   Post-Industrialism and the Social Organization of
    Afro-Trinidadian Immigrants in Los Angeles

     Christine G.T. Ho

About the Author

   Dr. Christine Ho was a visiting lecturer
   at the Asian-American Studies Center, UCLA
   in Fall, 1985 and at the Afro-American
   Studies Center, UCLA in spring, 1986.
   Currently she is a visiting lecturer at
   the University of California, Irvine in
   the Program in Comparative Cultures.

   INTRODUCTION

   It is surprising that so few anthropologists have taken any scholarly interest in the
consequence of the post-industrial technological revolution that is everywhere in
evidence in the 1980's. Perhaps this is because the term "post- industrial" connotes the
sort of large-scale social transformation that is perceived as the province of
sociological inquiry rather than that of anthropologists. Whatever the reason, the time
is ripe, it seems to me, for anthropologists to address the social structural sequelae
of the high technology that has penetrated not only the advanced industrial world, but
the most distant corners of the underdeveloped world as well.
   In this paper, I intend to examine the relationship between "post-industrialism" and
patterns of social organization that may be observed among international migrants at the
micro-level; more specifically, the connection between certain aspects of post-
industrial technology such as innovations in telecommunications and transportation and
the social organization of Caribbean immigrants, a subset of the New Immigrants to the
United States. Although I am by no means suggesting that the relationship is a causal
one, I wish to draw attention to the idea of non-territorial social systems as an
emerging social form in the post-industrial era. I have chosen to focus on the New
Immigrants largely because the New Immigration has coincided with the development of the
computerization and automation of information, communication and transportation
infrastructures, which is to say, at a post-industrial moment in history.
   That global interconnectedness is increasingly a quintessential feature of the post-
industrial world order has not escaped the notice of scholars of political economy.
However, global interdependence at the social organizational level has received less

attention. In post-industrial times, international migration is occurring in greater volume and with greater frequency than ever before. The large-scale movement of people across vast distances and even across national boundaries creates systems of social interdependence between sending and receiving countries. Although international migration and the creation of international social ties are not unique to post-industrial times, the quality of social relations made possible by high technology owes its existence to post- industrial innovations. In social relationships, there is no good substitute for face-to-face interaction. Cheap international jet travel has made possible frequent face-to-face visits and the nurturing of enduring bonds that were not feasible in the age of steamships.

   To acknowledge the existence of a transnational social field (i.e., non- territorial social systems), however, is to invite rethinking of the nature of "community" in the post-industrial age, when territory is no longer the organizing principle. The existence of persons scattered across the globe who maintain connections with one another suggests, at the very least, the need for a methodology that will capture the mobility of these persons and the far-flung nature of their social lives, a methodology that emphasizes the priority of interaction over space.

Post-Industrialism and Social Organization

   The Coming of Post-Industrial Society by Daniel Bell (1973) was a landmark work in which he proposed the concept of post-industrialism. In Bell's (1973) formulation, post-industrial society constituted a radical departure from its predecessors, the industrial and pre-industrial, although it did not entirely displace either of them. Indeed, the changes envisioned by Bell (1973) were sufficiently profound to rival the importance of the Industrial Revolution. These economic and social structural transformations included: (1) the shift from a manufacturing-based (goods producing) to a service-based economy, providing primarily human services; (2) a change in the character of social stratification, such that the new elites would be technical ones; (3) the critical importance of technical knowledge as knowledge was bureaucratized, harnessed and controlled for use by the State in science-based industries (Bell 1973:487). While knowledge had always been significant in human society, post-industrial knowledge was of the theoretical sort, codified into science and occupying a new place of honor as the basis of all problem solving and change. Moreover, knowledge was no longer independent inquiry for its own sake but intertwined with military and political policy as technical elites rose to power (Bell 1876:xvi-xviii). The foundations of post-industrial society, therefore, rested on "information" and "knowledge" and the management of both (Bell 1976:ix).

   While Bell's (1973) venture in social forecasting is without doubt a milestone, it lacks concern with the international context in which these changes have taken place. It attempts to be monolithic, but is actually quite limited in scope, attention being focused almost exclusively on the United States, with passing references to the Soviet Union, Western Europe and Japan (Bell 1973:483-486). Surely a change so revolutionary as post-industrialism would not be limited to the advanced industrial nations alone, given that the economic fortunes of the underdeveloped world have been drawn, however reluctantly, into the political and economic orbits of the capitalist and the socialist worlds. Thus, the notion of interdependence, either economic or social structural, on a world scale, is conspicuously absent from Bell's (1973) analysis. Also missing from the analysis is the place of minorities in this post-industrial society. How will minorities fare in this new social order based on technical knowledge? Will they be shaped by the new technology or will they be active shapers of their destiny? This essay will attempt to address both the problem of global interdependence and the problem of minorities in the post-industrial era.

