our own hands and that of such Representatives we may hereafter elect.

Barbuda would never gain independence as called for by the convention but would receive its own Barbuda elected local governing body in 1976, just two years after the convention, with the passing of the Barbuda Local Government Act. While I do not want to undermine the work of Representative Claude Earl Francis, one could also speculate that perhaps this convention also served as an impetus in the creation of The Barbuda Council.

### Macro Scale Forces

The transnational nature of the island's population was at times to Barbuda's advantage.

Barbudans could use their connections abroad to resist the often-corrupt control of Antigua.

Barbuda became an associated state with Antigua in 1967 in an effort to move toward complete independence in 1981. Russell John recalled in 2009 the harassment he faced from the Antigua police because of the Barbuda newspaper project.

What they were doing they wanted to remain secret. They didn't want everybody to know that they were being crooked. Barbuda is a small island. It really has no connections outside, you have to go through Antigua. So they could stop that but they couldn't stop me because I was an American. So they hated the idea the paper was running. (Russell John 2009)

When I asked Russell John if those living abroad had much say in what happened on the island he cited the example of Barbudans living in England and their activity on behalf of Barbuda when the island was still under British control.

They did. Because they were able, if they lived in England, they were able to speak to somebody, local Congressman or whoever and inform someone in power what's going on, because Barbuda is apart of England. When I say that they ruled Barbuda. So they were able to talk to their Congressmen or whomever and get something done, whatever it was, it was very effective. (2009)

It is through the *Barbuda Voice* that Barbudans are at times able to “escape the power of the nation-state to inform their sense of collective identity” (Kearny 1991: 59). While *The Voice* in many respects is very much outside the control of any one nation, the reminder of the limitations of Barbudans abroad and the boundaries within which Barbudans can fight for their rights because of the laws and restrictions of bounded territories is very much a constant reminder.

### Immigration

Periodically *The Voice* would feature an article relating to immigration matters in Canada, the United States or England. In a petition before the United Nations, McChesney George reported on the migrating habits of the islanders. “The people of Barbuda traditionally emigrated abroad, but it was becoming increasingly difficult for them to enter such countries as Canada and the United Kingdom. A great number of Barbudans were therefore unemployed” (December 1970: 1). In April 1971, *The Voice* reported on “Virgin Islands Deporting Aliens” (p. 7).

The US Immigration and Naturalization Service has deported over 1,110 from St. Thomas and St. Croix, since March 5th of this year. Many others have left voluntarily since the crackdown on illegal overstays and entries began. Alien labor is important to the V.I. into the West Indian islands, since nearly half of the workforce in the V.I. are aliens and an estimated \$4.5 million are sent home by these workers every year.

Aside from deportation, changes in immigration laws also made news in *The Voice*. In June 1970, the newspaper reported that Commonwealth Citizens would not have automatic right of

settlement in the United Kingdom but would now need a work permit for a specific place and period of time. The Editors wrote, “The following is an immigration bill proposed for adoption in the U.K. It is felt that the bill will pass and that it will have a great effect on West Indians living there” (June 1971: 7). In December of 1974 another immigration bill, this time in Canada, was the focus of an article entitled “Canada Curbs Immigration.”

Canada’s new immigration rules are apparently an attempt to hold the line on the influx of nonwhite, non-European immigrants that have been flowing into Canada. The new rules would make it more difficult for aliens to enter Canada without a prearranged job. Further, it would have to be shown that no permanent Canadian resident can be found for the job. (December 1974: 6)

One Barbudan even had trouble attending the funeral of his brother Vincent Webber in Leicester, England. “A great disappointment was the late arrival of his eldest brother James . . . because of immigration strictness” (September 1972: 7).

In addition to the laws in which Barbudans had to negotiate while living abroad, the island itself was often at the mercy of the whims of the Antiguan government. Despite the agency of Barbudans to navigate the laws and boundaries of the nation-state, there are moments when things are simply out of their control. Because Barbuda was a British colony, the Barbudan representative McChesney George often made appeals to the British government:

The very few words I had with Lord Shepherd gave me hope that at last the British government has begun to realize (a) That there was an Island named Barbuda and that Human beings lived there (b) That they are still British citizens (c) That with the attainment of statehood by Antigua real problems had arisen so far as the Administration of Barbuda is concerned and (d) That it was part of Britain’s duty to assist the people of Barbuda towards a better life. (BV, December 1969: 1)

When it seemed as though appeals to the British government were not enough, the representative sought help from the highest world governing body, the United Nations. In 1970, *The Voice* reprinted representative McChesney George’s letter addressed to the United Nations. In this

letter, George appealed to international law on behalf of the situation in Barbuda, described as a continuation of colonialism under the Antiguan government.

Barbuda and the Barbuda and are therefore left in this strange position in that although they are supposed to be British citizens, and their rights as human beings from an international level is under the control of Britain, they can expect no assistance from the head of their nation when their basic civil and human rights are being flagrantly violated.

. . . .

Under a former slave master, the Codrington family, at least our bellies were full and our people were treated well so far as slaves went. Under British colonialism we were neglected; but at least when our people made representations they will listen to you and some effort was made to accede to her demands. The land was ours and there was minimal interference with our way of life.

Even the Barbudan representative at times felt helpless in his endeavors and said so in a letter printed in the newspaper addressed to a critic. His frustration came about in part because Barbuda had one vote out of 14 in the Council, one of which was reserved for the Attorney General and the other 12 belonged to Antiguan.

I need hardly point out that my one vote is of little use in shaping or unshaping the destiny of Barbuda. . . . I was not getting why I felt and still feel that it is a waste of time for Barbudans going to counsel or a cabinet to say you are arguing for things for Barbuda when the odds are always against you. The only way for Barbuda as a separate Island to be run is for Barbudans in Barbuda elected by the people of Barbuda, to have control their own affairs and to be able to tell the Senior Civil Servant in the Island, be he Warden or Permanent Secretary, what they want done in their own Island. (*BV*, May 1970: 3)

In the five years of newspaper coverage, the Antigua government would repeatedly try to negotiate outside development deals for Barbuda's land. Such was the case with the Bradshaw Development Initiative discussed in detail earlier in this chapter. The 1904 Barbuda Ordinance states, "All lands within the Island of Barbuda are hereby vested in the Administrator on behalf of the Crown and shall be dealt with in accordance with the provisions of this Ordinance" (January 1974: 8). Because of the unclear constitutional status of Barbuda when it became an Associated State with Antigua, it was uncertain as to who was now in control of Barbudan lands.

The Antiguan Government often tried to take liberties during this time because of the ambiguous nature of the law.

I want to ask them something, are you going to stand by and let the Antigua Government take advantage and finally sell out Barbuda? Don't get me wrong, I would like to see investors buy our land so that the Island can be developed like other countries, but what I am trying to say is, ever since we or our great-grandparents know themselves, the money that was supposed to help develop Barbuda, stayed in Antigua. (Glascoe Punter, July 1971: 4)

Aside from Antiguan led development initiatives, Barbudans during the first five years of coverage of *The Voice* were often at the mercy of the Antigua government to even acquire land for housing construction. Such was the case in this write-in in July of 1972 and discussed in more detail earlier in this chapter.

The big problem arose when Sen. Teague was advised by Mr. Francis [Barbudan Representative] to ask the Acting Warden to send someone to measure some land for Mrs. Delores Walker, and Kenneth Thomas. The Acting Warden informed Sen. Teague that Mr. Francis did not have authority to ask him to give people land; therefore these people will not get any land unless he gets orders from the Premier, because the Premier comes first then the Warden. (p. 3)

In this section I have highlighted the tension between structure and agency. Barbudans were able to exercise some agency in the fixed bounds of its relatively powerless status particularly with the Antiguan Government; however, they are still bound by the constraints of large-scale government and supranational entities.

### **Broader Theoretical Implications—A Transnational Communicative Space**

In this section, I wish to explore the concept of a transnational communicative space based on the case study *Barbuda Voice*. The use of the word “space” as associated with the concept of transnationalism had been used as early as the 1990's when anthropologists and sociologists began to publish on this seemingly new phenomenon of transnational migration.

Linda Basch, Nina Glick Schiller and Cristina Szanton Blanc in *Nations Unbound* advance the concept of a transnational social field. “Our focus becomes the manner in which migrants through their life ways and daily practices, reconfigure space so that their lives are lived simultaneously within two or more nation-states” (29). Basch and others added to Philip Kasinitz’s discussion of Caribbean media in the United States writing “immigrant press gives further shape to the transnational social field” (1994: 90).

Thomas Faist in his expansive volume on the subject defines transnational social spaces as “constituted by the various forms of resources or capital of spatially mobile and immobile persons on the one hand, and the regulations imposed by nation states and various other opportunities and constraints, on the other hand” (Faist 2000; 200 (i.e. immigrant policies). He identifies three forms of transnational social space: transnational kinship groups, transnational circuits, and transnational communities (Faist 2000: 202-210). Transnational kinship groups are defined by their obligation, particularly reciprocity, particularly in the form of remittances (Faist 2000: 202). Transnational circuits are characterized by a continual “circulation of goods, people and information traversing borders of sending and receiving states (2000:206). Transnational communities “characterize situations in which international movers and stayers are connected by dense and strong social and symbolic ties over time and across space to patterns of networks and circuits in two countries” (2000: 207). Faist credits technological advances in travel such as the transoceanic steamship passage, long-distance communication, and the telegraph with the accelerated emergence of transnational social spaces. Like other scholars, Faist also places heavy emphasis on modern technologies like “satellite or cable TV, instant mass communication, [and] personal communication bridging long distances via telephone and fax” (2000b: 215-216) In contrast to the seemingly “unbound nation” of Basch and others (1994), Faist argues that

“transnational social spaces cannot be conceptualized as deterritorialized spaces of flows” (Faist 2000a: 210).

Carmen Voigt-Graf sought to find a “link between the social and the spatial in regard to transnational spaces” (2004: 28). Voigt-Graf took important steps toward developing a “terminology of a geography of transnationalism” and defined transnational space as:

The sum of the nodes and flows between them. The emphasis is on the fact that it is shaped by social activities and in turn shapes them. The transnational space as a whole comprises different sub-spaces defined by the sphere of transnational activities such as transnational economic spaces and transnational cultural spaces. (2004: 29)

Much like Faist, Voigt-Graf grounds transnational processes in two or more nation-states (2004:28).

In a 2004 edited volume by Peter Jackson, Philip Crang, and Claire Dwyer entitled *Transnational Spaces*, Roger Rouse discusses the spatial complexity of what he calls a “transnational migrant circuit.” In his discussion, he describes the social space of postmodernism as “the continuous circulation of people, money goods, and information, the various settlements have become so closely woven together that, in an important sense, they have come to constitute a single community spread across a variety of sites” (Rouse 2004: 30).

While the newspaper is firmly grounded in the homeland of Barbuda, *Barbuda Voice* is not entirely Barbudan, British, American, or Canadian. In a sense, Barbudans are much like Rouse’s study of Anguillans in that “their current lives and future possibilities [involve] simultaneous engagements in places associated with markedly different forms of experience” (Rouse 2004: 30). We can push this notion of a transnational communicative space further to encompass the newspaper, *The Voice* that is forging a Barbudan identity among its pages, while merging and reshaping the influences of British, American, and Canadian-Barbudan experiences abroad. While firmly grounded in several nations-states and the “nation of Barbuda,” *The Voice*

is simultaneously unbounded and recreating something new and Barbudan that ultimately influences politics, identity, and land tenure questions on the island. Hilbourne Frank's knowledge of land tenure practices in England serves as a catalyst to protect the communal lands in Barbuda. His experience in England led him to protect rather than privatize Barbudan land. In fact, it gives him the opportunity to maintain "two quite distinct ways of life" engaging with both a private and common land tenure system in England and on the island (Rouse 2004: 30).

Shehina Fazal and Roza Tsagarousianou reconcile the transnational and global in which Faist and others find disjuncture. They write, "It is clear that diasporic cultural practices constitute ways of 'imagination,' of 'institution' of spaces that often extend beyond the boundaries of place, and of senses of belonging that straddle the local v global divide and, in the process, redefine locality and 'the global' (2002: 16). Perhaps we can think of *The Voice* as the in-between space for this meeting ground of people from all over the world. "They are almost invariably constituting new transnational spaces of experience that are complexly interfacing with the experiential frameworks that both countries of settlement and purported countries of origin represent" (2002: 16). In reference to diasporic communities, Fazal and Tsagarousianou argue that they take on "several histories and cultures that belong to several 'homes' (2002: 10). As with the *Barbuda Voice*, several experiences and varied "homes" come into play on its pages to recreate something all together new.

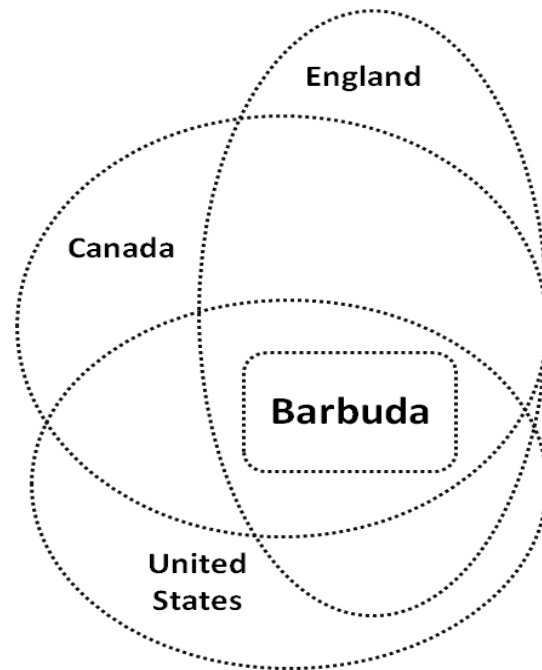
In this sense, a Transnational Communicative Space can be both firmly rooted in place while exhibiting a betweenness of place, as multiple histories and experiences of those who migrated or stayed behind, work, rework, and merge together to transform place. As Doreen Massey writes of globalized places, "All of these relations interact with and take a further element of specificity from the accumulated history of a place, with that history itself imagined



as the product of layer upon layer of different sets of linkages, both local and to the wider world” (1994: 323). It is through this image of overlapping layers that we see that places “do not have boundaries in the sense of divisions which frame simple enclosure” (Massey 1994: 323). Figure 6.3 is an effort to illustrate the complex, multi-faceted layers from abroad that interface with Barbuda as discussed by Massey while also highlighting Rouse’s “simultaneous engagements with place” (2004:30). As the figure indicates, the interactions are certainly not a one-way process but one where all the layers are interacting with one another to varying degrees at multiple scales. Barbuda is larger than the other place names, signifying Barbuda is the focal point and heart behind the conceptualization of the newspaper project. In other words, place matters. The boundaries of place are denoted with dashed lines, as this case study has shown the often permeable nature of nation-states, as Barbudans are both entangled within their bounds but also at times able to navigate between them. Somewhat different from Voigt-Graf’s model, I wish to highlight the fluidity of place interaction, the simultaneously porous and bounded nature of borders, and the often undefined, placeless nature of these interactions as not only illustrated but also facilitated by *The Voice*. It is also in this space that power relations shift. Michel Foucault writes,

Relations of power cannot themselves be established, consolidated nor implemented without the production, accumulations, circulation and functioning of a discourse. There can be no possible exercise of power without a certain economy of discourses of truth which operates through and on the basis of this association. We are subjected to the production of truth through power and we cannot exercise power except through the production of truth. (1980: 93)

In the study of a “Transnational from below,” Sarah J. Mahler writes, “as the terrain of non-elites and multi-class coalitions, *could* be construed as the space where people transform ‘traditional’ power relations, to reconfigure and reaffirm” (2002: 91, italics mine). Mahler believes instead that rather than transform power relations completely, transnationals can create a new pathway



**Figure 6.3 A Transnational (Communicative) Space**

to power. It is through the *Barbuda Voice*, Barbudans were able to create their own space for discourse to combat the antics of the Antiguan government.

### **Conclusions**

*Barbuda Voice* served as an unprecedented communication outlet allowing Barbudans to interact with one another around the world as never before. While some scholars are quick to laud the conjoining effects of new technologies like the Internet and cell phones for transnational migrants and diasporic groups, I argue that we have underestimated the agency of migrants in using “slower forms of communication.” As Poole and others have noted, perhaps the connecting power of modern technologies has been exaggerated (2002). One Barbudan told me in 2009, “Now that we can just pick up the phone and call, we don’t.” Thomas Faist writes, “Transactions must be regular, frequent, and *meaningful*” (Faist 2000:197, italics mine). It is from the pages of the *Barbuda Voice* that we find hundreds of examples of meaningful transnational migrant engagement through land preservation, politics, and fundraising efforts. *The Voice* empowered

Barbudans because it was a Barbudan forum outside the control of the Antigua government. During the period of analysis, the Antigua government went to extreme measures to quell any form of criticism from the press. Though the newspaper made but a monthly appearance in the homes of Barbudans, it was both inscribing and reminding Barbudans of their identity. It was an important source of information for Barbudans around the world. Peggy John told me in 2009, “As a matter of fact when they didn’t get it in mail they would call, ‘Wha happen to ma’ paper? Why you not send the paper?’” (John 2009).

This chapter opened with a quote from Georg Simmel’s famous piece “Bridge and Door”. It is with these concluding words I would like to think about Russell John’s project. *The Voice*. Simmel writes,

Only for us are the banks of a river not just apart but ‘separated’; if we did not first connect them in our practical thoughts, in our needs and in our fantasy, then the concept of separation would have no meaning. But nature here approaches this concept as it with a positive intention; here the separation seems imposed between the elements in and of themselves, over which the spirit now prevails, reconciling and uniting. (1994: 6)

It is through this spirit of creativity and ingenuity that Russell John, along with his wife Peggy, took on the seemingly impossible task of creating a space that would serve as a bridge of connection for Barbudans living around the world.

## **Conclusions**

The United Nations estimated in 2005 that nearly 191 million people were migrating around the world, moving away from their country of origin in search of economic opportunity (PDDESAUNS 2008). To put this number in perspective, migration rates in 1960 show only 76-million people on the move world-wide (PDDESAUNS 2008). Social scientists are finding that migration (immigration or transnational migration) is changing the very social, economic, and political fabric of the world, especially such nations of immigrants as the United States of America (Glick-Schiller et al. 1992 and 1994; Basch et al. 1994; Blanc 1995). Geographers, particularly over the last ten years, have made considerable contributions to transnational migration research in terms of theorizing transnational spaces (Voigt-Graf 2005; Jackson et al. 2004) studying return migration (Potter et al. 2005; Conway and Potter 2009), understanding migration impacts on agriculture (Black 1993), and exploring the connections between transmigrants and land tenure (Jokish 2002; Mills 2007; Byron 2007; Skinner 2007).

This dissertation has shown how the island of Barbuda and its transnational nodes of migration are relevant communities to explore the general phenomenon of transnational migration. The Caribbean region has historically been an area of migration and in 2005 the United Nations estimated seven million people in that region and Latin America migrated (PDDESAUNS 2008; Richardson 1983). Barbuda, with its long-term history of migration, beginning largely with emancipation in 1834 and continuing to the present-day is no exception (Lowenthal and Clarke 2007). It is commonly stated that more Barbudans live outside of Barbuda than on the island itself, although there are no census numbers available to quantify this claim. My research on Barbuda follows a long line of geographers and anthropologists who have explored various research topics on the island (Berleant-Schiller 1974, 1977a, 1977b, 1983, 1984, 1986, 1991a, 1991b; Harris 1965; Lowenthal and Clarke 1977, 2007; Russell and McIntire 1966; Sluyter 2009; Watters 1980). None of these scholars, however, have concentrated on the overarching issue of migration, particularly transnational migration and its impact on Barbudan land tenure. This dissertation, through a focused case study on Barbuda, merges two rich areas of inquiry that have rarely been explored together: transnational migration and common property.