   Like Bell (1973), Richmond (1984) was concerned with macro-level changes in the nature of societal integration in the wake of the post-industrial technological revolution. However, unlike Bell, who attached little importance to the idea of a global economy, Richmond (1984) explicitly recognized the primacy of the international division of labor and the power of multinational corporations that, in post-industrial times, owe no allegiance to any particular nation-state. Indeed, Richmond (1984:5-6) posited a close relationship between the nature of the economic system, including the division of labor and the level of technological development, and the form of social integration of any society. To demonstrate this relationship, Richmond (1984:5-10) proposed a model to explain the connections between power, legitimacy and social integration in different

types of societies. For instance, the mode of social integration characteristic of feudal economy and theocratic state would be of the gemeinschaft type, based on ascriptive roles such as extended kinship. There would be little social differentiation and a limited division of labor in these territorially based communities in which power and legitimacy was wielded by the Church in close alliance with the State (Richmond 1984:6-7).

With the advent of a capitalist, industrial economy, the secular State came into being, characterized by a gesellschaft type of social integration. The secular State was based on much social differentiation, a highly specialized division of labor, economic interdependence and bureaucratic structures and formal organizations. With the separation of Church and State, power shifted to parliamentary institutions and a closer alliance between the military and the economy. Education shifted from the Church to the State with the goal of inculcating loyalty to the Nation-State, as a tool of legitimation. Racial and cultural variation was to be eliminated if possible, to produce maximal homogeneity (Richmond 1984:9-11).

The form of social integration characteristic of the post-industrial era is verbindungsnetzschaft, a completely new type, based on the network principle. Interpersonal, interorganizational and international communications and social networks are expected to replace partially formal organizations and territorial communities. Instantaneous exchanges of information on a world scale have been made possible by international telecommunications systems. Satellite communications have also created international television and radio. Education has been transformed by computerized storage and retrieval of information. Economic institutions like banks and stock exchanges are now linked by systems that permit the lightning transfer of capital and currency across vast distances (Richmond 1984:10). Indeed, the hallmark of the post-industrial age is the emergence of a global economy in which the advanced industrial nations are interdependent sub-systems. Such global economic interdependence undermines the power of nation- states and nationalism, as organizational structures transcend territorial boundaries. The embodiment of this supranationalism is the multinational corporation run by supranational power elites whose chief interests and loyalties like with the supranational economic entity. From a politico-military perspective, nation-states have been replaced by superpowers that confront each other purely on ideological grounds (Richmond 1984:11).

In addition to acknowledging the significance of global interconnectedness, Richmond (1984:13) also analyzed the implications of this revolution in technology for ethnic minorities. In an earlier analysis, Richmond (1984:298-319) argued that in post-industrial society, there would no longer be strong pressures toward assimilation; rather, supranationalism would be conducive to ethnic variation and its maintenance. Indeed, diversity of ethnic culture and language would be strengthened by mass media such as multilingual radio and television, and ethnic identity would be reinforced by personal communications with kin and friends through international telephone and travel. In short, Richmond (1981; 1984) was convinced that post-industrialism was a quantum leap forward and not fundamentally continuous with earlier phases of industrialism, as argued by Kumar (1978). The views expressed in this paper concur with those of Richmond.

The New Immigration and Caribbean Immigration

Post-1965 immigration to the United States has been called the New Immigration because it constitutes a radical departure from that which preceded it (Bryce-Laporte 1977). It was brought about by a landmark piece of legislation, the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 that revolutionized almost a century of exclusionist policies based on race. It has, thus, profoundly changed the character of subsequent immigration to the United States. In volume alone, admissions have reached unprecedented levels. For example, the number of entries for the year 1978 alone reached a peak of 600,000, in contrast to a previous annual average of 290,062 admissions for the years between 1961 and 1965 (Keely and Elwell 1981:188).

More importantly, the complexion of immigration to the United States has changed. The New Immigrants are no longer of European stock, European immigration having declined in both absolute and relative terms. Instead, the New Immigrants come from Asia, Asian immigration having soared, as well as Africa, the Middle East, Latin America and the Caribbean (Keely and Elwell 1981:191). In short, the New Immigration has dramatically altered the racial and ethnic composition of the American population, these people being phenotypically, culturally and linguistically different from white Americans. As such,

the New Immigration poses a formidable challenge for the United States to come to terms, in a more effective manner, with multiracialism, multiculturalism and multilingualism.