Chapter Two updates scholarship on Barbuda's communal land tenure, exploring recent changes in Barbuda's commons and the multiplicity of reasons for the demise of agriculture and livestock on the island as Barbudans move from traditional land uses to primarily home construction. Despite the decline in agriculture and livestock and the formalization of Barbudan communal rights into law, Barbudans are creatively negotiating their tenure just as they have always done. Barbudans are buying and selling homes, using the land for business endeavors, building rental properties, and most interestingly still recognizing the land rights based on the ancestral fruit trees. In line with these uses, Chapter Three reveals an interesting twist in

Barbuda's communal land discourse. Barbudan lands are beginning to resemble the more regional family land practice because of growing restrictions by the Land Office and Barbuda Planning Commission (see Besson 2002; Mills 2007; Olwig 1997, 1999) as some Barbudan migrants prefer to build on family land acquisitions or live in the family home. Political, economic, and social changes in Barbuda also raise the question of whether the practice of common property will persist. The theoretical debate over common property and environmental degradation is still very much alive (Hardin 1968; Kay and Brown 1985; McKean 1992; Kay 1997; Hardin 1998; Sserunkuuma and Olson 2001) and Barbuda's legacy of common property provides an interesting case study to analyze against the backdrop of Hardin's well-known essay "The Tragedy of the Commons" (1968). Interestingly, just as Barbudans have formalized their communal land tenure into law, the uses that maintained this tenure have largely disappeared replaced largely by land activities that support privatization. In line with other research, Barbudan land tenure resembles neither a true commons nor private property but rather a hybrid of the two (Perramond 2008) showing the resilience of communities to negotiate their own land tenure arrangements.

Chapter Three draws out the historical and present-day connections between Barbudan migrants to the common property regime. Any study of the Barbudan commons is not complete without further consideration of Barbudans living abroad as the very definition of a Barbudan stated in The Barbuda Land Act, 2007 accounts for the migratory nature of the islanders. More broadly speaking, this chapter advocates that studies on communal land tenure must also account for internal and external migration. This chapter highlights how Barbudan land serves as an important source of identity for Barbudan migrants and how 63 percent of land applications come from those abroad. Despite an interest in acquiring land, the Barbudan landscape also

reflects the failure of some migrants to maintain connections to the ancestral home as the village is sprinkled with housing ruins and lands outside the village remain untouched. Barbudan migrants are often accused of abandoning their island home in search of greener pastures abroad, however, it is through the framework of transnational activism that I show how two Barbudans used their resources and connections abroad to fight on behalf of the island home. This chapter concludes discussing the precarious position of non-Barbudan migrants living and working on the island who do not have access to land except through lease. As Antigua and Barbuda forge larger regional partnerships, Barbuda's exclusive land tenure arrangement could prove problematic in the future.

Chapter Four employs the method of mental mapping to further engage in Barbudan's understanding and attachment to place. It is through the method of mapping that Barbudans reveal an increasingly dominant discourse of their island home through the lens of tourism and the value of island places as they relate to their tourist potential. A comparison of maps and the subsequent follow-up interviews reveal generational differences, as younger Barbudans are more likely to include locations within the village of Codrington. The maps also reveal gendered differences as females are more likely to include village locations, whereas men incorporate fishing places. Because this study uses methodologies relatively unknown to transnational migration research, I believe it will contribute to innovative new ways of understanding migrants' relationships to "home." Through mental mapping, scholars of migration can further unpack the complexity of "home" from something that at times can seem quite abstract to one firmly grounded in place. It is through the mental mapping exercise that Barbudans living abroad expressed feelings of immobility upon returning to the island home. It is also through this method that a researcher can get past abstract notions of home to reveal the concrete nature of

place attachment. Certain places on the island evoked a sense of “Barbudaness” and were important sites of visitation upon return. In addition to its potential usefulness to migration scholarship, mental mapping also brought forth a dialogue surrounding a strong attachment to the island’s indigenous places alongside and often competing with its colonial past. These findings were in line with recent studies calling forth a more scholarly focus on an indigenous resurgence within the broader region (Forte 2006; Hulme 1993; Maybury-Lewis 1997; Wilson 1997).

Chapter Five highlights the migration experiences of Barbudans as it aligns and diverges from the larger story of West Indian migration. This chapter, rather than focus on transnational migrants alone, seeks to highlight Barbuda’s transnational spaces, which are inclusive of those who remain home but financially benefit from family member’s employment abroad and those who remain on one side of the migration field (for health reasons, familial obligations etc.) but maintain connections to either home or abroad through linguistic spaces, religious organizations, and Barbuda’s material landscape. In addition to expanding on the work of geographers concerning the area of transnational space (Jackson et al. 2004), I have also sought to highlight the importance of emotion as it relates to Barbudan migration to push the bounds of transnational spaces to include emotional geographies. In line with feminist geographies, I also emphasize Barbuda’s gendered transnational spaces, specifically addressing the linkages women maintain and the strategy of base building in multiple locations. It is through my interviews with Barbudan women migrants we can begin to draw out their various experiences.

In the final chapter, I examined the first five years of publication of the newspaper the *Barbuda Voice*. Barbuda, like other communities with substantial outmigration, had a newspaper based in the Bronx from 1969 to 1990. A detailed exploration of this monthly newspaper the *Barbuda Voice* sheds light on the early phases of the phenomenon known as transnational



migration and Barbudans' connections to the common property regime while living abroad. Literature on transnational migration and communication emphasizes how technological advances in communication are facilitating greater transnational interaction. Some scholars are critical of slower forms of communication citing, "Transnational enterprises did not proliferate among earlier immigrants because the technological conditions of the time did not make communications across national borders rapid or easy .... Communications were slow and, thus, many of the transnational enterprises described in today's literature could not have developed" (Portes et al. 1999: 223). It is through my analysis I begin to unpack Portes and others rigid definition of transnational migration. Slower forms of communication such as this monthly newspaper facilitated meaningful involvement on the part of Barbudans living all over the world. My findings oppose the current bias toward modern communication technologies and illustrate how through quite creative ways Barbudans maintained connections to home. It is also through *The Voice* we see Barbudans abroad first-hand engagement in protecting the communal land tenure. As discussed in Chapter Three, Russell John could be considered a transnational activist, in which his newspaper facilitated new avenues of power to combat the development initiatives of the Antiguan government. It is through the endeavors of such Barbudans as Sir Hilbourne Frank and Russell John that Barbudans are able to push the island in the direction deemed most beneficial to Barbudans. After examination of themes that emerged over a five-year period the chapter then seeks to theorize a transnational communicative space in which the newspaper is quite bound to place but also serves as an in-between space in which Barbudans are outside the rigid control of the Antiguan government.

While the island of Barbuda has a distinctive history and sense of place, case studies like this one, focusing on Barbuda, inform our understanding of changing land tenure processes

around the world. Katherine Verdery, in her study of shifting land tenure in post-socialist Romania argues,

There is no global process of privatization, only specific instances of it, and that following any instance provides insight into how the abstract idea of privatization might occur... There is no typical village—all have their peculiarities... It is precisely in the local settings that we see how people negotiated their way through the tremendous challenge [set before them].” (Verdery 2003: 30)

Barbuda sheds light on how uses of and attitudes toward communal lands by local peoples are changing in the face of globalization and neoliberal policies but more important this study of Barbuda shows how places and their people are forging their own path in the midst of global entanglements.

### **Future Directions**

While this study focused primarily on the island of Barbuda rather than Barbuda’s communities abroad, future research should concentrate particularly on Barbudans living in New York and Leicester, England. Interviews and mental mapping exercises within those communities would further expand on Barbudan migrant’s relationship to their island home and its communal land tenure. Focusing on those communities can further aid in our understanding of the complexities of Barbuda’s transnational spaces. This dissertation highlighted the first five years of publication of the *Barbuda Voice*. An analysis over its entire tenure could prove useful in understanding this long-term record of Barbudan transnational involvement in island affairs over a 20-year period.

In recent years, a literature is emerging that is acknowledging the innovative contributions of traditionally underrepresented groups in geography (Carney 2001; Duncan 1991, 2002, 2007; Sluyter 2009). The people of Barbuda, with their persistent narrative of resistance under slavery and more recent resistance as they face the looming enticements of globalization after independence, have an important story to tell. The story of Barbuda, because of its

transnational nature, is not just that of the Caribbean, but also that of the U.S., Canada and Britain. While this dissertation addresses modern-day forms of resistance to Antiguan development schemes, future research endeavors should place them in a more historical context dating back to Barbudan resistance under the Codrington period.

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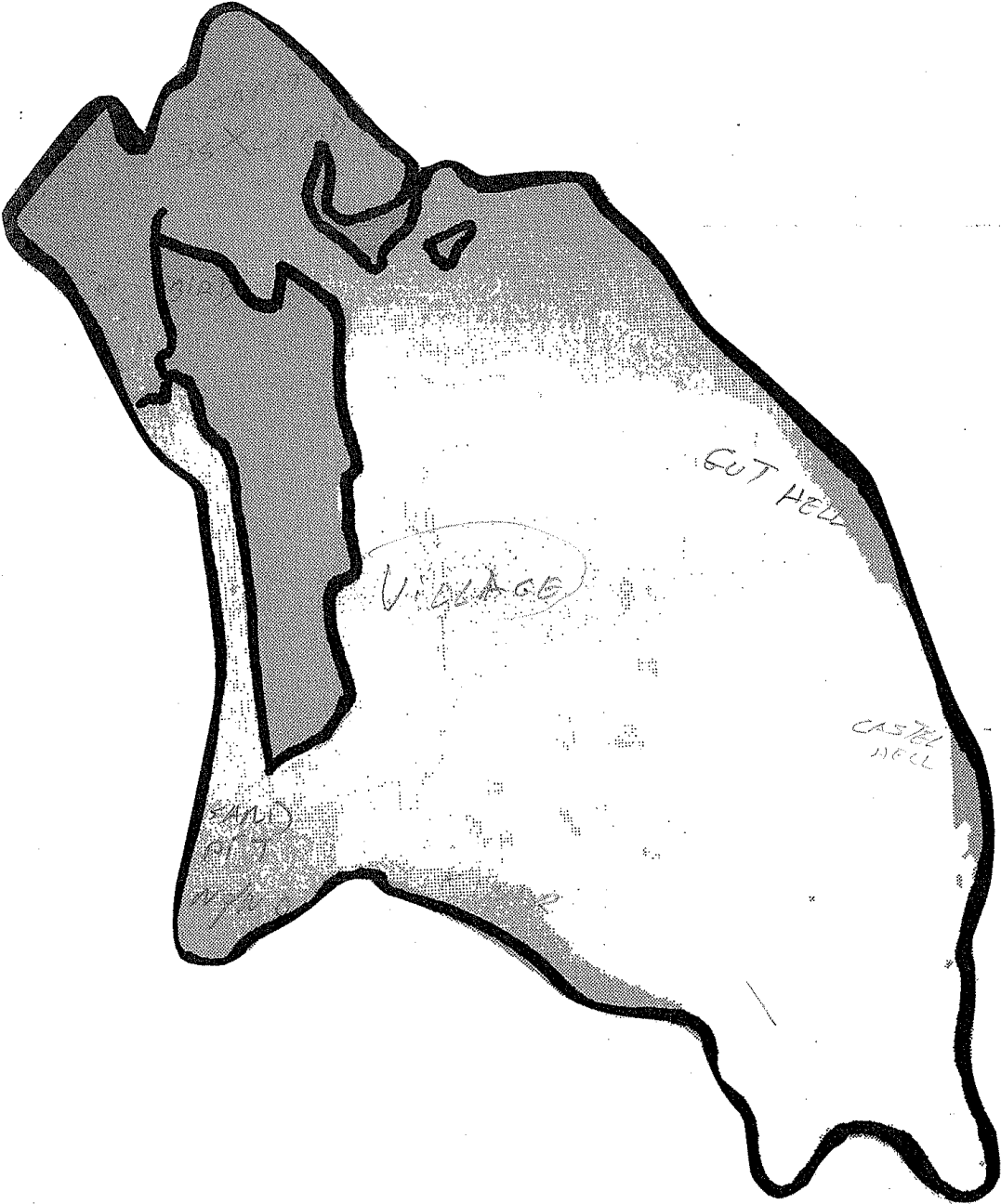
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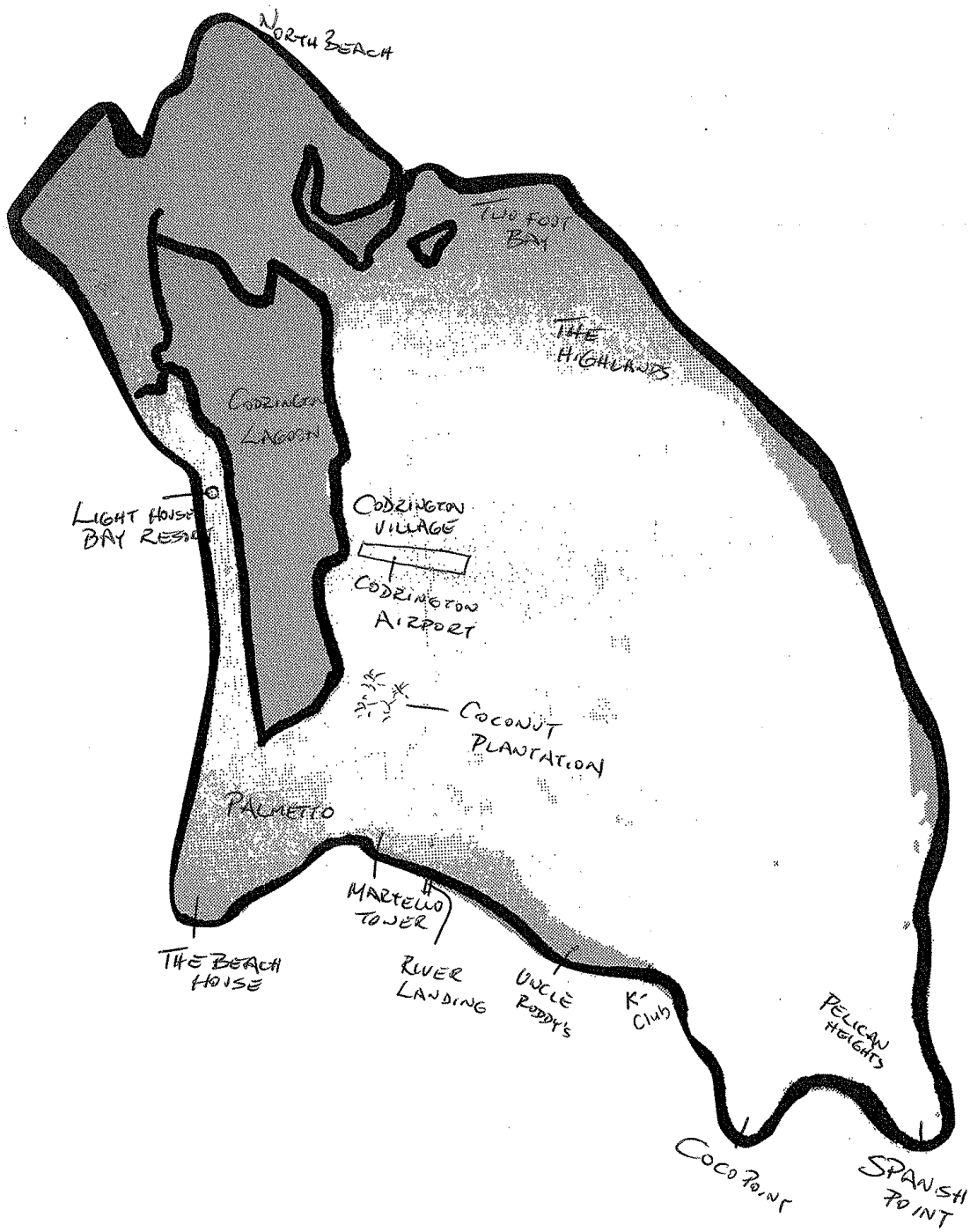
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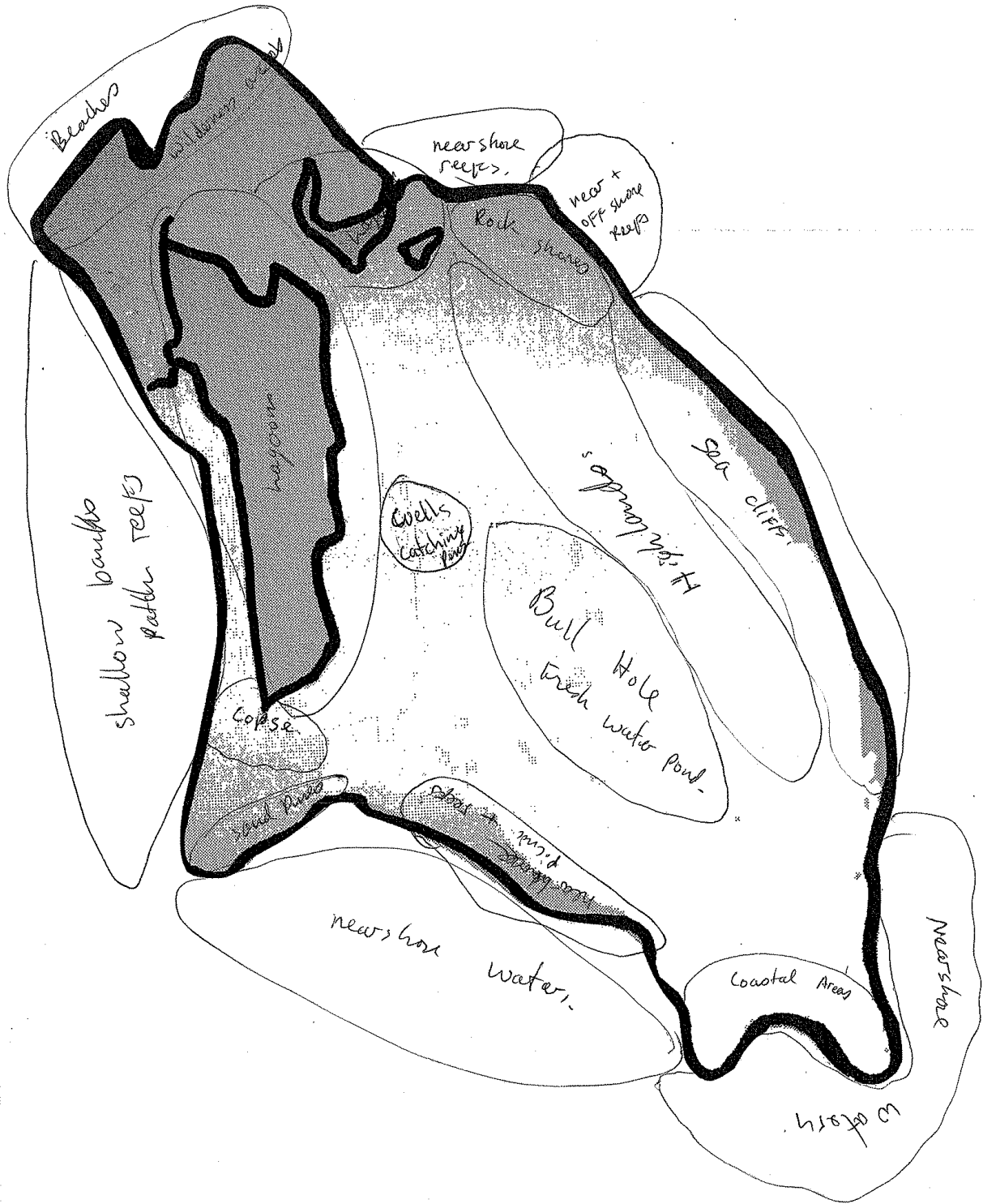


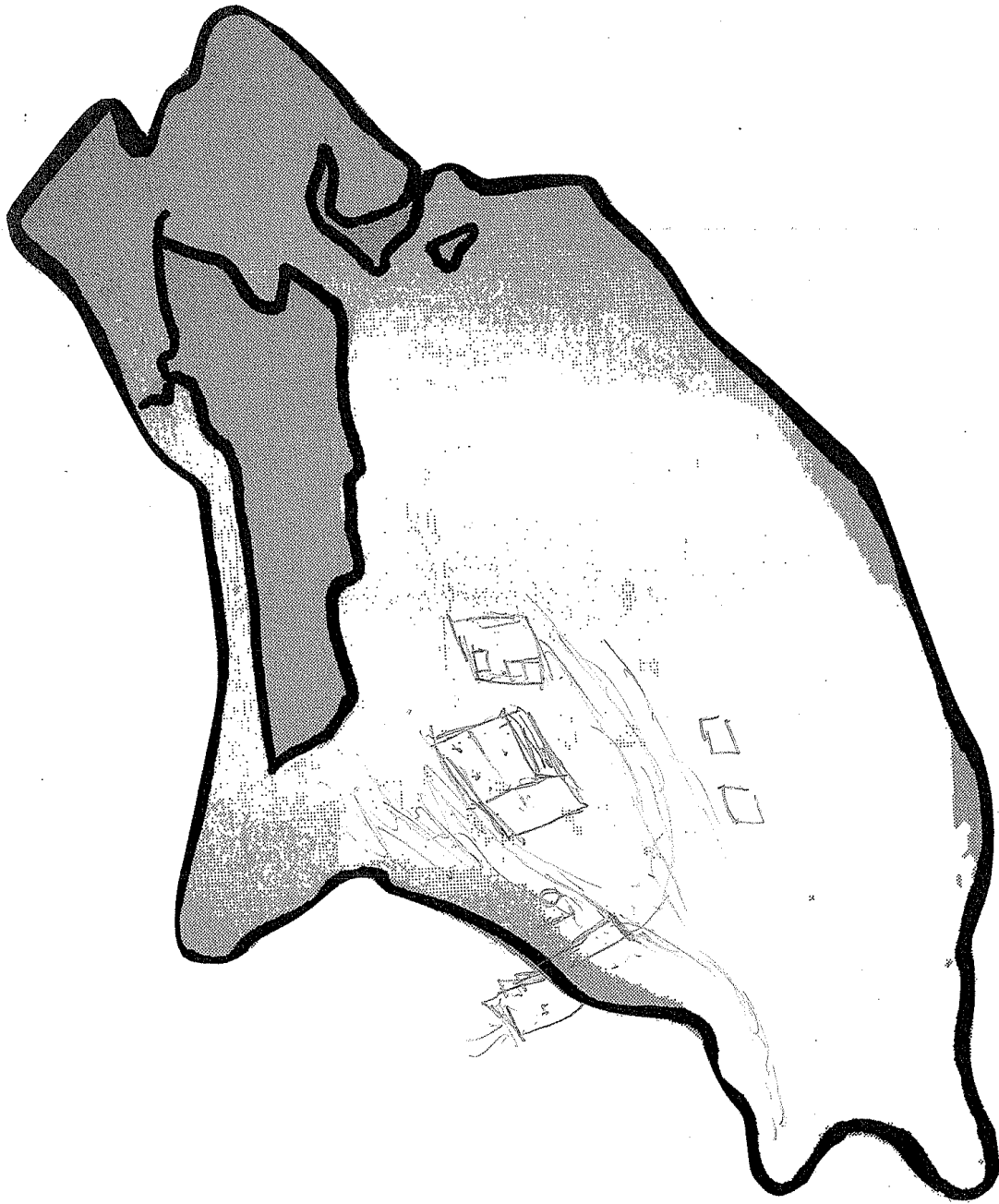
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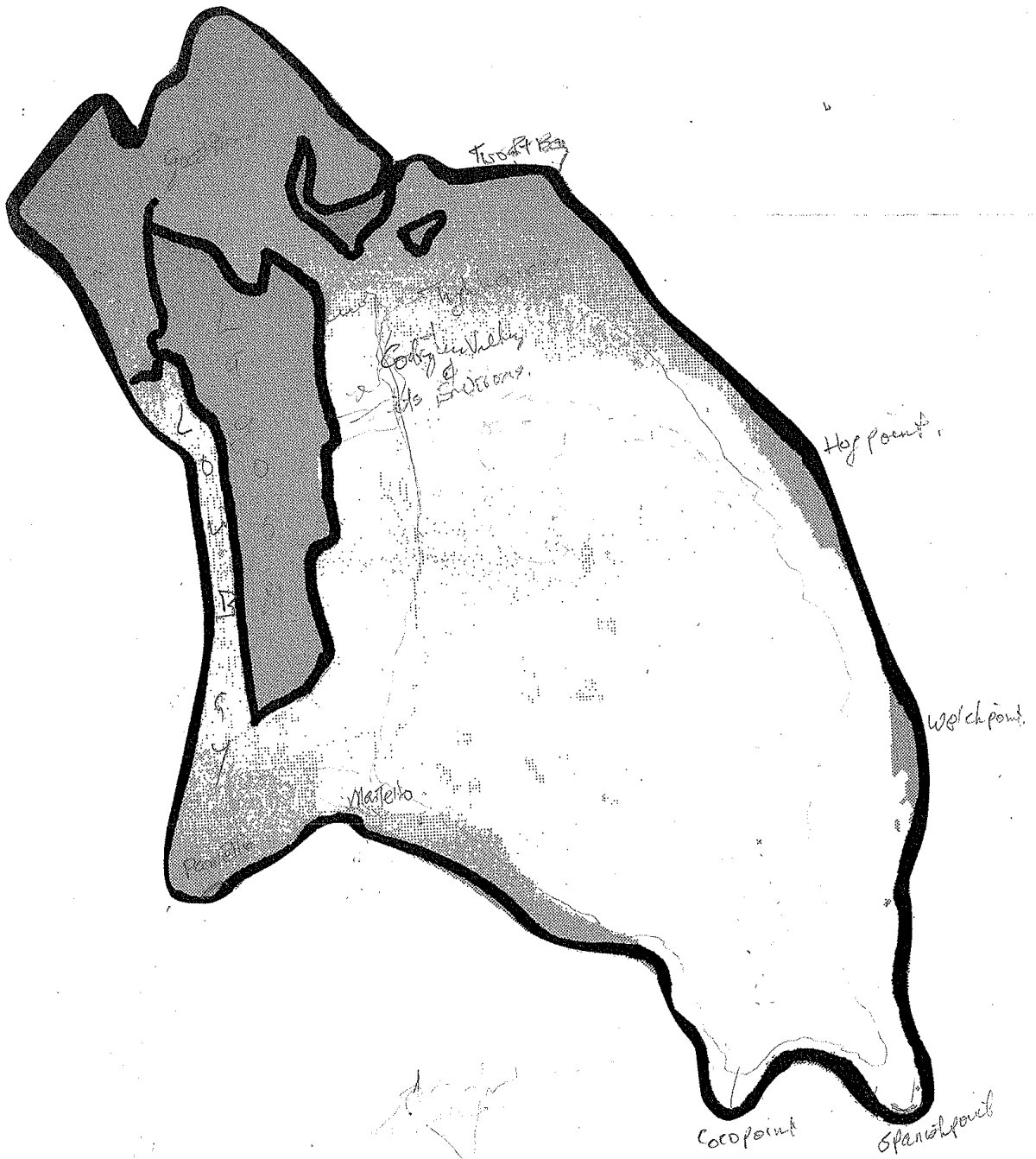
Appendix I: Collection of Mental Maps