From a post-industrial perspective, the New Immigration would also seem to be a fertile laboratory in which to examine post-industrialism because the former has coincided with the development of the latter. Indeed, it might be argued that international migration is a basic component of the post-industrial age, a produce of the international division of labor between center, semi-periphery and periphery that obtains in the world economic community (Portes and Walton 1981). In this way, conditions have been created to stimulate population movement from the underdeveloped world to the advanced industrial nations, where these migrants are utilized as a source of cheap labor (Portes and Walton 1981:21-65). The New Immigration to the United States is but one of numerous migration streams of this kind occurring in different parts of the world.

Caribbean immigration to the United States is an integral part of the New Immigration. Estimates of the Caribbean presence in the United States, including the documented and the undocumented and all language groups, run as high as four million (Dominguez and Dominguez 1981). A longstanding tradition of emigration has been the hallmark of Caribbean societies for almost 150 years (Marshall 1982). This massive exodus of Caribbean peoples has been directed alternately at Europe and at North America, receiving its impetus from the economic, political and social problems of the region that have their origins in the legacy of colonialism. That is to say, the patterns of emigration are rooted in the under-developed character of Caribbean economies generally, but more particularly, in chronic structural unemployment and underemployment, the distilled essence of economic dependence. The magnets drawing Caribbean peoples to North America and Europe are the availability of jobs and the substantially higher wages in these destinations (Foner 1978; Palmer 1974; Watson 1976).

The Transnational Networks of Afro-Trinidadian Immigrants in Los Angeles

My purpose here is not to well on the relation between the world economic system and patterns of world migration, but to explore the impact of post-industrial changes on the social organization of Caribbean immigrants, and in so doing, to suggest rethinking the nature of international migrant social life in a post-industrial world. Many aspects of the social life of Caribbean immigrants bear the imprint of high technology. While they continue to practice age long traditions associated with Old Immigrants, such as letter writing and sending remittances, they have added to their behavioral repertoire patterns of reciprocity not possible before the electronic age. For instance, they keep in frequent verbal communication with loved ones in the homeland through international telephone systems. They also maintain face-to-face contact with these persons through international jet travel. Such behavior patterns underscore a profound inter-dependence between the Caribbean region and North America.

My research examined patterns of social organization of a subset of black Caribbean immigrants, those from Trinidad and Tobago, living in Los Angeles. Social network analysis was chosen as the methodological basis of the study as it provided a conceptualization of community based not on territorial but on interactional criteria, an approach which I believed would more accurately represent the social relations of geographically mobile and spatially dispersed populations such as migrants. The unit of analysis was the personal network of each sample member. Methods of data collection combined semi-structured interviews with participant observation and were aimed at probing the properties of the kinship and friendship networks, as well as the structure of group life of the sample members in Los Angeles. Structural characteristics of networks were extracted from interview data and observations. Although the sample only comprised 30 individuals, half of whom were female and the other half male, a conscious effort was made to obtain as large a cross-section as possible of the variables of age, occupation/educational attainment and length of residence in various destinations outside of the homeland.

The research revealed some interesting findings, the most intriguing of which is that the primary social relationships of the Afro-Trinidadian immigrants consist of social network links that not only span the continent of North America but transcend national boundaries. The behavior of the sample members, then, would appear to conform to the network principle posited by Richmond (1984). This system of international linkages is actively maintained in a variety of ways and ties are actively sustained over time and geography between these Caribbean immigrants and the close kin and friends left behind.

In this sense, therefore, they are active shapers of their destiny as well as creators of post-industrial social forms.