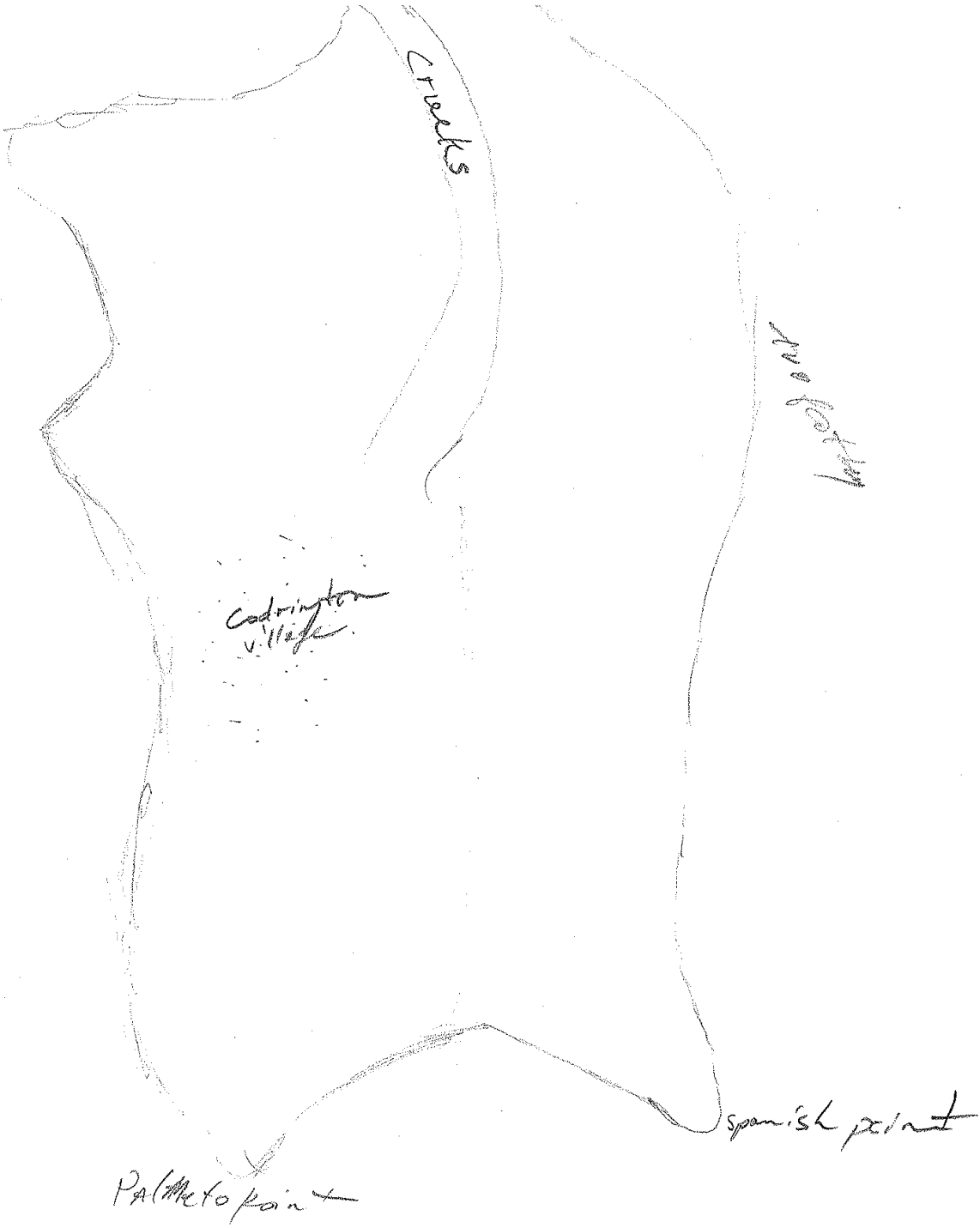


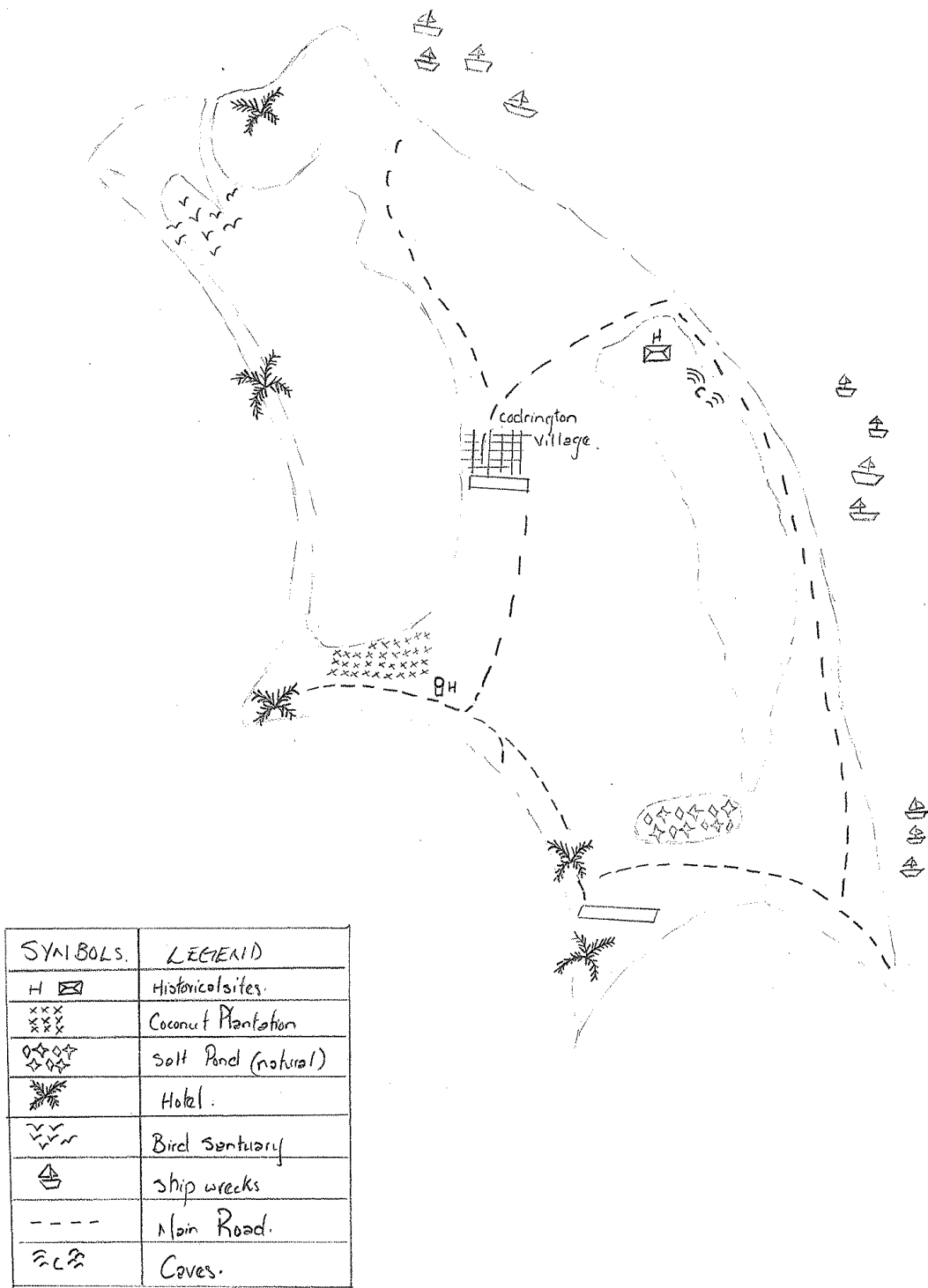




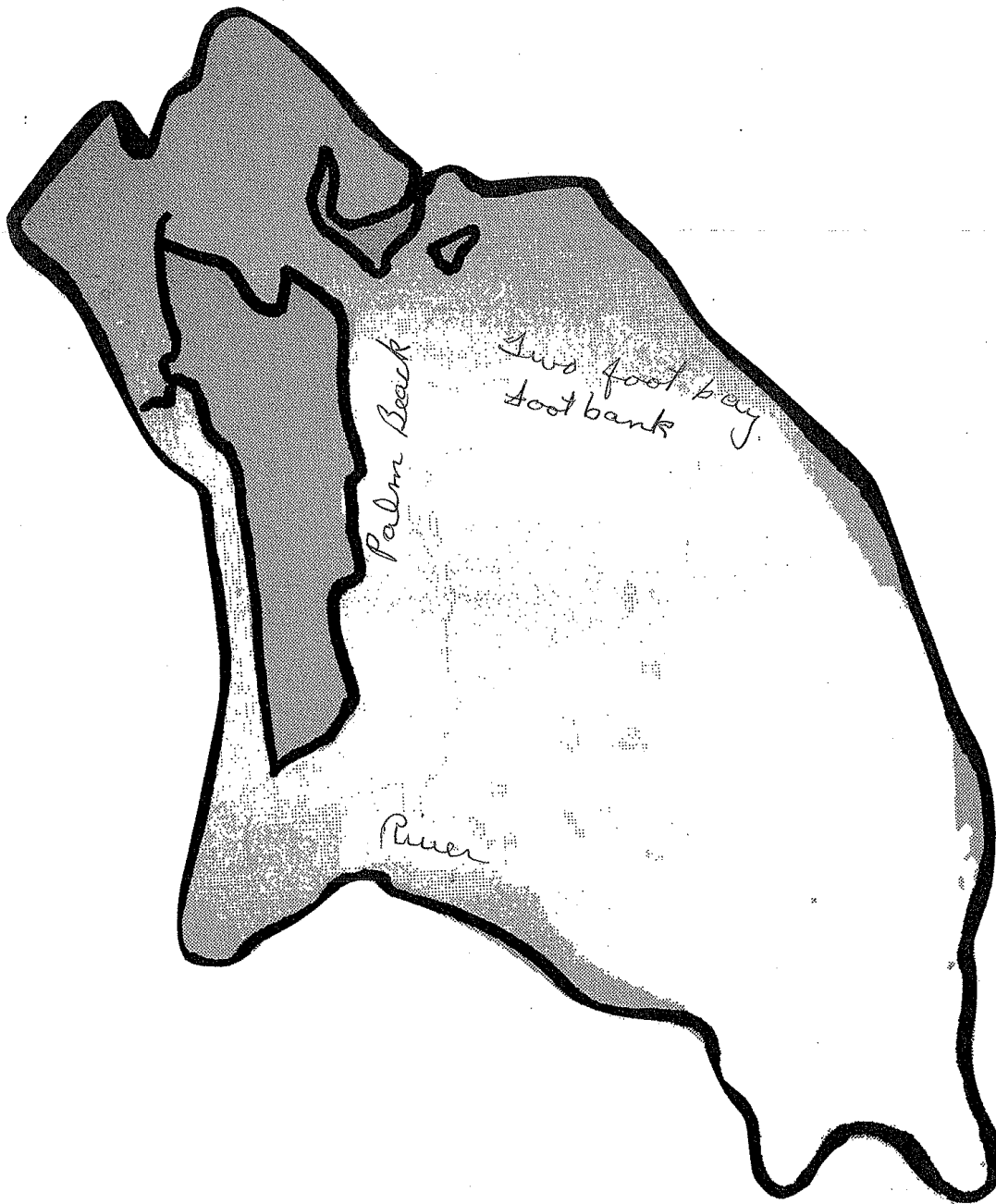




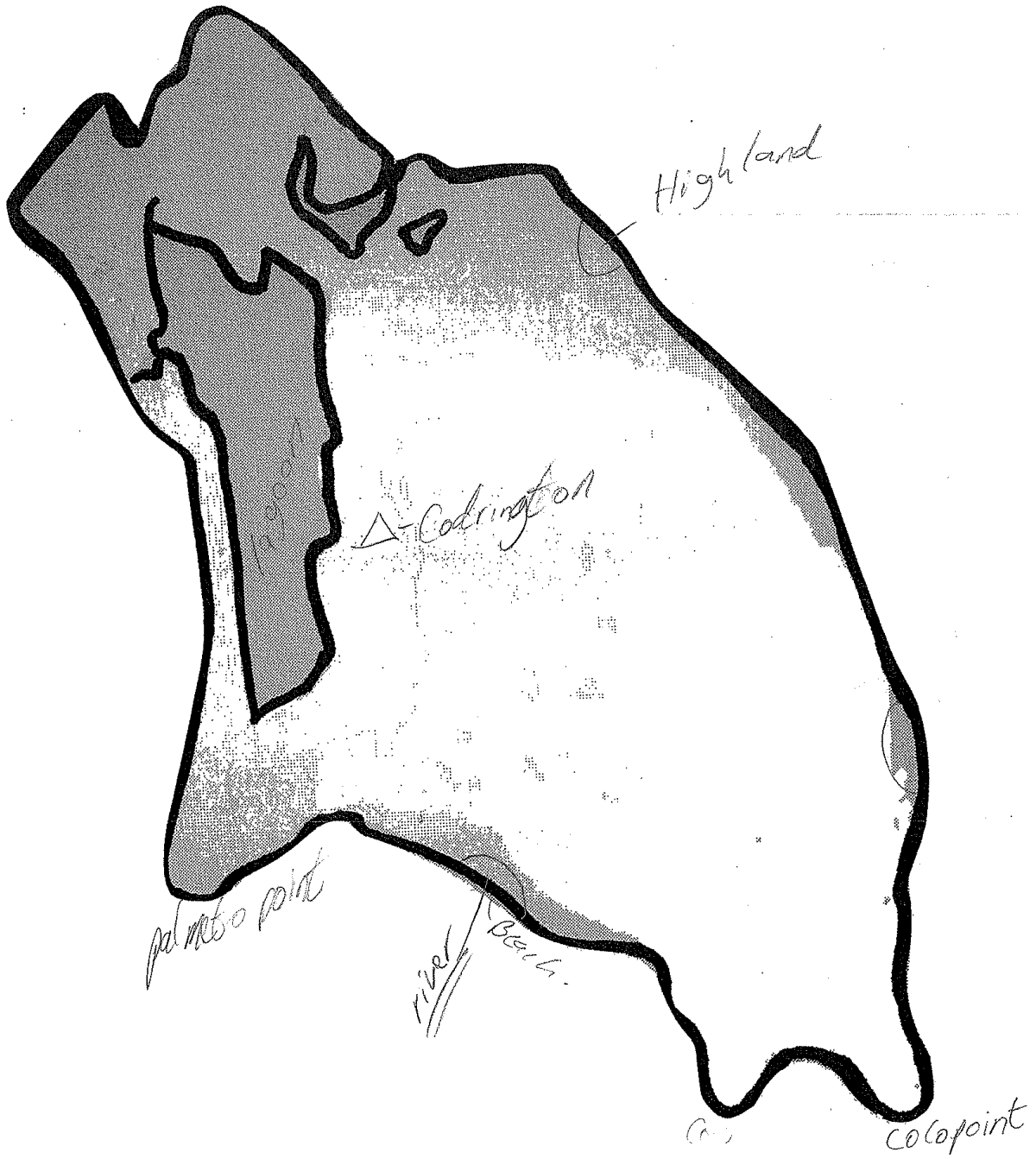


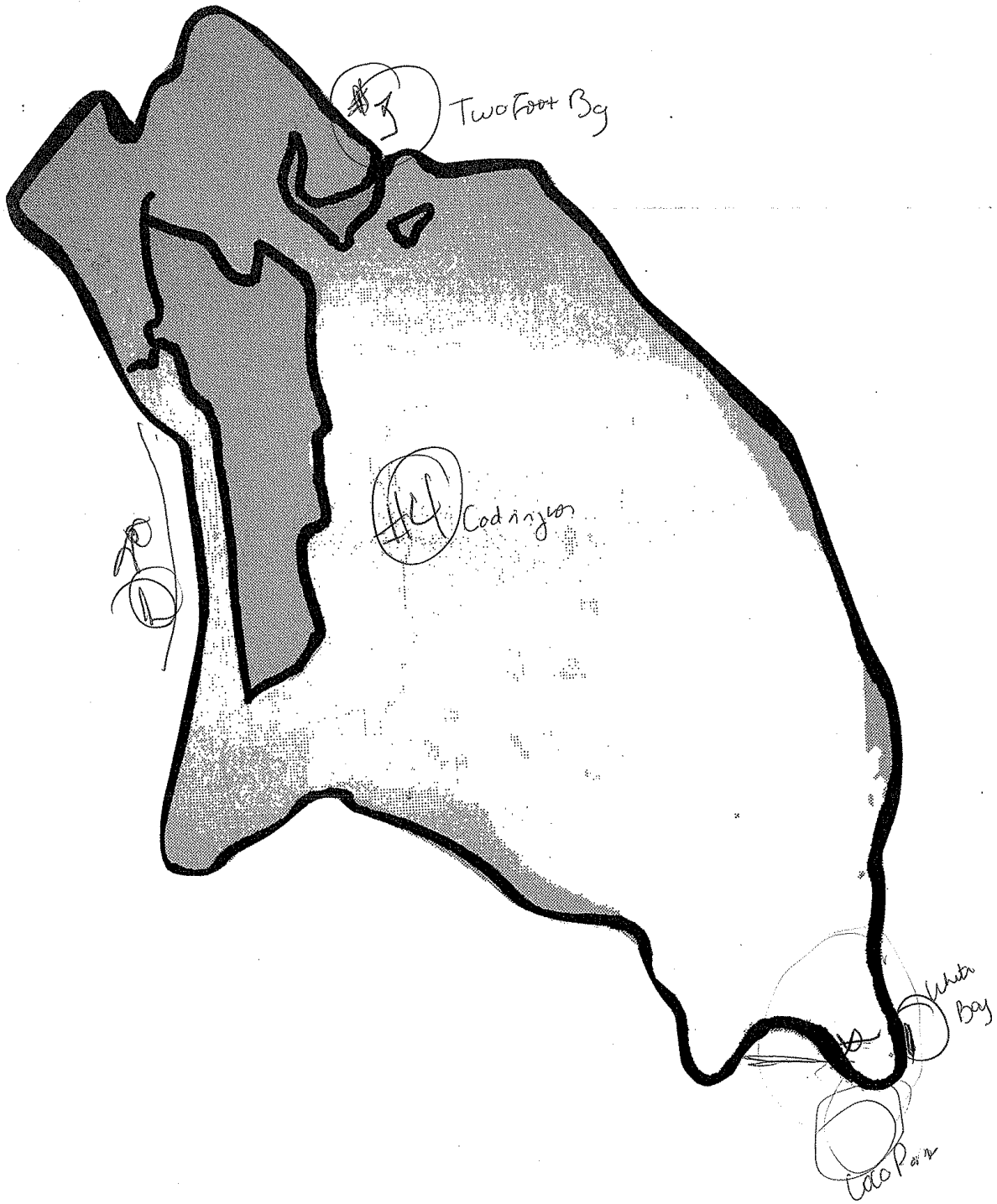


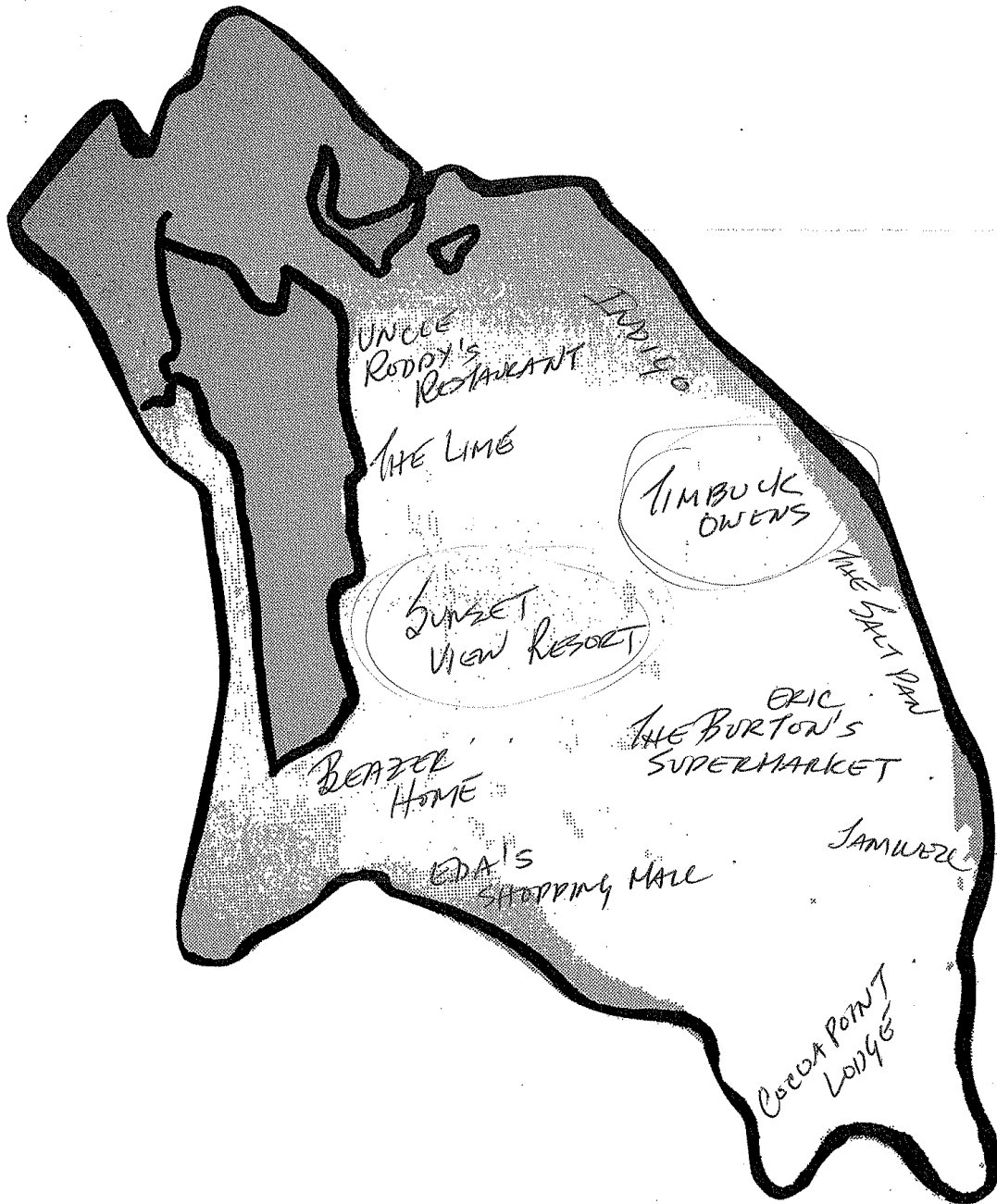


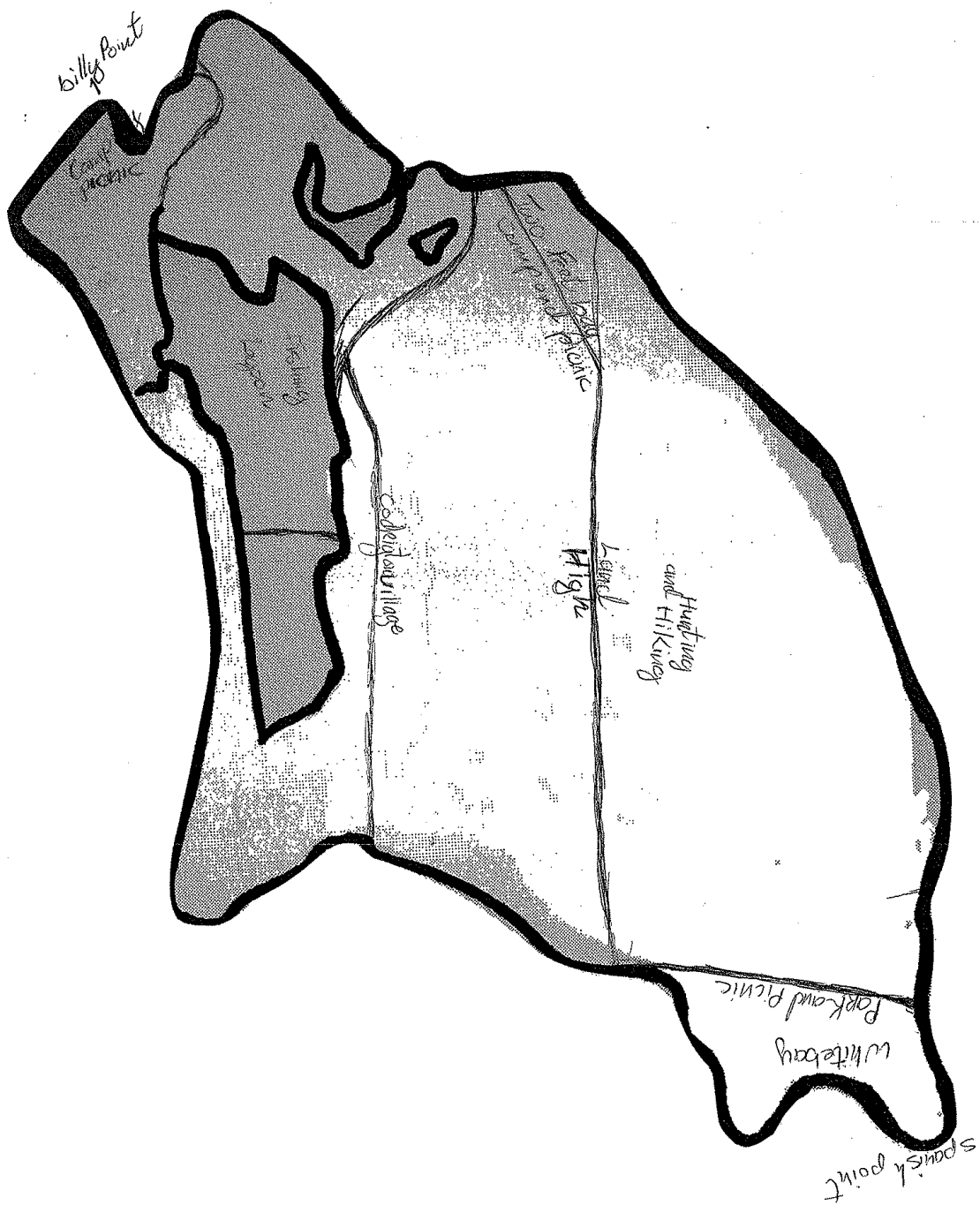


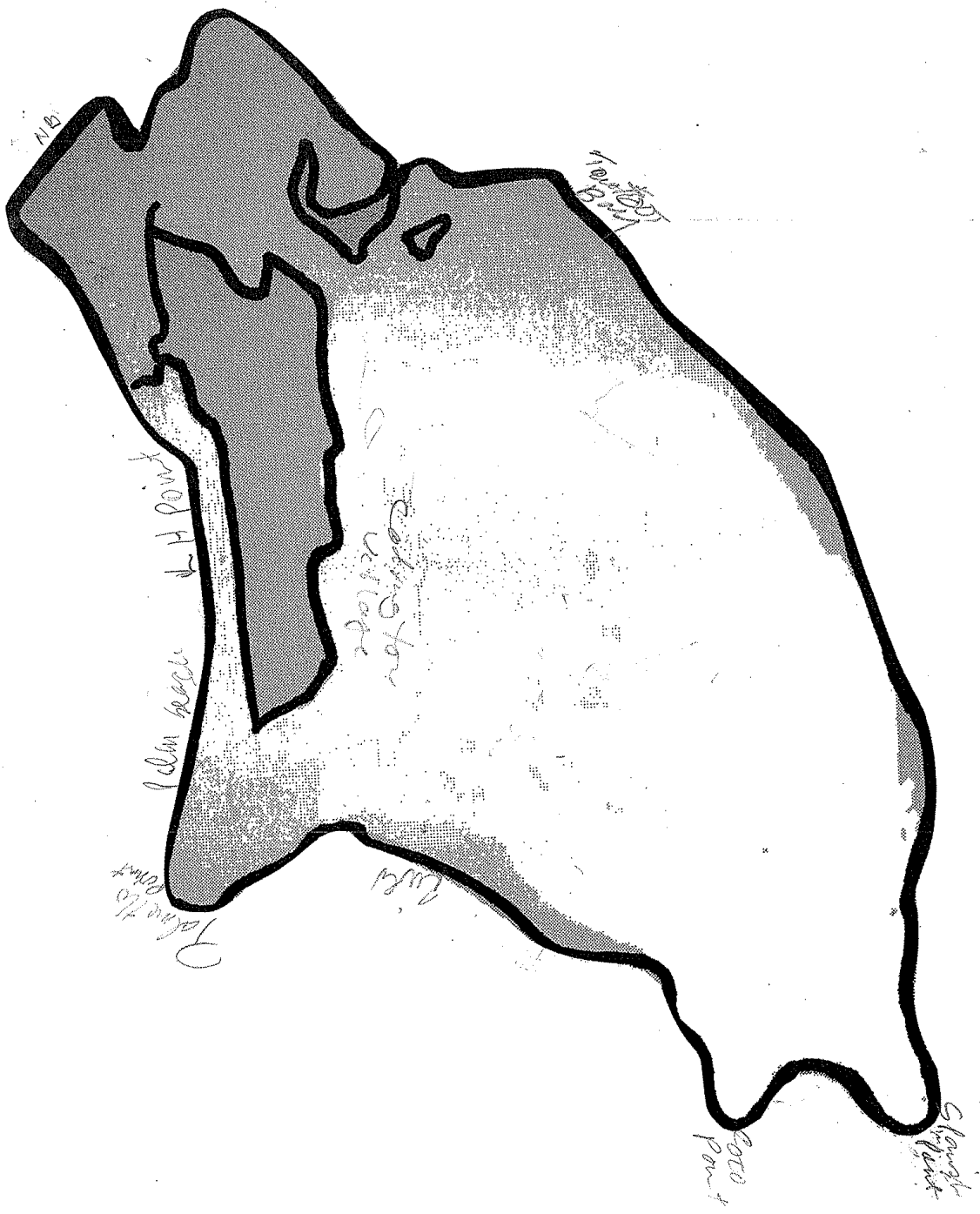