 The Internationalization of Kinship

   Afro-Trinidadians are a highly mobile people, as are most people of the Caribbean, who can be found living in various parts of North America and Europe. Contact with those close to them, specifically kin, is maintained throughout the world through interpersonal kinship networks. As evidence of the widely scattered nature of Afro-Trinidadian kin networks, all of the participants in the research, without exception, have kin remaining in Trinidad and Tobago, these kin being of a wide range in terms of depth and breadth of kin relationships. More interestingly, one-third of the sample members have relatives not only in Trinidad and Tobago, but in addition, also have relatives in other Caribbean countries such as Jamaica, Barbados, St. Vincent and the U.S. Virgin Islands.
   The kin connections of the sample members are not limited merely to the territories of the Caribbean. Eighty-seven percent of the participants in the research have intimate kin in other cities of North America, such as New York, cities in New Jersey, Washington, D.C., Hartford and New Haven, Miami, San Francisco, Montreal, Toronto, Calgary, and Vancouver, and maintain strong ties with them. The size of these kin networks ranges in number from one to ten, for over half the sample members.
   Perhaps more interesting than the number of kin in these cities is the range of kin relationships represented. There is depth ranging from parent(s) to siblings, to children of siblings, and breadth includes uncles, aunts and cousins. Patterns of reciprocity that sustain relations between the sample and their kin in the cities mentioned above include the exchange of letters, the sending of remittances to mothers, the owning of property in common and the fostering of children. The only type of exchange in which 100 percent of the sample participates with their kin in North America is transcontinental telephone conversations. Again, the popularity of post-industrial electronic marvels is evident in the behavior of Afro-Trinidadians.
  Given the relationships described above, it should come as no surprise that all of the sample members maintain strong ties and sustain continuous interaction with kin remaining in the homeland. For Afro-Trinidadians, patterns of reciprocity that transcend national boundaries show clearly that migration to another country is not synonymous with severing kin ties. While interaction must naturally be less frequent and less often of a face-to-face nature, it is not of less emotional intensity. The most common form of international interaction with kin engaged in by the sample is overseas (international) telephone conversations. Of the sample members, 87 percent only do so every six months and 13 percent only do so once a year. Quite obviously, the ability to make international telephone calls has been made possible by post-industrial technological innovations. Afro-Trinidadians also practice other forms of reciprocity not post-industrial in nature, such as letter writing and sending remittances. While 80 percent of the sample writes letters to kin, they admitted they hated letter writing but did so because they wanted to keep in touch and could not afford to telephone too often.
  One-third of the sample sends remittances to the homeland every few months, almost always to mothers, in a few cases to aunts. Throughout migration history, remittances have been a common way for migrants to assist those left behind. Remittances continue to be a type of exchange that keeps alive bonds between kin that are deeply rooted. Owning property in Trinidad and Tobago in common with kin is another sort of socio-economic tie that binds 23 percent of the sample members to their homeland. In a few instances, the kin at home also serve as managers of said property, thereby linking themselves with the participants in the research in yet another way. This type of link is likely to be an enduring one, as the value of real estate in Trinidad and Tobago has skyrocketed in recent years, making the ownership of property highly desirable and something that is likely to continue indefinitely (Ho 1985).
  The fostering of children is, par excellence, the form of reciprocity that cements most solidly the emotional ties that continue to bind Afro-Trinidadians to their homeland. One-third of the sample either is currently or was in the past involved in child-fostering arrangements. Kin other than biological parents may define child fostering as the informal assumption of responsibility for the care of children. It is a tradition with a long history in the context of the Caribbean family. Unlike the Euro-American institutions of adoption and fostering, child fostering in the Caribbean does

not require official intervention, nor is it necessarily permanent; but it occurs with great regularity.

It is not uncommon for children to be dispersed in several households, or to be incorporated into the households of their mother's mother or mother's sister, so that they may be cared for by these kin while the mother works and contributes financially to the support of the children, a custom that some have called "child-shifting" (Rodman 1971). The role played by kin remaining in the country of origin is to act as providers of childcare services. Indeed, the practice of child-fostering would seem to be well-suited to satisfying the needs of migrants who must simultaneously work and care for their children but who must be in a different place in order to work. That is to say, this longstanding tradition, in post-industrial times, has acquired an international character (Soto 1985). Given the circumstances under which childcare conflicts with both migration and work, the residential dispersal of children on a transnational scale would appear to be superb solutions to the problem. International child-fostering also facilitates the extraction of the most out of different settings.

 The Multinational Family

Afro-Caribbean family forms have always been regarded as anomalous because they have deviated so fundamentally in form, content and meaning from Euro-American norms of nuclear family structure. For decades, therefore, a heated debate has surrounded the analysis of Afro-Caribbean kinship systems centered on so called "matrifocal" households composed primarily of women and their dependent children (R.T. Smith 1963). Caribbean communities have also been described as unstable, fragmented, structurally weak and loosely organized (Wagley 1960). The point I wish to make here is that it is precisely this looseness of structure and informality of social organization that will be advantageous in post-industrial times. If social organization in the post-industrial era is to be based on informal structures, then Caribbean communities, not founded along formal and corporate lines, ought to be preadapted to the circumstances. The network principle, coupled with that of global dispersion, has produced a novel phenomenon: the multinational family. It is a unit embodying the notion of transnational social and economic interdependence in which child fostering plays a pivotal role in strengthening both the instrumental and emotional attachments that ties its members together across vast distances. The following vignette from the lives of the members of the Bain family illustrates the operation of such a transnational kinship network.