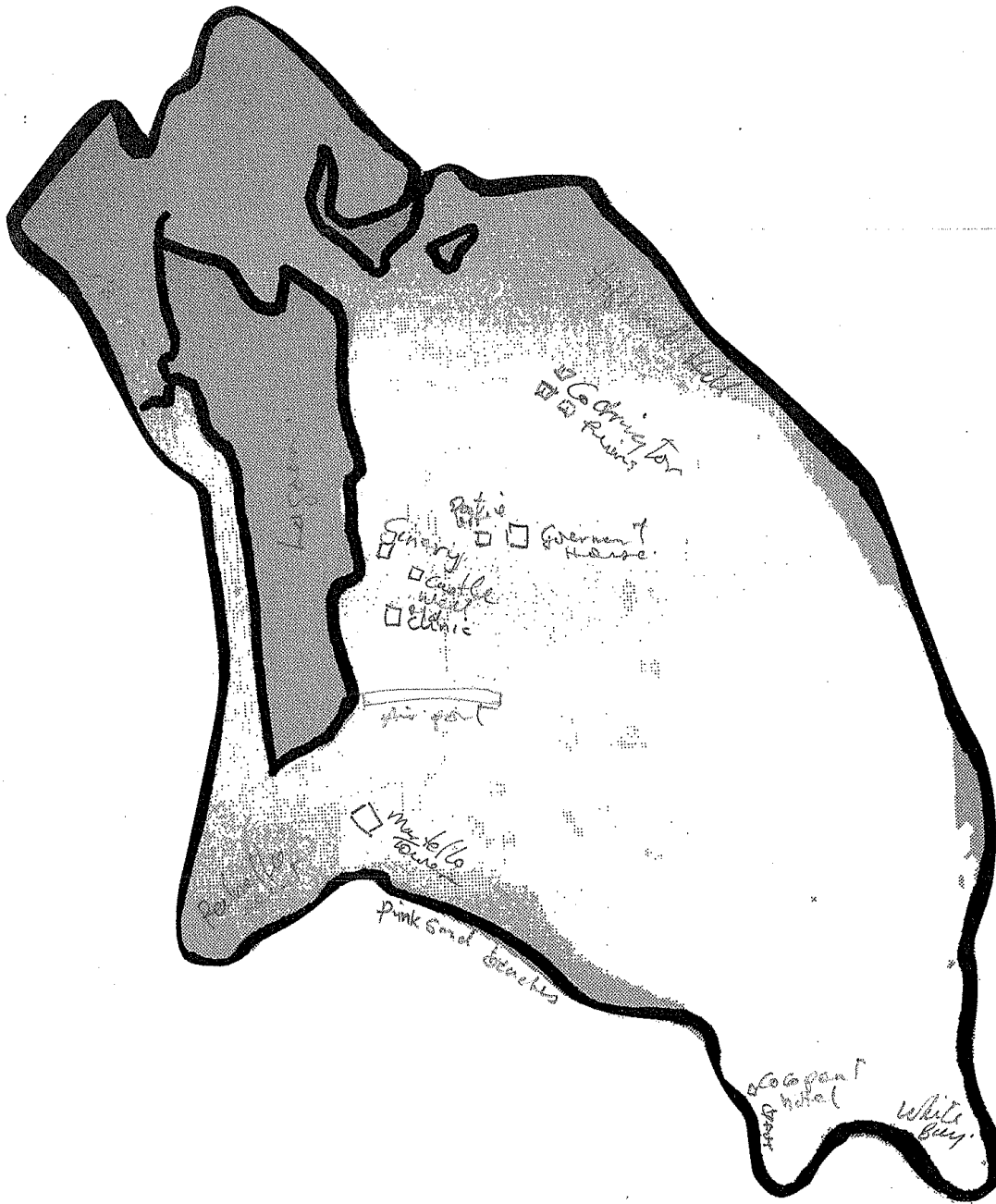




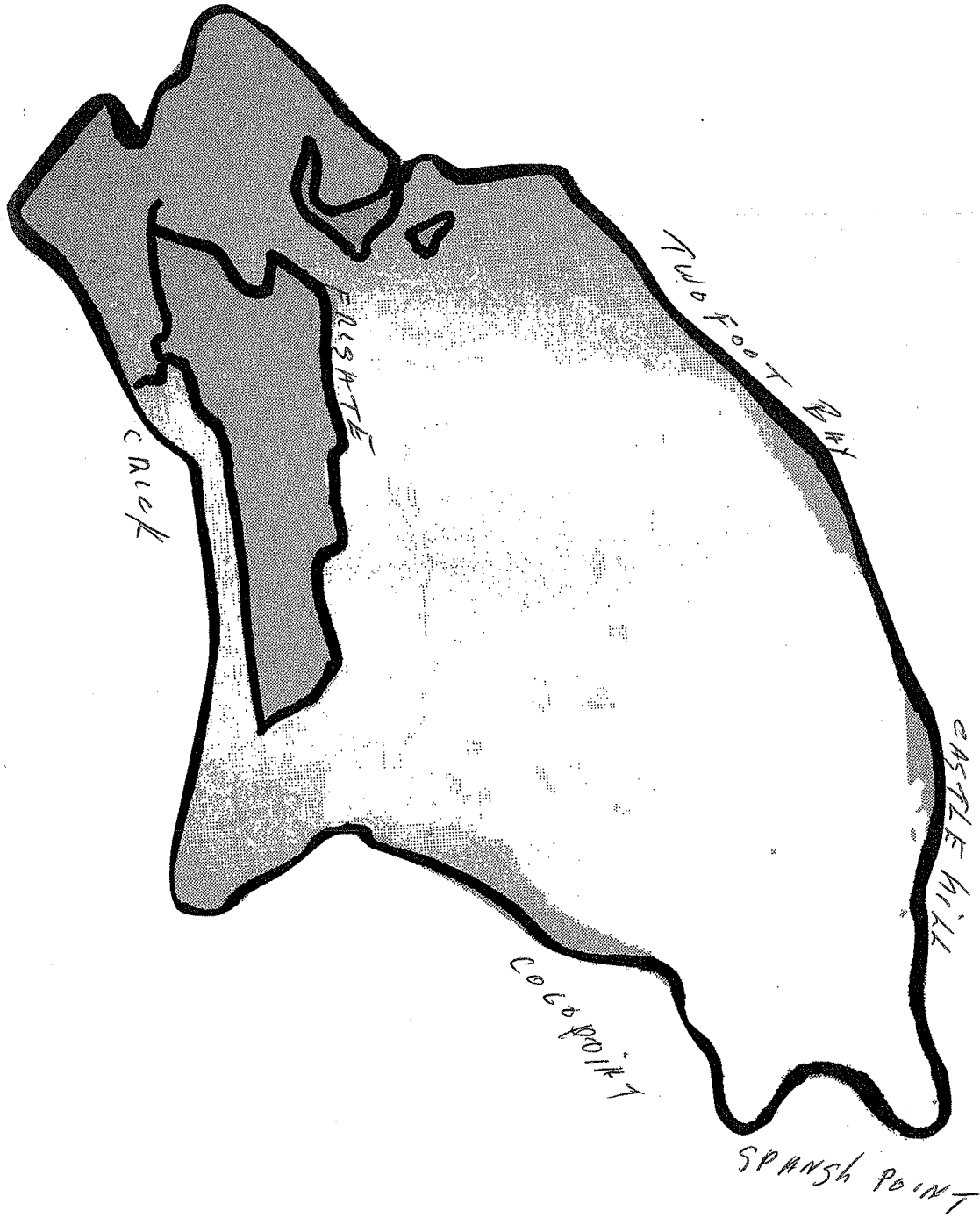


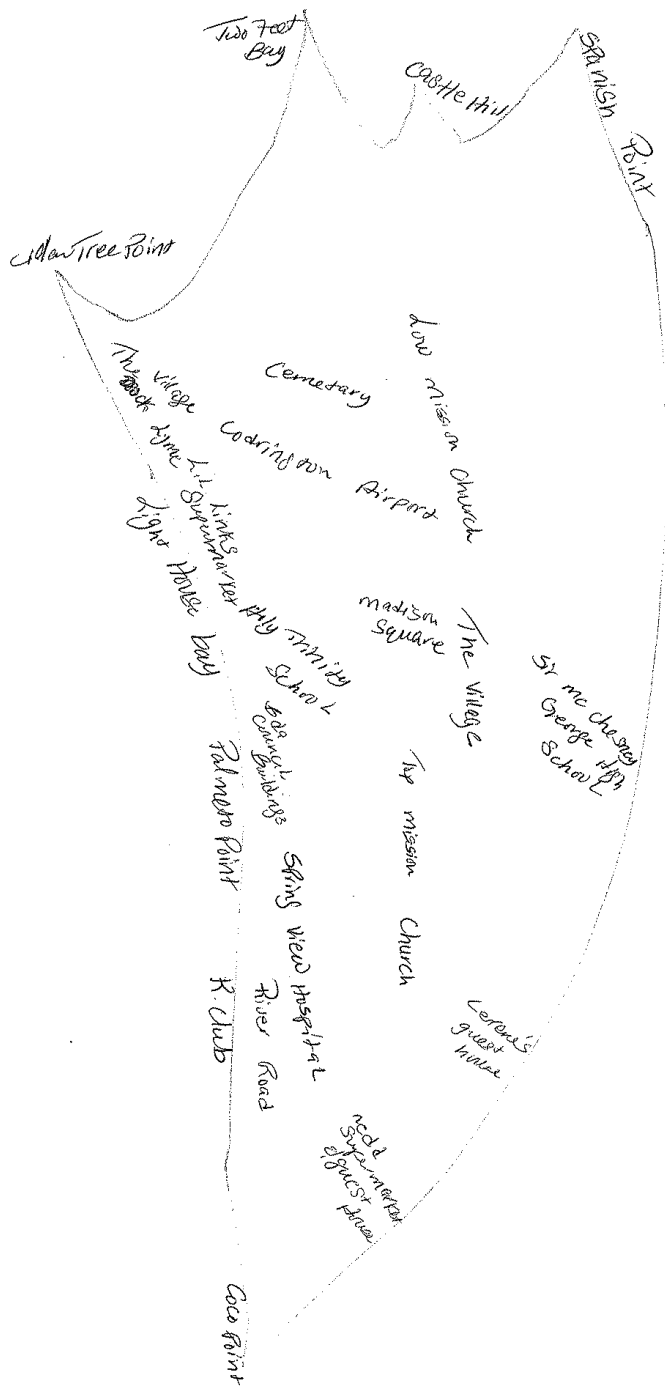


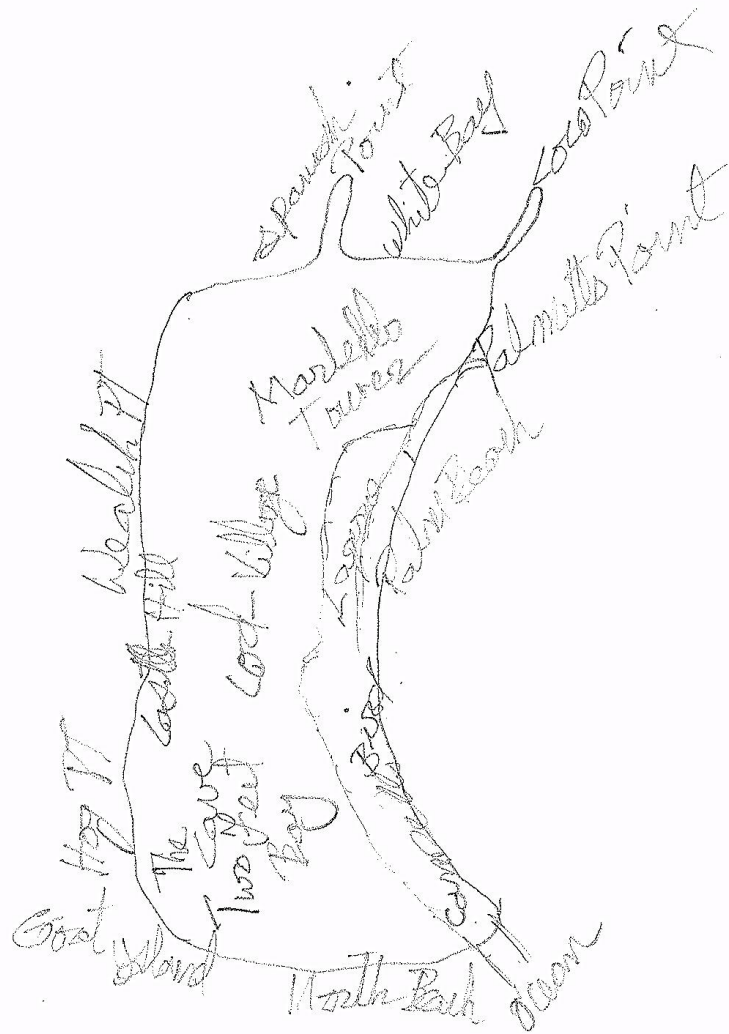


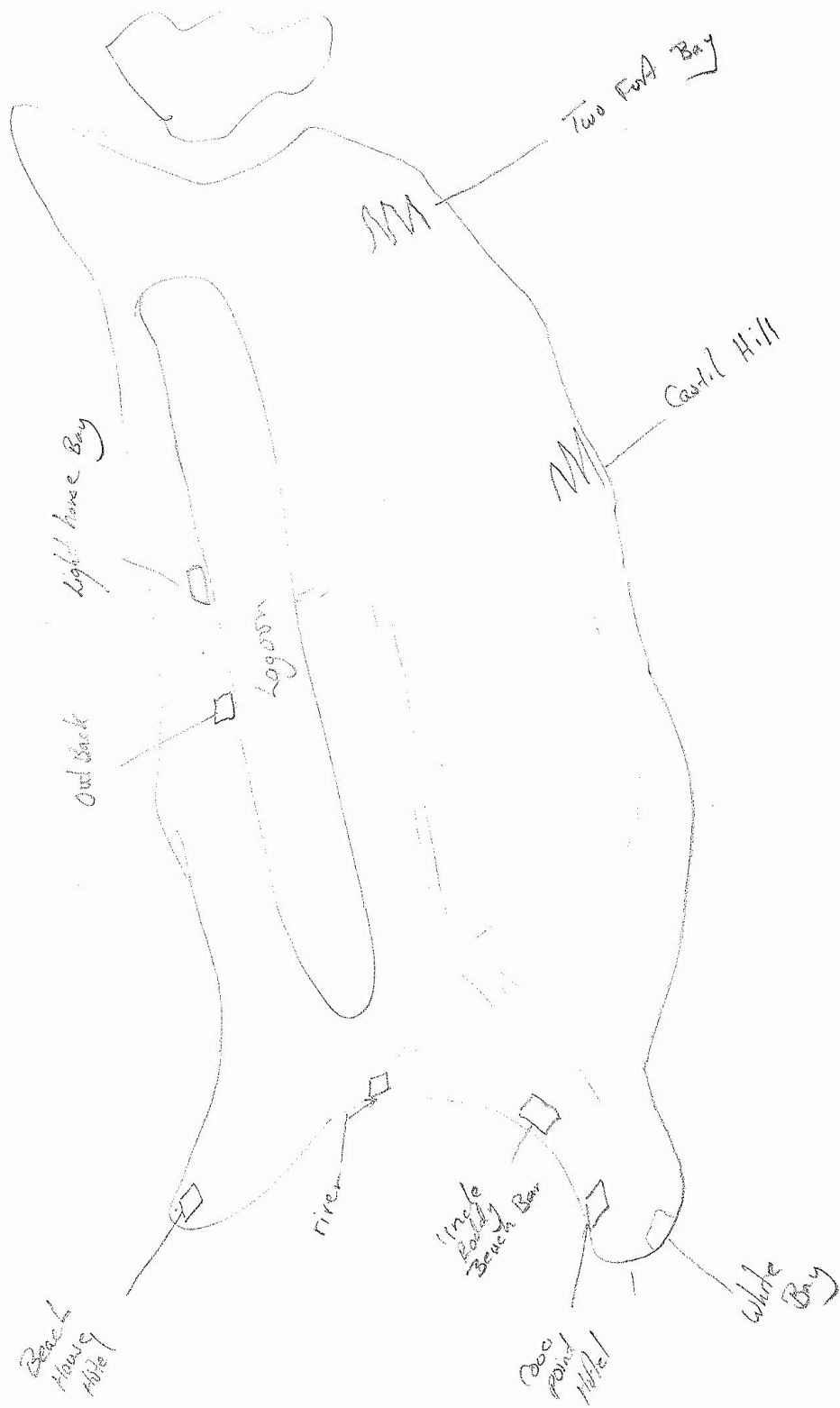


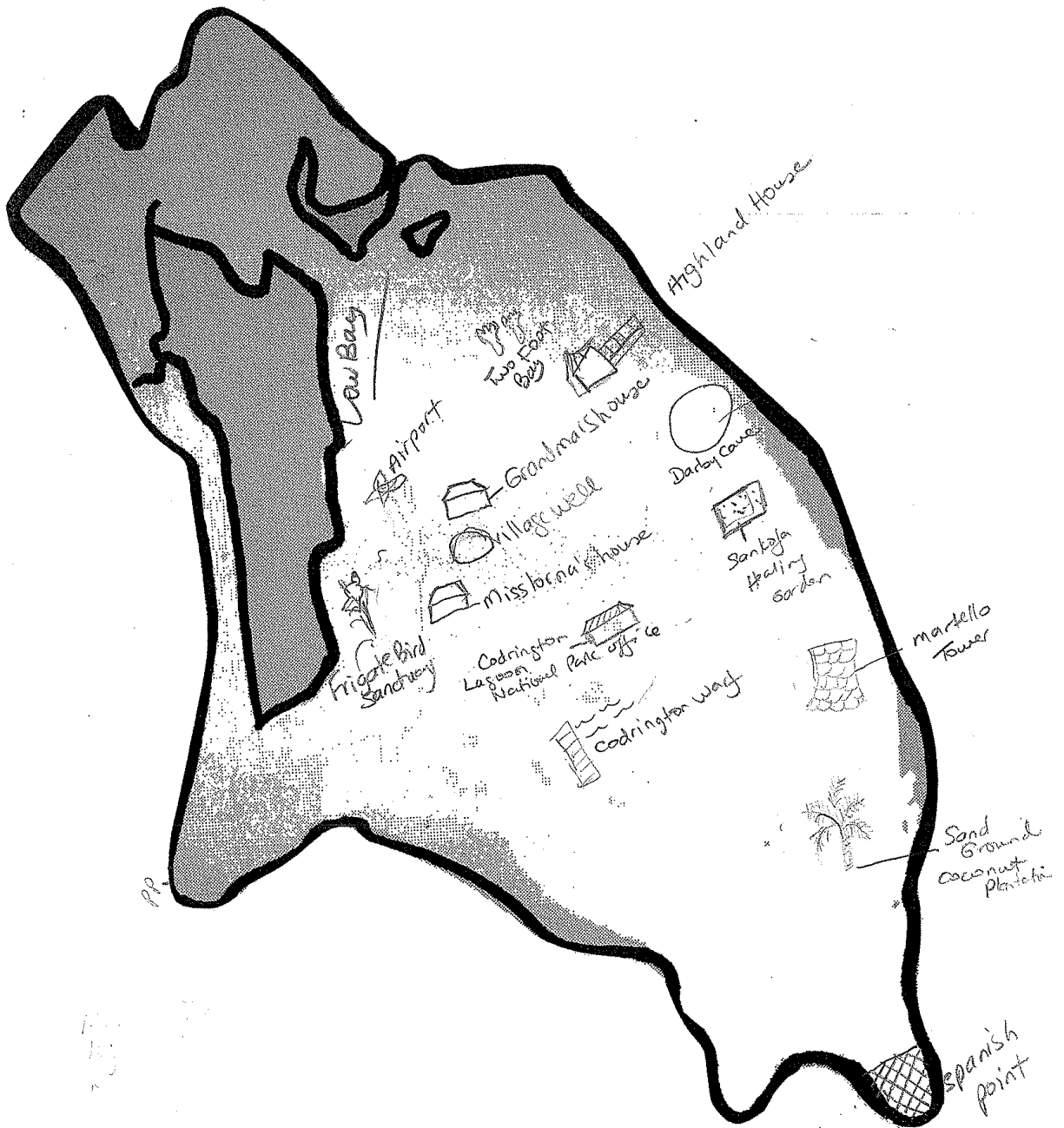


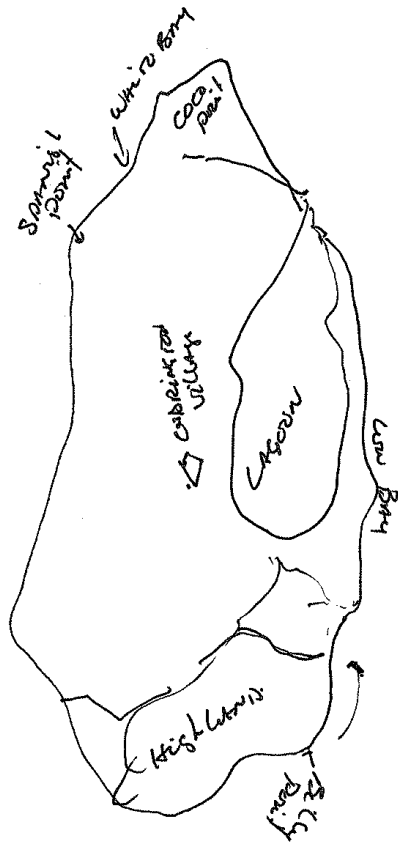


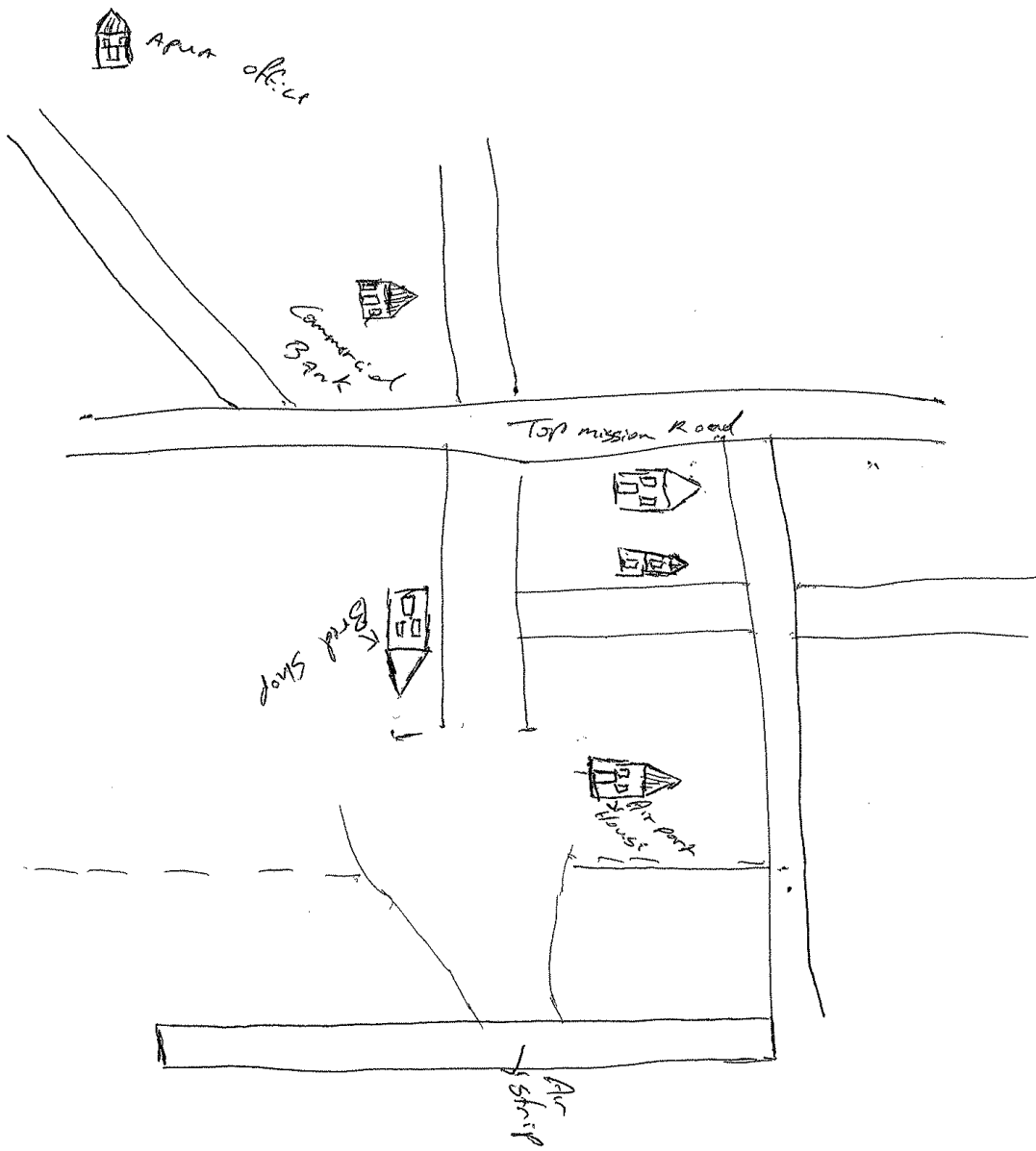


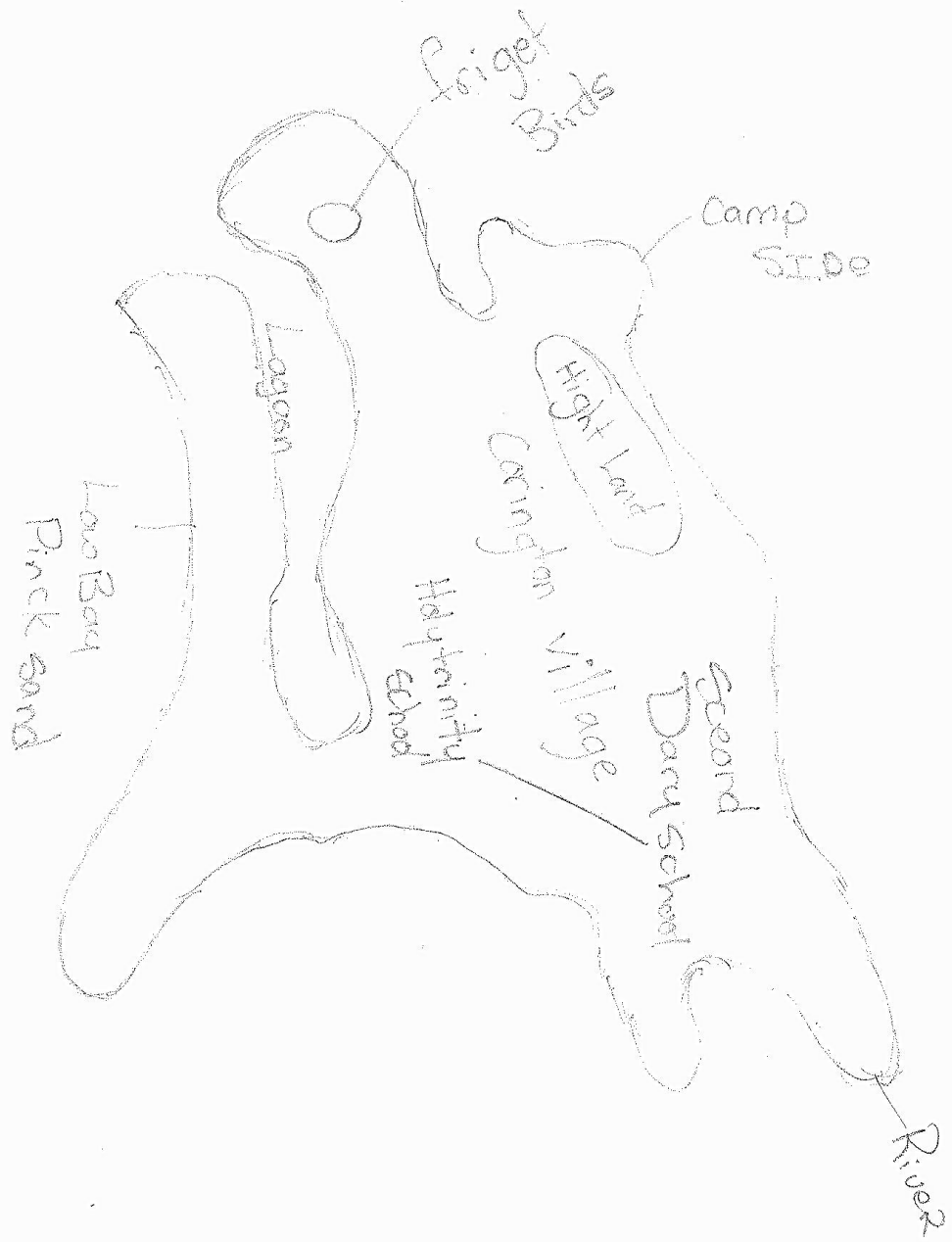




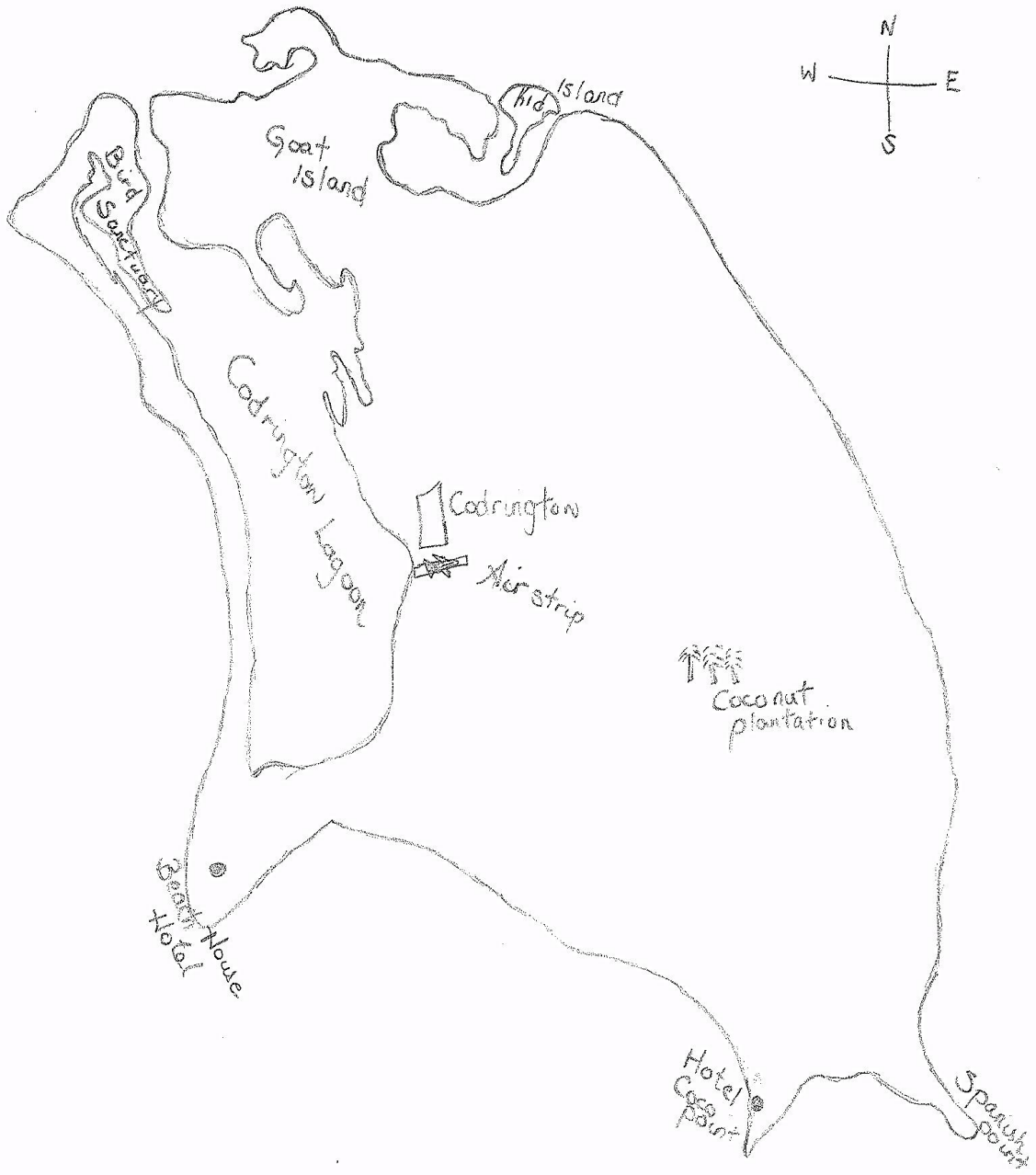


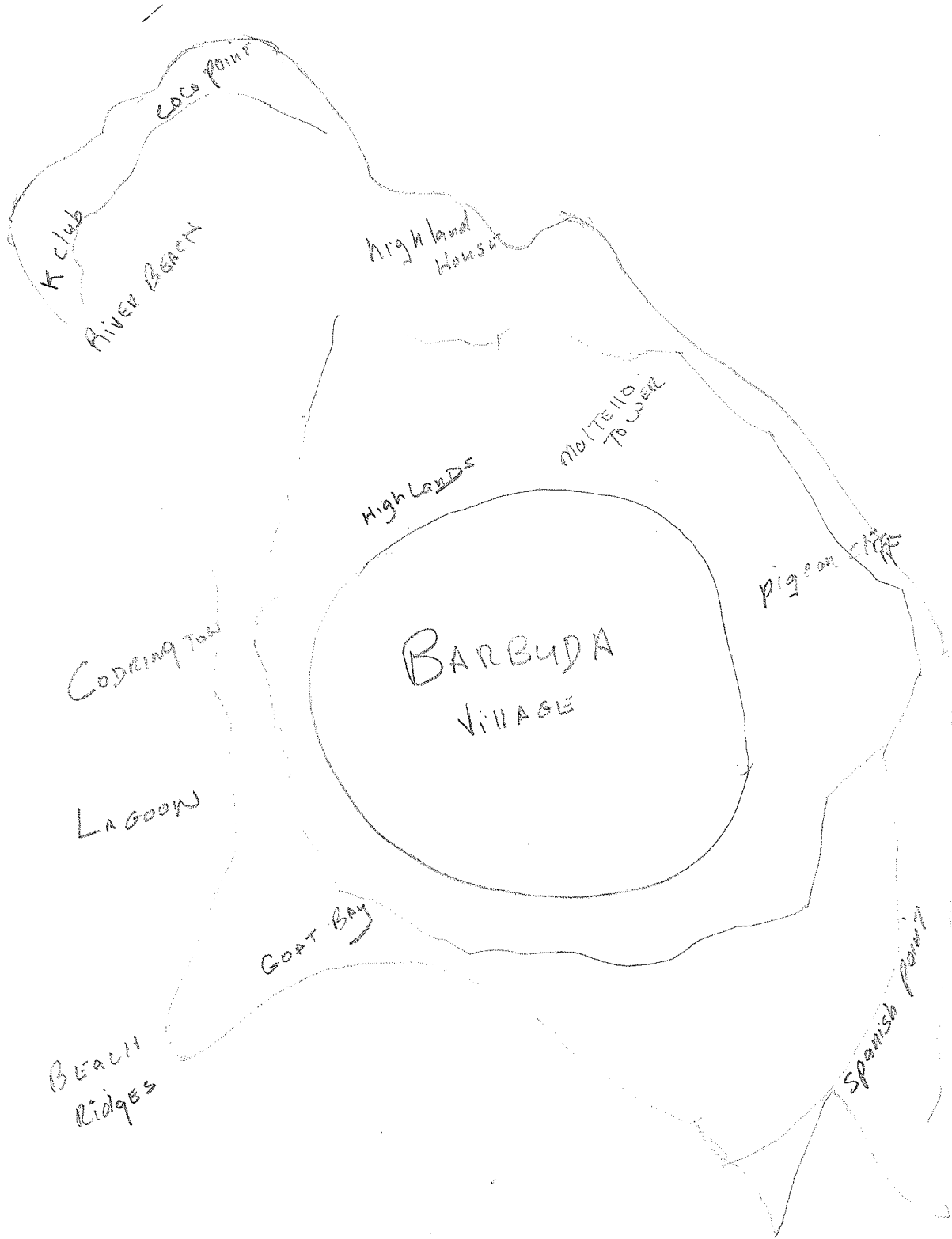


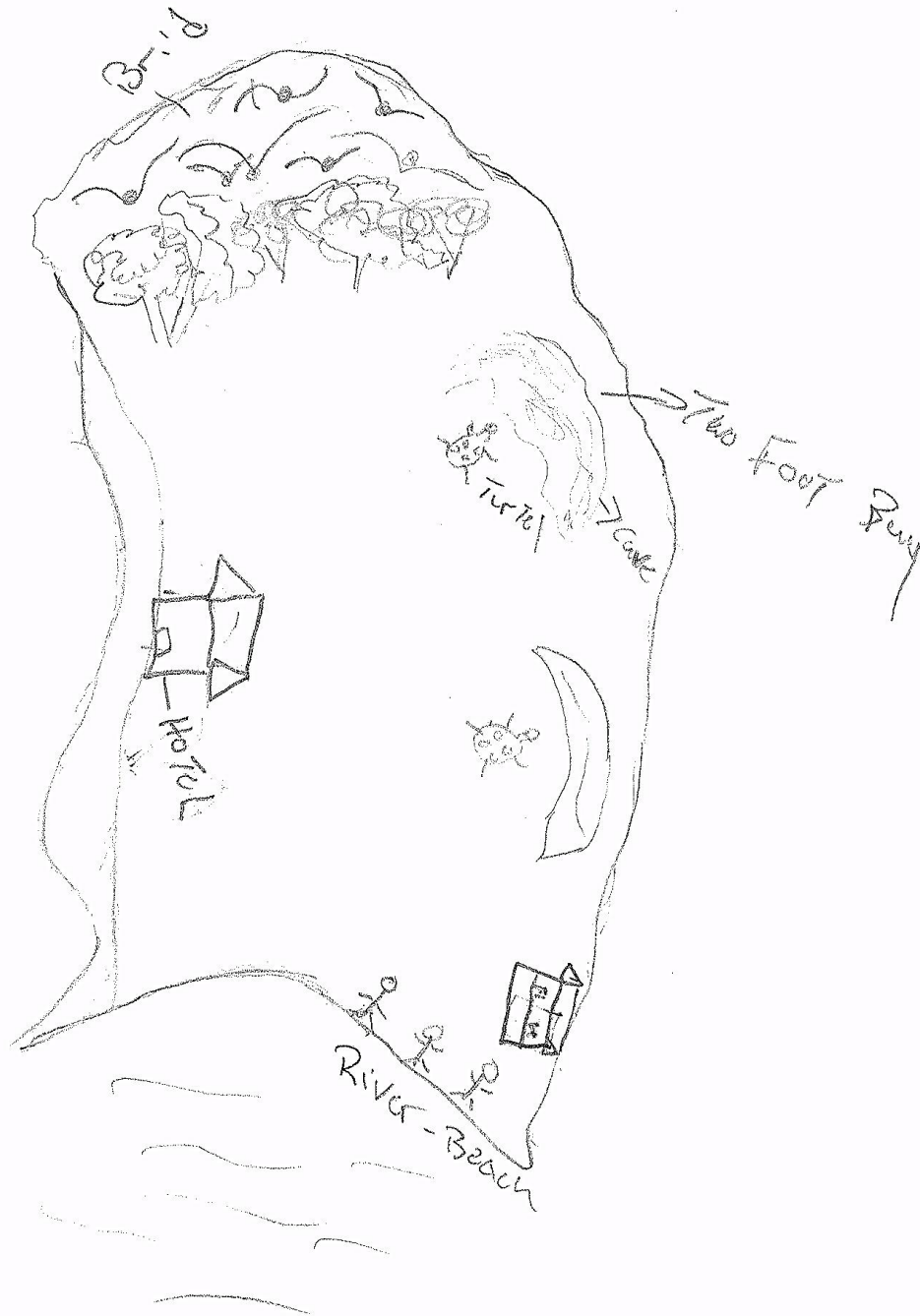


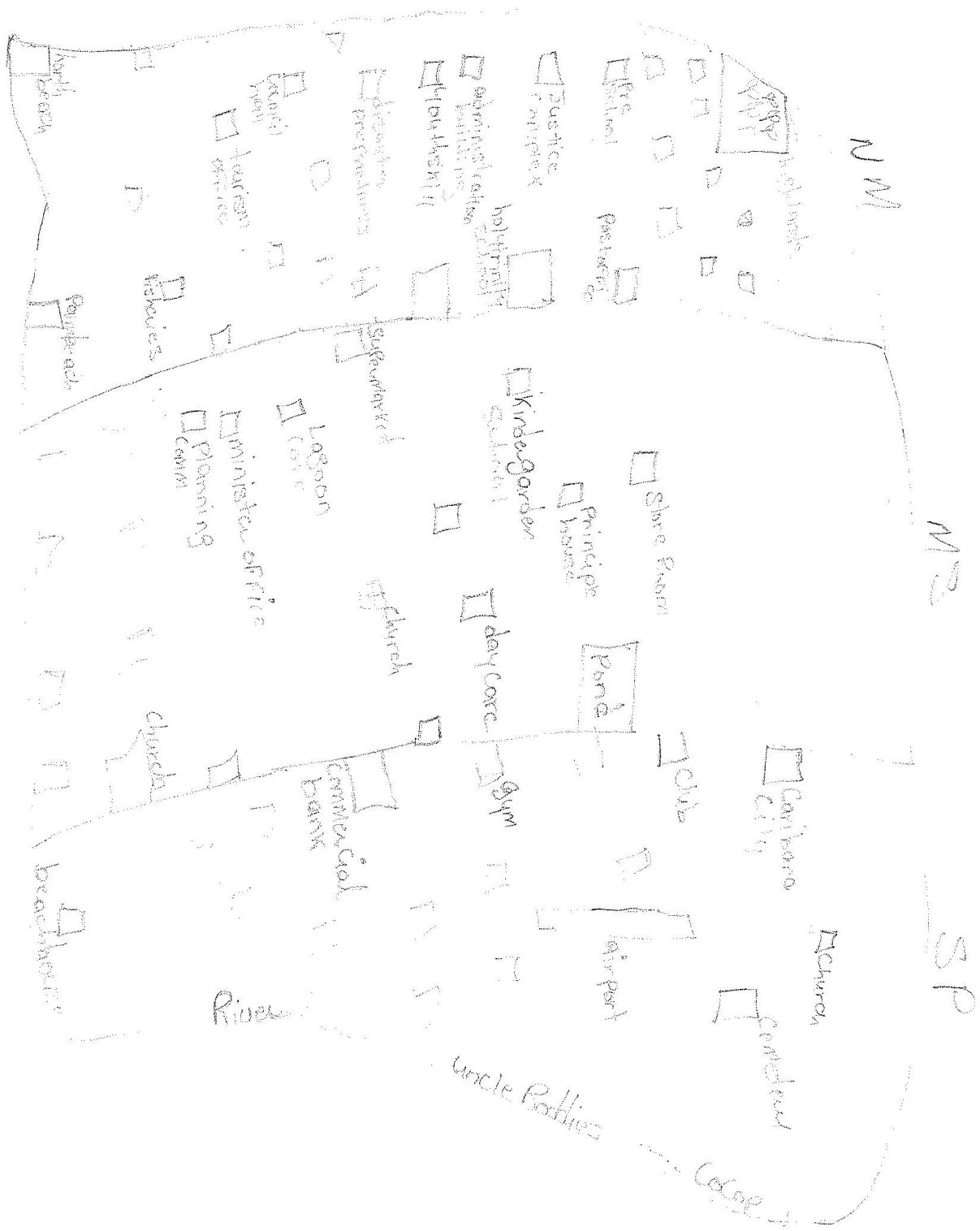


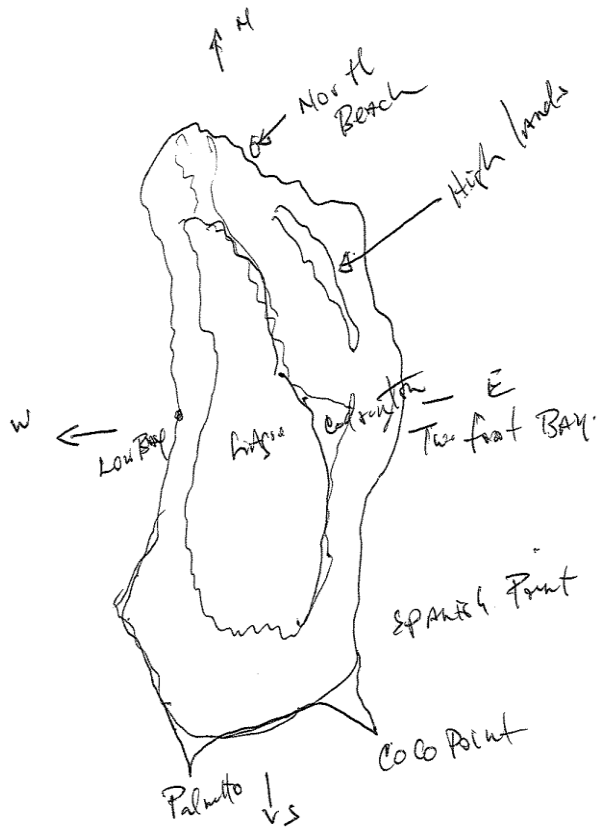


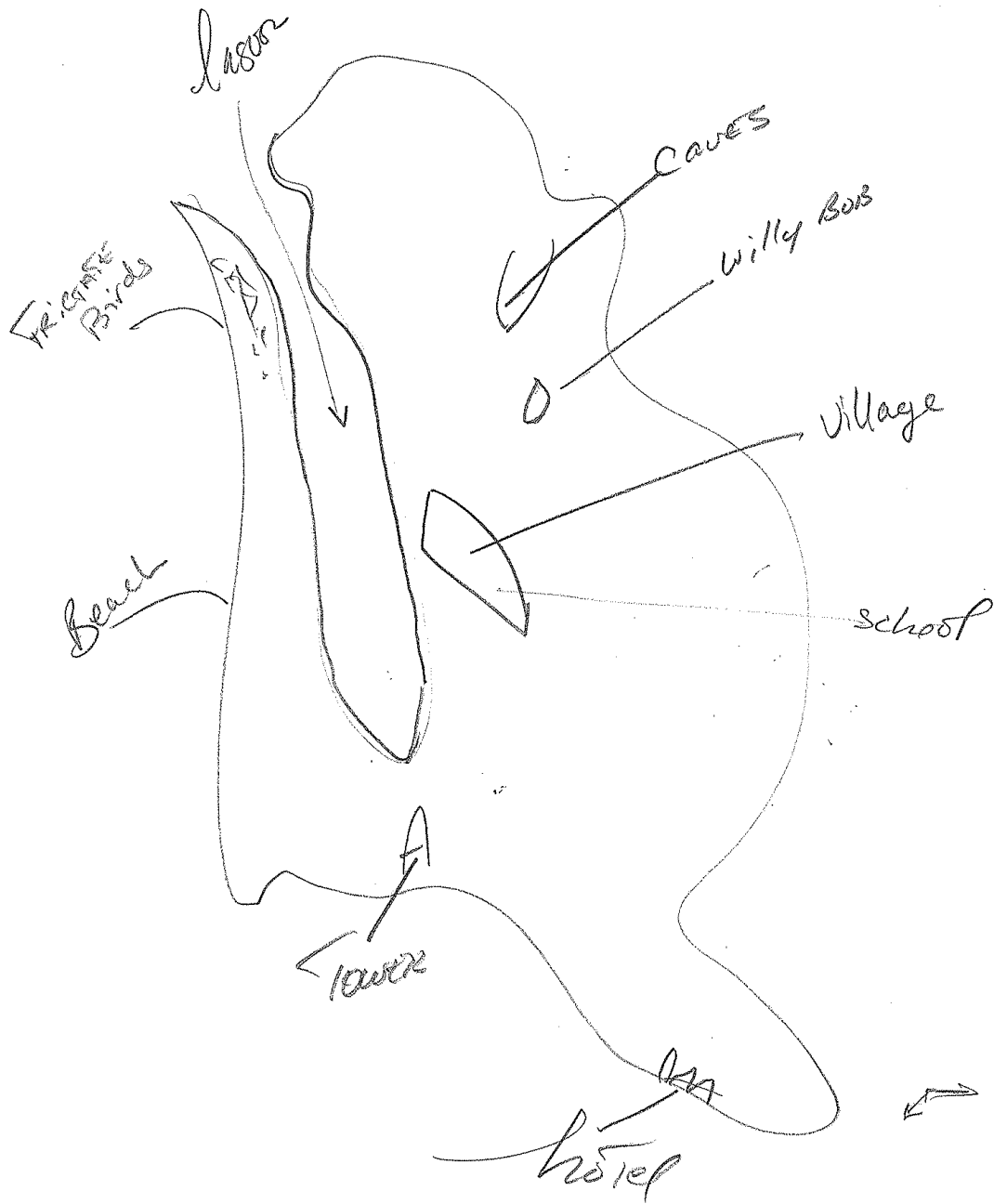


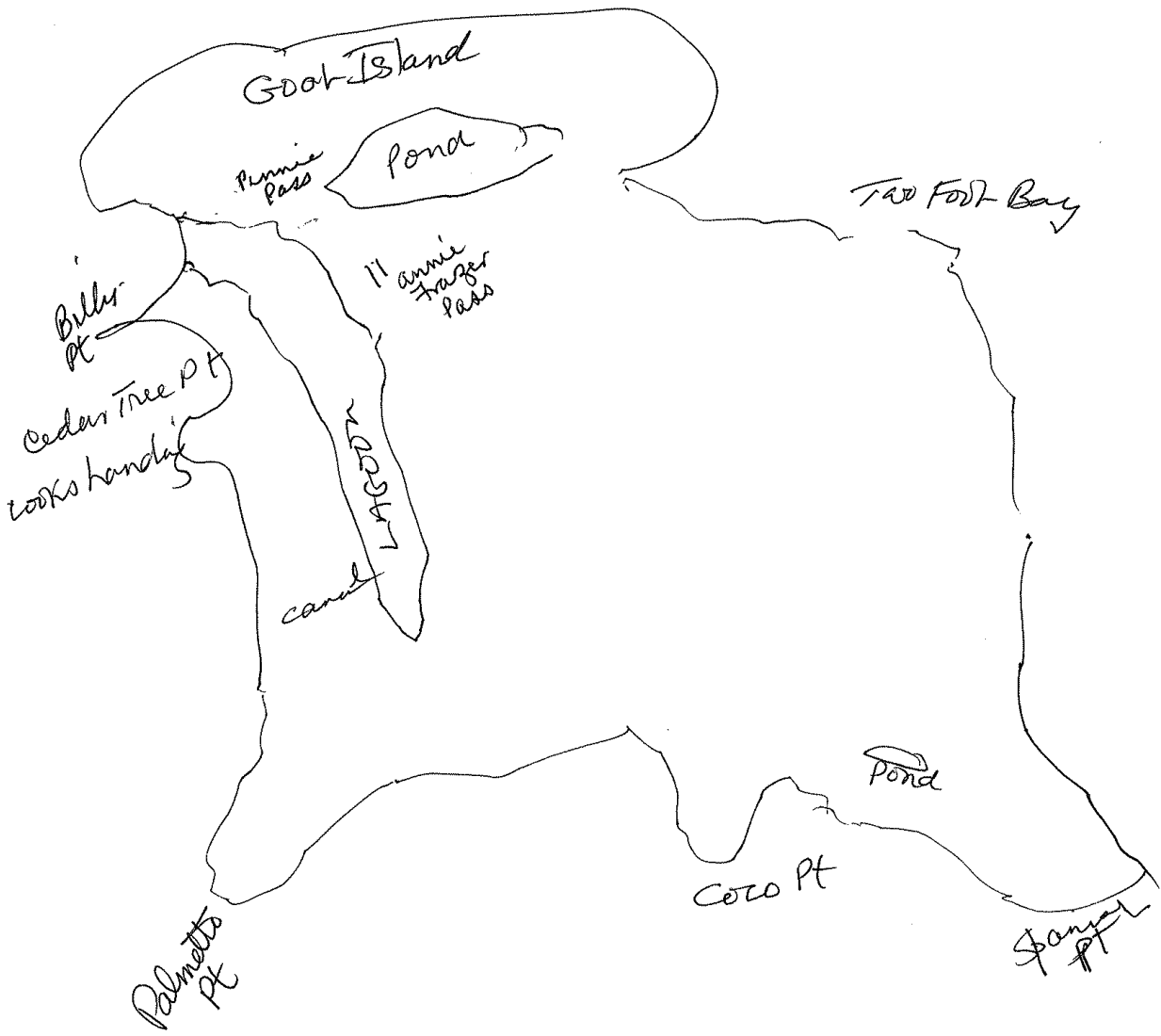