Anne-Marie Bain left Trinidad for New York in 1965. At the time she was about 20 years old and had two sons, aged one and two, from her first marriage, which ended in divorce after three years. Prior to her first marriage, she had neither finished secondary school nor had any work experience. With no skills or education, she knew her future would be bleak if she remained in Trinidad, so she decided to go to New York where she believed her chances would be better. She had heard from a friend who was on a return visit from New York that opportunities were good for domestic work. She worked as a domestic for an American family for a year, spending weekends and time off work with a cousin who lived in Brooklyn. After her immigrant status was settled, she left domestic service to do clerical work in a bank. While her decision to migrate made economic sense, it created havoc in terms of her family life. It was not possible for her to take her two young sons with her and she received no financial support from the father of the two boys. The only solution was to persuade her mother to care for them while she was away.

Five years after the two boys had been living with their maternal grandmother, Anne-Marie was able financially to sponsor them to migrate to the United States. She also sponsored her mother at the same time, because her mother had decided to end 35 years of a bad marriage with Anne-Marie's father by leaving Trinidad. Anne-Marie's two brothers also migrated to New York, the younger one being sponsored by their mother, as he was still a minor. Being over 21 years old, Anne-Marie's older brother could not be sponsored by a parent and instead, migrated illegally to Toronto, where he met an American woman, married her and subsequently moved to New York also.

Within five years of her initial departure from Trinidad, then, Anne-Marie was reunited not only with her two sons, by now aged six and seven, and the parent who had fostered them for five years, but also with her younger brother; they all formed a household in New York.

Four years later, in 1974, Anne-Marie met Ian Bain, a Trinidadian also living in New York. After almost a year of courtship, she became pregnant with their child. In spite

of Anne-Marie's pregnancy, Ian moved to Los Angeles because the employment situation in New York had been very unkind to him for quite some time, and he had heard many wonderful things about California. Ian's intention was to persuade Anne-Marie to move West with him; he succeeded. After Anne-Marie moved to Los Angeles, she and Ian got married and she gave birth to their daughter, Heather. Her two older sons had also moved to Los Angeles and were part of the Bain household. Not long after Heather was born, Anne-Marie decided she would need to acquire a technical skill with which to earn a higher income, but she could not leave an infant in the care of two teenaged boys. She and Ian decided to send Heather to live in the U.S. Virgin Islands with Ian's mother, who agreed to foster Heather for a year. Ian's mother had moved from Trinidad to the U.S. Virgin Islands with her own mother and a younger daughter (Ian's grandmother and his younger sister). For the first year of her life, then, Heather was cared for by her paternal grandmother and great-grandmother, many thousands of miles away from her own mother, Anne-marie, who was studying medical transcribing in Los Angeles.

Several years later, circumstances and needs have changed yet again. Heather is now 8 years old. Her two half-brothers are now fully grown and no longer live in the Bain household. Anne-Marie needs someone to care for Heather during the day while she and Ian are both at work, when Heather is not in school. Rather than send Heather to daycare, Ian's younger sister, now in her teens, is invited from the U.S. Virgin Islands to come and live with Ian and Anne-Marie and to take care of Heather while attending high school in Los Angeles also. This arrangement is necessary because Heather's previous caretakers, her two older half-brothers, have graduated from high school, joined the military and left the household. Another reason for this arrangement is that it makes it possible for Ian's younger sister to receive an American high school education.

As a multinational family, the Bain family is exemplary in the scope of their kinship. The Bain family encompasses not only the Bain household in Los Angeles, now containing Ian, Anne-Marie, Heather and Ian's younger sister; it also includes Ian's mother and grandmother in the U.S. Virgin Islands, as well as Ian's father, not longer married to his mother, and several of Ian's younger brothers who live in Houston, Texas. In addition, Ian has children from prior relationships: a 16-year old daughter from a romance in Trinidad while still in his teens, who lives with her mother in Toronto, Canada. Two years ago, this daughter spent the summer in Los Angeles with Ian and Anne-Marie. Another daughter lives in the southern United States with her mother. Finally, there are two young sons from a previous marriage who live with their mother in New York. Anne-Marie's contribution to the Bain multinational family, apart from Heather in Los Angeles and her two sons in the military, includes her mother in New York, to whom she sends remittances in gratitude for the fostering of the two older boys when they were little, and both of Anne-Marie's brothers and their wives and children, also living in New York. Across national boundaries, there is also Anne-Marie's father, who still lives in Trinidad.

When one considers that kin connections with aunts, uncles, and cousins of Ian and Anne-Marie have not even entered the above discussion, the kinship ties of the Bain family are really very impressive. These kinship ties stretching between Los Angeles and New York, Toronto, Houston, the southern United States, the U.S. Virgin Islands and Trinidad underscore the strong commitments, enduring obligations and intense interaction, but the instrumental reasons for sustaining these ties as insurance against migration failure. Figure 1 schematically diagrams a transnational kinship network, that of the Bain multinational family.

The Internationalization of Friendship

By nature, kinship is an ascriptively-based relation imbued with an obligatory quality and institutional pressures toward permanence. In contrast, friendship is founded on free choice and emotion, and hence, is a relation forged out of achievement. Because of its voluntary and affective character, the strength of friendship is often more ephemeral and more vulnerable to the effects of change. For instances, a common assumption is that friendship ties hinge on frequent contact and tend to disintegrate with physical separation. The fact that many of the friendships of the sample members have not ceased with migration is evidence that this need not be so. For Afro-Trinidadians, close friendship implies trust, mutual respect, mutual obligations and the exchange of goods and services, but also a strong commitment to expectations of continuity of the relationship, one that is to be re-activated at some future date when time and geography permit. This does not mean that Afro-Trinidadians choose to maintain

all friendships that existed prior to migration; rather, it means that relations with a select few entail a special sort of bound that warrants future expectations. With respect to the friendships of the participants in the research, their relationships with friends in the Caribbean have ranged in duration from seven to 52 years.

   In other words, enduring friendship ties are those that exert a powerful hold on individuals and, for Afro-Trinidadians, seem to be derived from certain categories of relationships. One such category is that which I have chosen to call "family friends," defined as "those persons who are friends with each other as a result of being members of kin groups that have been on friendly terms for two or more generations." Best friends are often drawn from this category; relationships of such time depth are not easily destroyed. Bonds of this sort are strong because of their characteristic multiplexity, defined by network analysts as the extent to which a network link involves multiple role relationships and several overlapping contents (Boissevain 1974:28-32). The "family friend" relationship is multiplex in the sense that it adds the dimension of kinship to that of friendship and compounds it even further with the element of time depth, making it triply binding. Another source of multiplex ties is the category of "schoolmates." For some Afro-Trinidadians, "schoolmate" relationships are those that bear the closest resemblance to the sorts of "old boy" or "public school" friendships that are legendary among British aristocrats for their strength and durability. Among Afro-Trinidadians, the "schoolmate" tie is only a facsimile, not exactly the same.

   An example might help to concretize these very abstract concepts. Yvette Harris is a participant in the research who migrated to Los Angeles in 1977, after having lived in New York for the six years following her emigration from Trinidad in 1971. Her best friend in Trinidad had been Jackie Williams. Jackie migrated to Toronto, Canada in 1972. Yvette and Jackie used to live in the same small town in central Trinidad. They attended the same primary school and were classmates all the way through secondary school. They have known each other since they were born because their parents became friends with each other before their birth and the two families have been close for as long as anyone can remember. Thus, Yvette and Jackie are not only "best friends," they are also "family friends" and "schoolmates." This triple bound has meant that their feelings for each other remain strong even though Yvette lives in Los Angeles and Jackie in Toronto. They keep in touch by letter and telephone and occasional visits. Visiting used to be more frequent when Yvette lived in New York.

   This discussion of long lasting friendship ties should not leave the impression that the friendship patterns of the sample members have been unaffected by a change as drastic as moving several thousand miles away. Indeed, several changes can be noted. Although the majority of participants in the research (87 percent) have chosen to maintain ties with close friends in Trinidad, a few (13 percent) have opted to sever all friendship connections. Just under half the sample keep up friendships with only one to four individuals while slightly more than one-third of the sample pursue friendships with five to ten people in the homeland.

   A corresponding reduction in the density of friendship networks has accompanied this contraction in the size of friendship networks. Density, according to network analysts, is the extent to which those who are friends with ego are also friends with each other (Boissevain 1974:37-40). In terms of network analysis, the personal networks of individuals may be divided into zones of interaction ranging from intimate to effective to extended (Boissevain 1974: 45-48). A common result of migration is the shift of friends from one zone of interaction to another, most often in the direction described above. Structural changes of these sorts have occurred among the sample members.