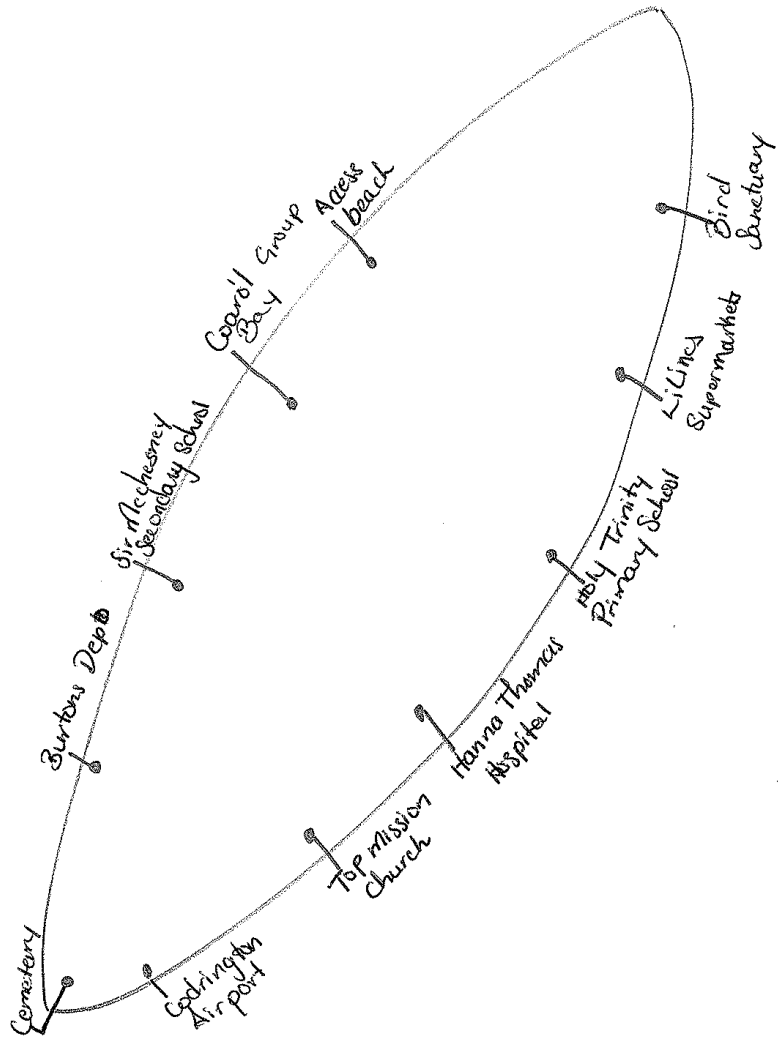






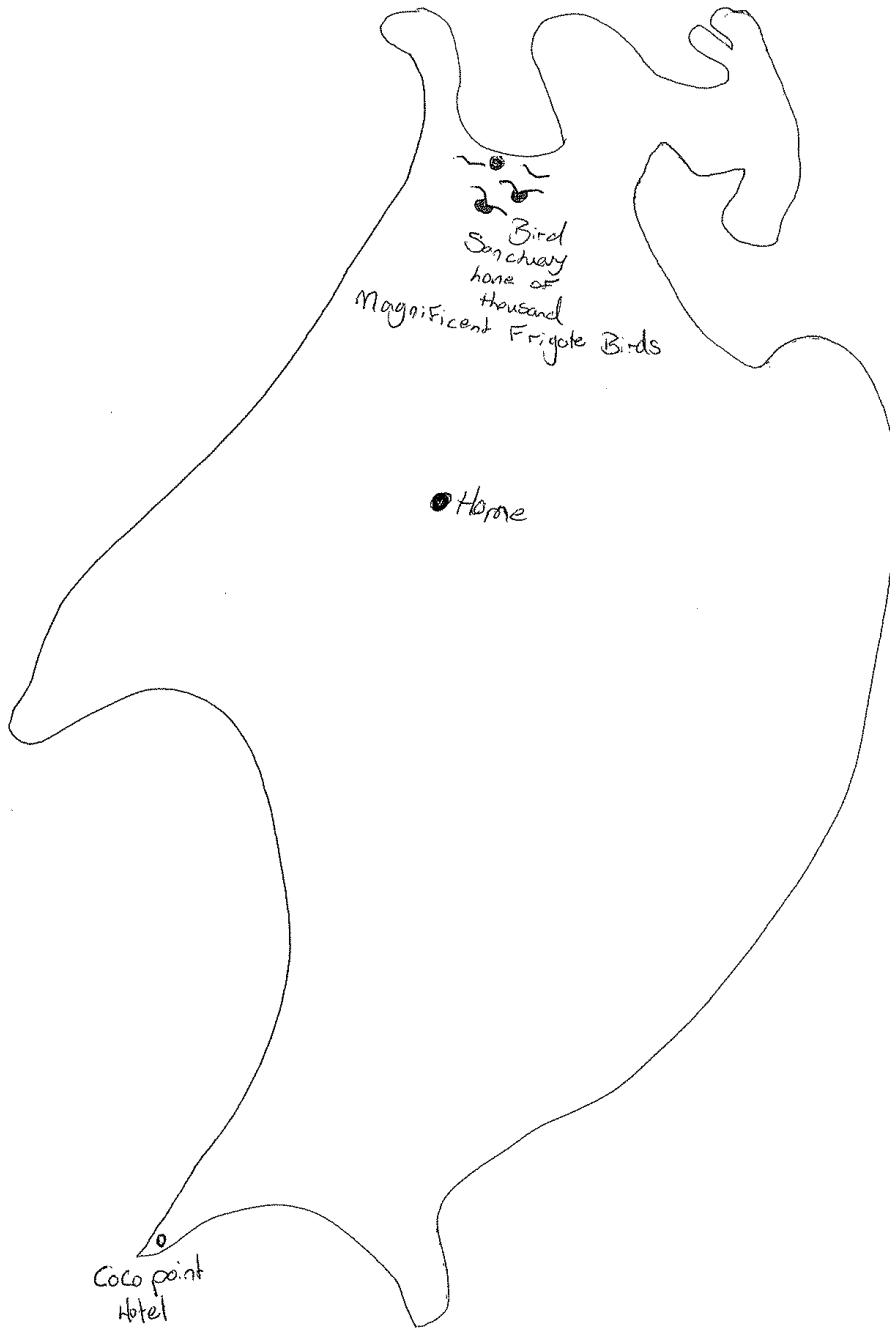


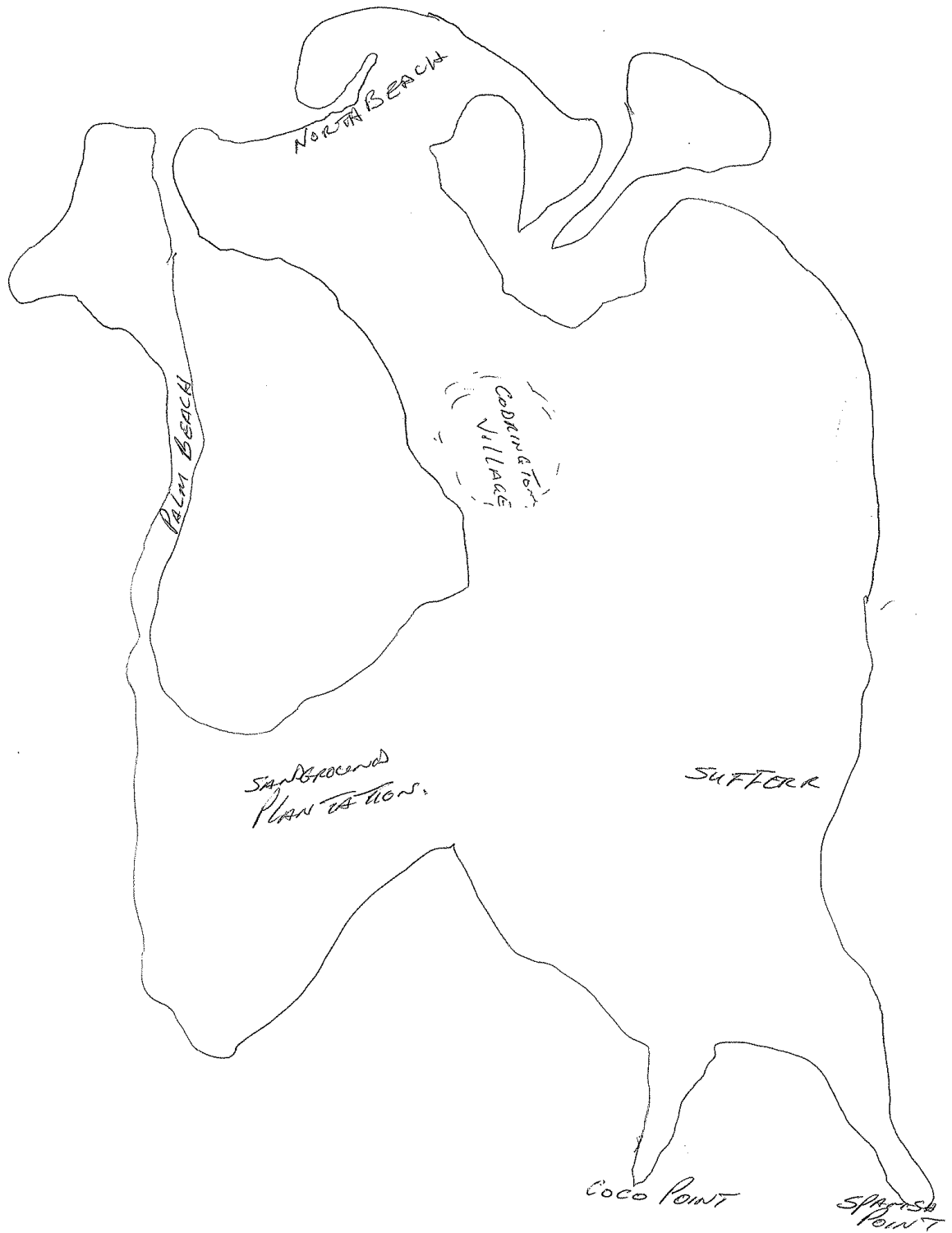






# BARBUDA

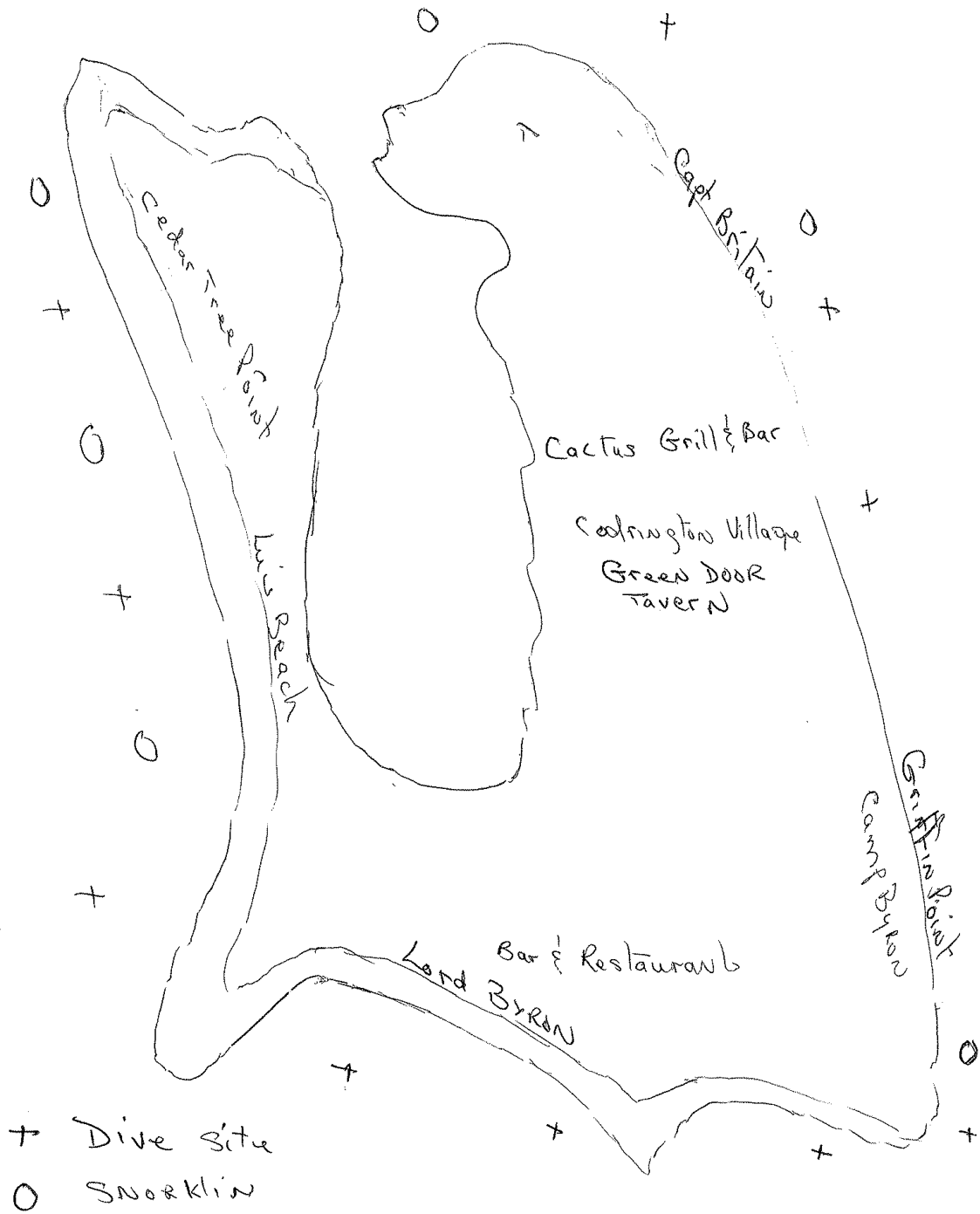






# BARBUDA

Barbuda



## Appendix II: Age-Group Breakdown

(Average # of place names for each age group to the # of interviewees in each age group)