   Another change that has been produced by migration in the friend-based relations of the sample members is a change in the content of interaction. Before migration, interaction between sample members and their close friends included mutual aid and the exchange of services. In addition, they engaged in general sociability such as "liming" (American equivalent of "hanging out") and "ole-talk" (unhurried, casual conversation), and a wide variety of recreation activities such as music, dances, and sports. Post-migration, their interactional repertoire has been narrowed down considerably to an exchange of letters, telephone calls, and occasional face-to-face visits. It is only during these sporadic visits that the quality of interaction barely approximates what used to be, but everything is compressed into a short time. Patterns of visiting are a subject to which I shall turn below.

   By far the most profound transformation in the friendship networks of the sample members is that they have been made international. Not only does 87 percent of the sample sustain long-term friendships across national boundaries with individuals in the

Caribbean, but 80 percent of them also maintain close trans-continental friendships with persons living in New York, New Jersey, Washington, D.C., Boston, Miami, Oakland, Montreal, Toronto and parts of Connecticut. Some of these friendships are relationships begun in the homeland that have persisted; for example, the case of Yvette and Jackie described above. Many others, however, including those with persons from other regions of the homeland, are new ones, acquired in the course of living in other cities. Two-thirds of the sample is secondary migrants from these other cities of North America; it would be only natural, therefore, for new friendships to have been formed with each step of migration, recruited from entirely new sources. One such new source would be people from other cultures. In effect, the move to North America has expanded the horizons of the sample members by exposing them to people from other countries of the Caribbean, to Americans of all types, and to other migrants to America from countries throughout the world. For the first time, then, sample members have found themselves in a setting of cultural diversity far more varied than they have ever experienced before, and have been forced to interact with members of these heterogeneous cultures.

International and Transcontinental Travel

Relationships, no matter how committed, require nourishment in order to endure, however infrequent and in whatever form. The form most popular with the sample members has been patterns of regular visiting. Indeed, scholars of urbanization and rural-urban migration have observed such patterns to be the most common method of sustaining ties between rural migrants living in the city and their home villages (Ross and Weisner 1977). The most effective means by which Afro-Trinidadians in Los Angeles sustain links with social intimates in other cities of the United States and Canada, as well as with those in their country of origin, is through transcontinental and international travel. With respect to international travel, visits to the homeland not only allow Afro-Trinidadians to be in the company of those dear to them, but they permit migrants to observe the state of the national with perhaps return migration in mind. More importantly, however, international visits are the only means by which social relationships with their loved ones in the homeland can to any degree duplicate how things used to be, face-to-face interaction being qualitatively superior to other forms of social intercourse such as letters and telephone conversations. The same is true of transcontinental visits.

The fact that 100 percent of the sample members visit Trinidad for vacation would seem ample evidence of their intense commitment to the perpetuation of these relationships; the frequency with which they visit varies. Only 6 percent visit more than once a year. Twenty percent return for vacation once a year, while 27 percent do so once every two years. Forty percent visit once every three to seven years, while only 6 percent visit less than once every ten years. Apart from vacation visits, there are also visits made for other reasons, both happy and sad. For instance, there are family reunions for weddings, christenings of babies and other jovial celebrations. There are also visits made of sad occasions such a funerals or for serious illness.

The patterns of "international shuttling" demonstrate more than just intense emotional loyalty to social intimates; they reveal a desire for periodic spiritual revitalization. During these visits, one form of food for the spirit is simply to be able to interact in an unhurried style and one that is characteristically Trinidadian. Apart from delighting in the company of kin and friends, to "lime" with old family friends and schoolmates, to drink and to "ole-talk" and enjoy each other's company and to catch up on each other's lives and make up for the lapse in time since last seeing one another.

An even more powerful spiritual re-energizer is participating in Carnival. It is not by coincidence that most visits are made either at Christmas or during Carnival, the two most joyous occasions of the year, Carnival being the more festive of the two. Carnival in Trinidad and Tobago is a spectacle so colossal, it can only be rivaled by Carnival in Rio de Janeiro. The two days before Lent are spent dancing in the streets non-stop, in costume, for two days and two nights. Furthermore, for weeks beforehand, there is partying and dancing every weekend, all weekend, to warm up for the actual bacchanalian celebration. Few Trinidadian immigrants can resist returning home for such unbridled revelry, as Trinidadians of all races are obsessed with celebrating Carnival. It is hardly surprising them, that more than half the sample return for Carnival, and that 17 percent do so every year. The yearning to dance in the streets at Carnival time underscores an intense commitment to the culture of Trinidad. Yet, the cultural identity of Trinidadian migrants overseas is a dual one: on the one hand they want the material

comfort America has to offer them, on the other, they crave their Trinidadian souls that are left behind. This painful dilemma was exquisitely expressed in the words of one Trinidadian who lives in Los Angeles but is actively involved in the organization of Carnival in Trinidad every year as a designer of costumes: "Los Angeles is my home, Trinidad is my soul." And so they shuttle back and forth to find the best of both worlds.

All of this has been made possible by post-industrial technology. The electronic age has brought with it the automation and computerization of transportation systems. Were it not for the refinement and sophistication of jet travel and developments that have made it affordable by ordinary people, "globe-trotting" would still be prohibitively expensive and would be a luxury affordable only by the very rich; instead, it has become commonplace. It is technological development of this sort that has made Afro-Trinidadians into practitioners of "international shuttling" par excellence.

Conclusions
                    The existence of the Caribbean connections described above should give scholars of international migration pause to reflect on the nature and extent of social organizational interdependence on a global scale in post-industrial times. More importantly, it would seem to me that a re-conceptualization of the most appropriate methodology and the best unit of analysis for the study of international migration is in order. The most recent research on Caribbean migrants has utilized the household as the unit of analysis, perceiving households as the keys that might best unlock the secrets of the migrational behavior of the members contained within them (Griffith 1986; Pessar 1982; Wood 1981 and 1982).

It would seem, however, that the internationalization of kinship points to the limited utility of the household as an analytical unit. There is a tendency for household analysts to assume that component members of a household act in concert as a behavioral unit. While this may be true part of the time, it is by no means invariably true. In addition, there is a tendency to overlook the extent of interaction that takes place between households. Consider the case of the Bain multinational family described above. If analysis had been limited to the social and economic behavior of the members of the Bain household in Los Angeles alone, a wealth of information would have escaped my observation.

Thus, it would appear to be worthwhile to re-evaluate the relative merits of studying the household versus the merits of studying the family, the latter defined in terms of kinship links. The heated debate that raged in the past over the nature of the Caribbean family structure, in my opinion, rested on the failure to distinguish conceptually between the household and the family. In other words, the source of the furor was a methodological one.

If the household is defined as a unit of co-residence, and the family as a unit of kinship, then it would not be difficult to see how much confusion could result from treating them as being analytically the same. Judging from the behavior of the participants in the research, parents and children are dispersed not only in different households, but in different cities and even in different countries. The ties that bind the sample members most strongly together, then, are those of kinship, not those of co-residence. The most meaningful bonds extend far beyond the confines of the household. As I see it, this conceptual distinction between family and household is of great methodological importance in the study of international migration.

But the matter at hand involves more than kinship and family. As I have pointed out, the sample members do not interact only with kin, they also interact with friends and even acquaintances. Thus, to study only kinship links would yield incomplete data on the social lives of the New Immigrants. Ideally, all primary social relationships should be taken into account. In fact, in a study of family patterns of migration among Haitians in South Florida, Fjellman and Gladwin 1985:306) admitted that a fuller analysis would have included a study of the social networks of which the family was a part. For all these reasons, then, I would suggest that the most fruitful unit of analysis that might be used in migration studies would be that of the personal network, defined as "the total series of social links traced from an identified ego," as utilized in this research. The advantage of a social network framework lies in the fact that it permits one to conceptualize "community" in terms of social intercourse rather than territory and to make sense of social life that is organized according to principles of social interaction rather than space (Keefe 1980). This would seem to me to be significant in the study of mobile populations.

In conclusion, I would like to stress yet again that interdependence is a growing feature of the post-industrial age. The interdependence described above is actively nourished by the sample members who clearly wish to make the most of the resources in two locations by strengthening relations in one setting to improve life in the other. The continuous social relations sustained by the Afro-Trinidadians in the research combine Old World traditions such as letter writing and remittances with distinctive Caribbean traditions such as child fostering. In addition, elements of high technology have been added to their behavioral repertoire such as international telephoning and international shuttling. Together, they add up to a non-territorial social system. While the idea of a transnational social field is gaining acceptance among migration scholars, it seems to be conspicuously absent from the vocabulary of policy-makers. As I see it, it would benefit the nation-at-large if the architects of immigration policy would consider such transnational social linkages in their formulations. The construction of effective policies ought to rest on well-informed analyses. To regard the flow of people from various parts of the world into the United States as a purely domestic problem, in an age of multinationalism and supranationalism, and to attempt to restrict the inward flow of people while ignoring the outward flight of capital, is to invite chaos.

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