Age Group	Codrington	Codrington Airport	River	Frigate Bird	Cemetery	River Road	New Village	Sunset Resort	Lime	Madison	Homes	Hanna Thomas Hospital	Post Office
20's	50%	50%	38%	63%	13%	13%	13%	0%	0%	0%	13%	13%	0%
30's	73%	36%	45%	36%	9%	0%	0%	9%	9%	18%	0%	9%	9%
40's	50%	13%	13%	25%	0%	0%	0%	13%	13%	0%	25%	0%	0%
50's	75%	50%	25%	25%	0%	0%	25%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	25%
60's	56%	0%	33%	22%	0%	11%	0%	0%	0%	0%	11%	0%	0%
70's	0%	0%	25%	25%	0%	25%	0%	0%	0%	0%	50%	0%	0%
80's	0%	0%	0%	50%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

Age Group	Ginnery (Council Hall)	Government House	Administration Building	Commercial Bank	Sir McChesney Secondary School	Holy Trinity School	Preschool	Castle Well	Village Well	Cattle Wells
20's	0%	0%	0%	0%	13%	13%	0%	0%	0%	0%
30's	9%	0%	18%	18%	18%	18%	9%	0%	0%	0%
40's	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	13%	25%
50's	25%	25%	25%	0%	25%	25%	25%	25%	0%	0%
60's	0%	11%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	11%	22%	22%
70's	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	25%
80's	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

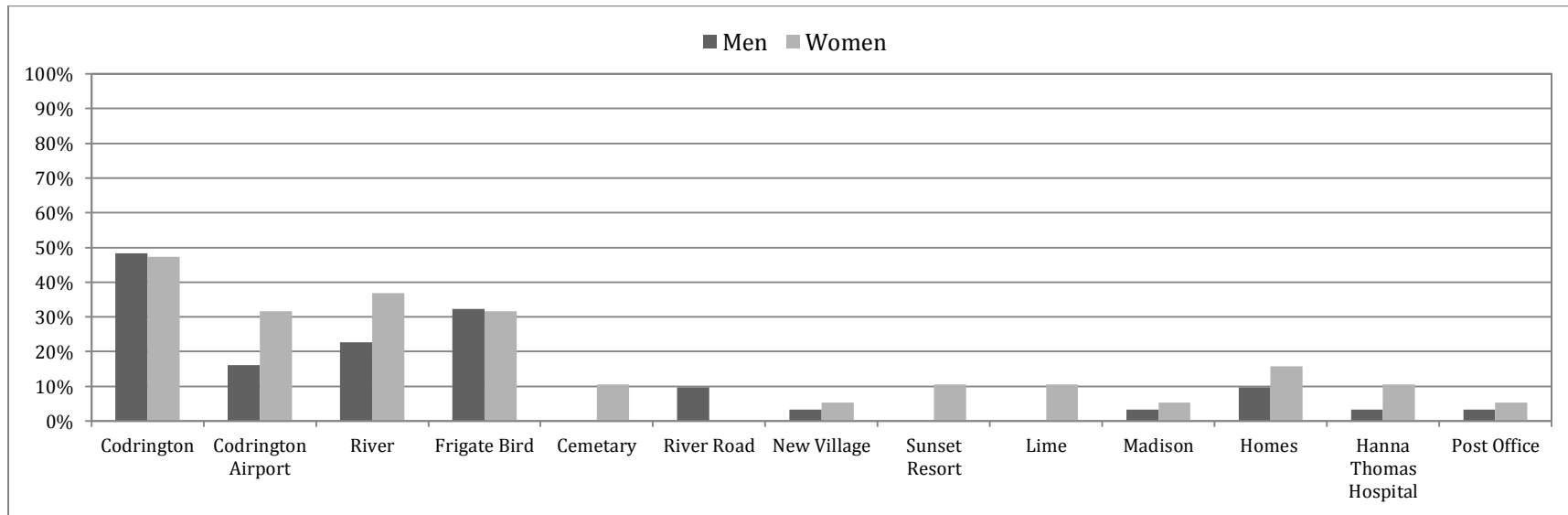
Age Group	Anglican Church	Low Mission Church	Top Mission Church	Burton's Depot	Nedd's Grocery Store	Lil-Lincs Supermarket	K-Club	Coco Point	Beach House	Lighthouse Bay Resort	Highland House	Willy Bob	Martello Tower
20's	0%	0%	13%	13%	0%	13%	25%	75%	25%	50%	13%	0%	13%
30's	0%	0%	9%	0%	18%	9%	18%	55%	18%	18%	0%	9%	18%
40's	0%	0%	0%	13%	0%	0%	13%	50%	0%	13%	25%	0%	25%
50's	25%	0%	0%	0%	0%	25%	0%	100%	0%	0%	25%	0%	75%
60's	0%	11%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	33%	0%	0%	0%	11%	44%
70's	0%	0%	0%	25%	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	50%
80's	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	50%	100%	50%	0%	0%	0%	50%

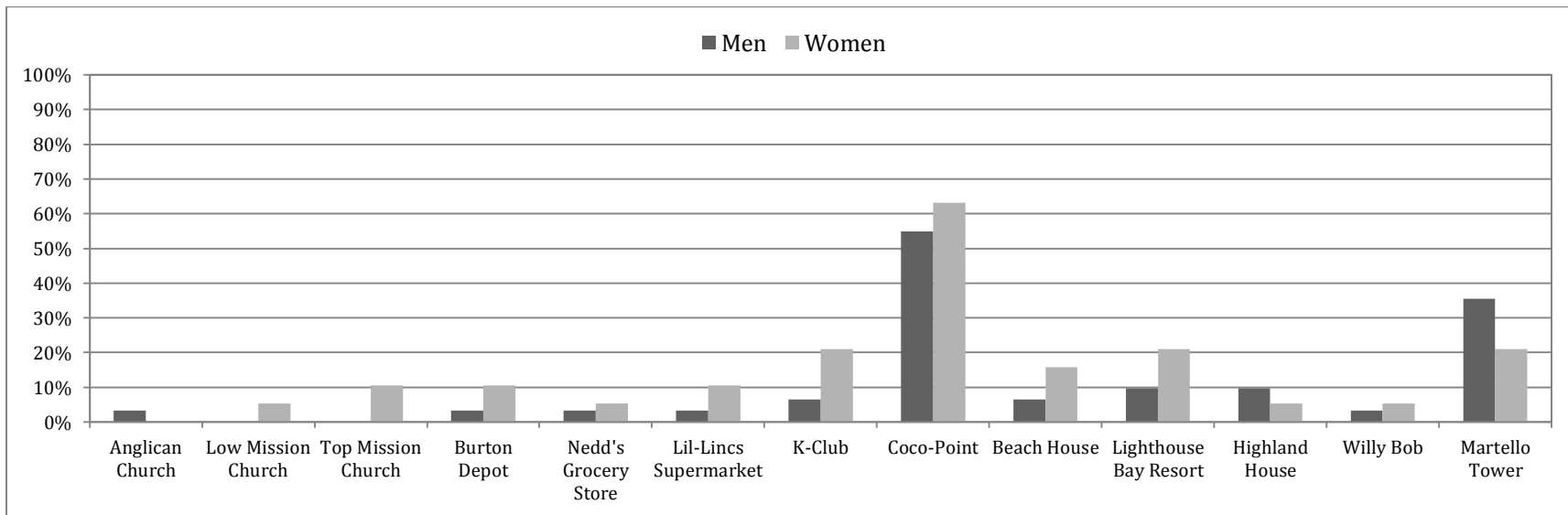
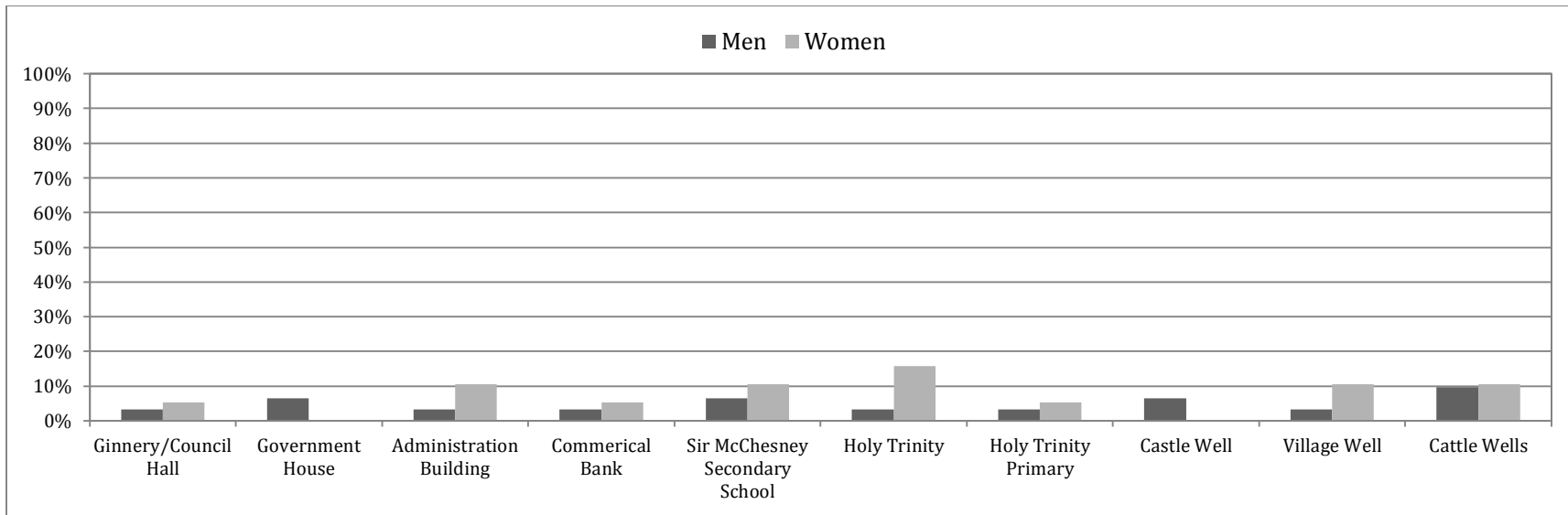
Age Group	Wharf	Lagoon	Creek	Uncle Roddy's	Low Bay	Beaches	White Bay	Coral Group Bay	Cedar Tree Point	North Beach	Palm Beach	Two Foot Bay	Hog Point	Billy Point	Welch
20's	0%	50%	0%	13%	0%	13%	25%	13%	0%	38%	0%	38%	0%	0%	0%
30's	9%	27%	18%	18%	27%	9%	27%	0%	18%	27%	18%	45%	0%	18%	9%
40's	13%	25%	0%	13%	13%	0%	13%	0%	13%	25%	25%	25%	0%	0%	0%
50's	0%	100%	0%	0%	50%	50%	25%	0%	0%	25%	0%	75%	25%	0%	25%
60's	11%	33%	11%	0%	33%	0%	33%	11%	0%	11%	22%	67%	11%	11%	22%
70's	0%	50%	25%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	25%	0%	0%	50%	0%	25%	0%
80's	0%	50%	50%	0%	50%	0%	50%	0%	0%	50%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

Age Group	Highland	Salt Pond	Spanish Point	Castle Hill	Goat Island	Rabbit Island	Coconut Plantation	Sand Pit	Trees	Canal	Palmetto	Caves	Darby Cave
20's	38%	13%	13%	25%	13%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	13%	25%	0%
30's	36%	0%	27%	36%	9%	9%	9%	9%	0%	9%	27%	9%	9%
40's	25%	25%	63%	0%	13%	0%	25%	13%	0%	0%	38%	13%	13%
50's	75%	0%	25%	0%	50%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	75%	0%	0%
60's	22%	11%	33%	33%	22%	11%	0%	0%	22%	11%	33%	22%	0%
70's	0%	25%	75%	50%	25%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	50%	0%	0%
80's	50%	50%	100%	50%	100%	50%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

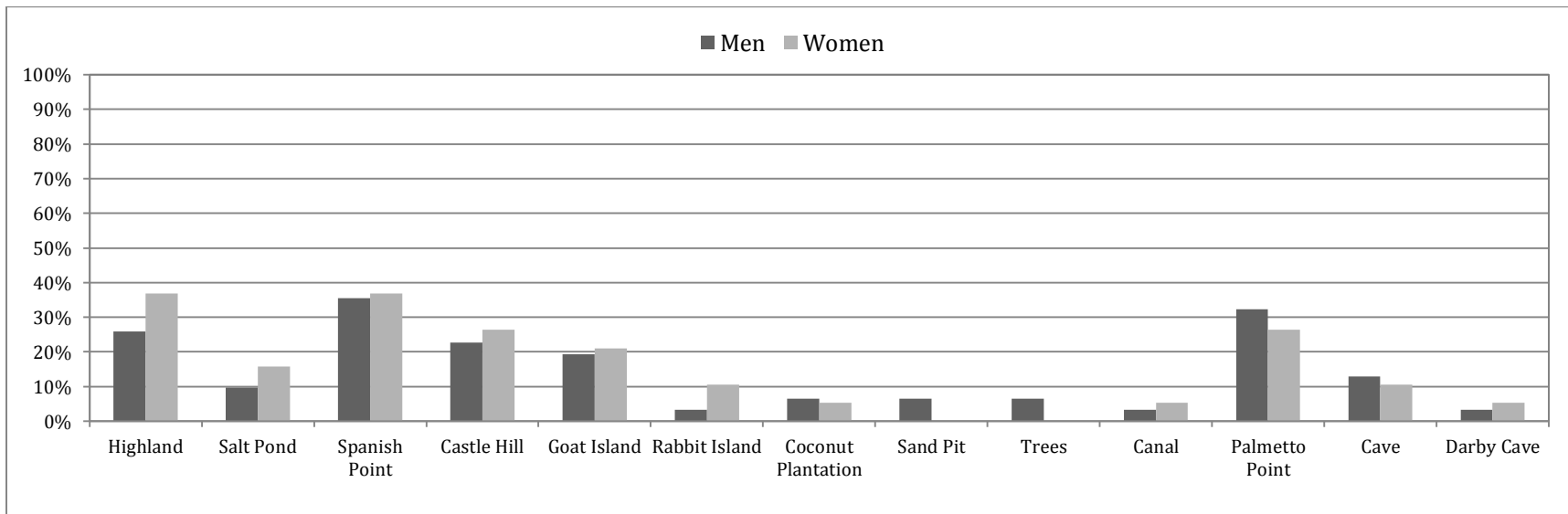
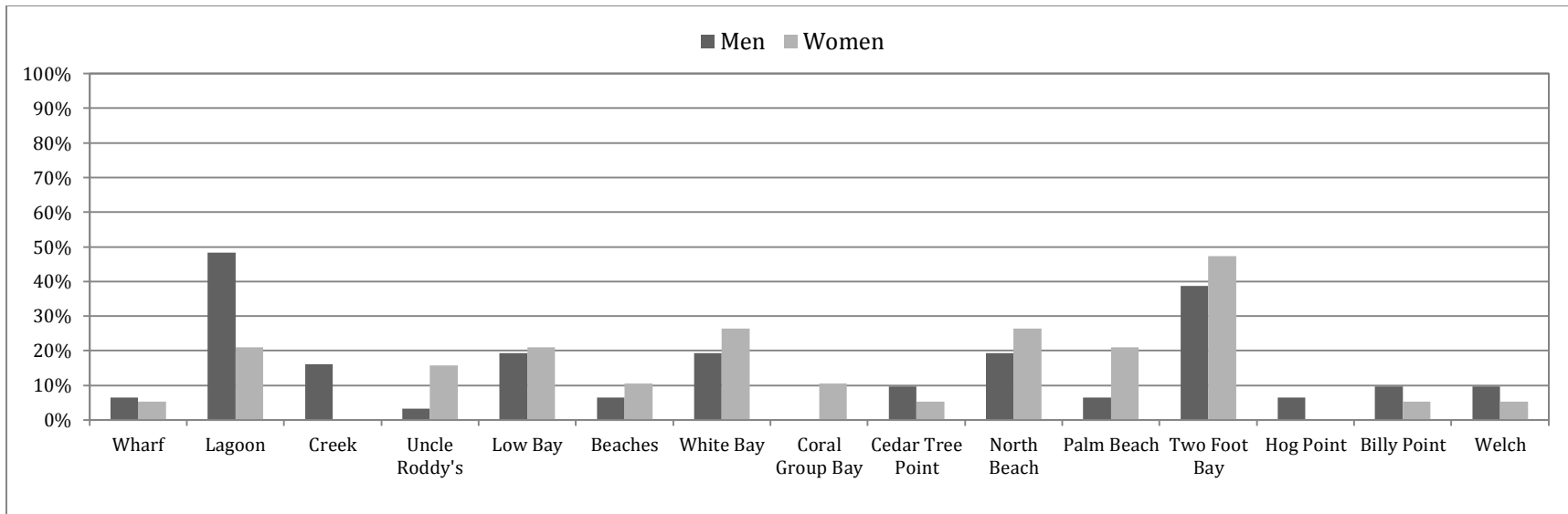
### Appendix III: Gender Breakdown

(Average # of place names for each gender to the # of interviewees within each gender)









## Vita

Amy E. Potter earned her Bachelor of Science degree in journalism at the University of Kansas in May of 2004. She continued on at KU, earning a Master of Arts degree in geography in August of 2006. After graduation, she moved to Baton Rouge, Louisiana, where she entered the doctoral program in geography at Louisiana State University's Department of Geography and Anthropology. Her Doctor of Philosophy degree will be conferred at the December 2011 Commencement.