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The Unemployed of the Eastern Caribbean:
Attitudes and Aspirations

*St. Vincent, Dominica, St. Lucia,
and Barbados

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We also wish to thank two individuals that helped with the library research and preparation of the final report: Dr. Robert Lawless of the Department of Anthropology of the University of Florida, and Dr. Michael DeStefano of Gainesville, Florida. Too, thanks go to Mrs. Katherine Williams for her efforts in typing this report.

OBJECTIVE AND OVERVIEW

The objective of this report is to describe and interpret the attitudes and perceptions of the unemployed toward the limitations and opportunities of their economic, political and social environment. The four Eastern Caribbean countries involved in this survey are St. Vincent, Dominica, St. Lucia, and Barbados. Within the general project design, special attention is paid to the two categories of people that constitute the majority of the unemployed: women and young people.

The information was compiled between June 6 and November 3, 1980, from sources including 1. published and unpublished documents, 2. interviews in the Caribbean with numerous people of varying knowledge and responsibility for the problem, and 3. both formal and informal interviews with citizens who either were themselves or their family members unemployed.

The findings are presented in three sections:

Part I is a general comparative review of the employment situation in the four Eastern Caribbean states and a profile of shared responses to economic insecurity. It is suggested that Barbados differs enough from the other three states so as to necessitate a different approach in planning and developing training programs.

Part II is an island by island summary of findings.

Part III summarizes conclusions and recommendations the researchers consider appropriate for (all or most of the) Caribbean states in the study, regarding the planning and implementation of projects and programs aimed at generating employment.

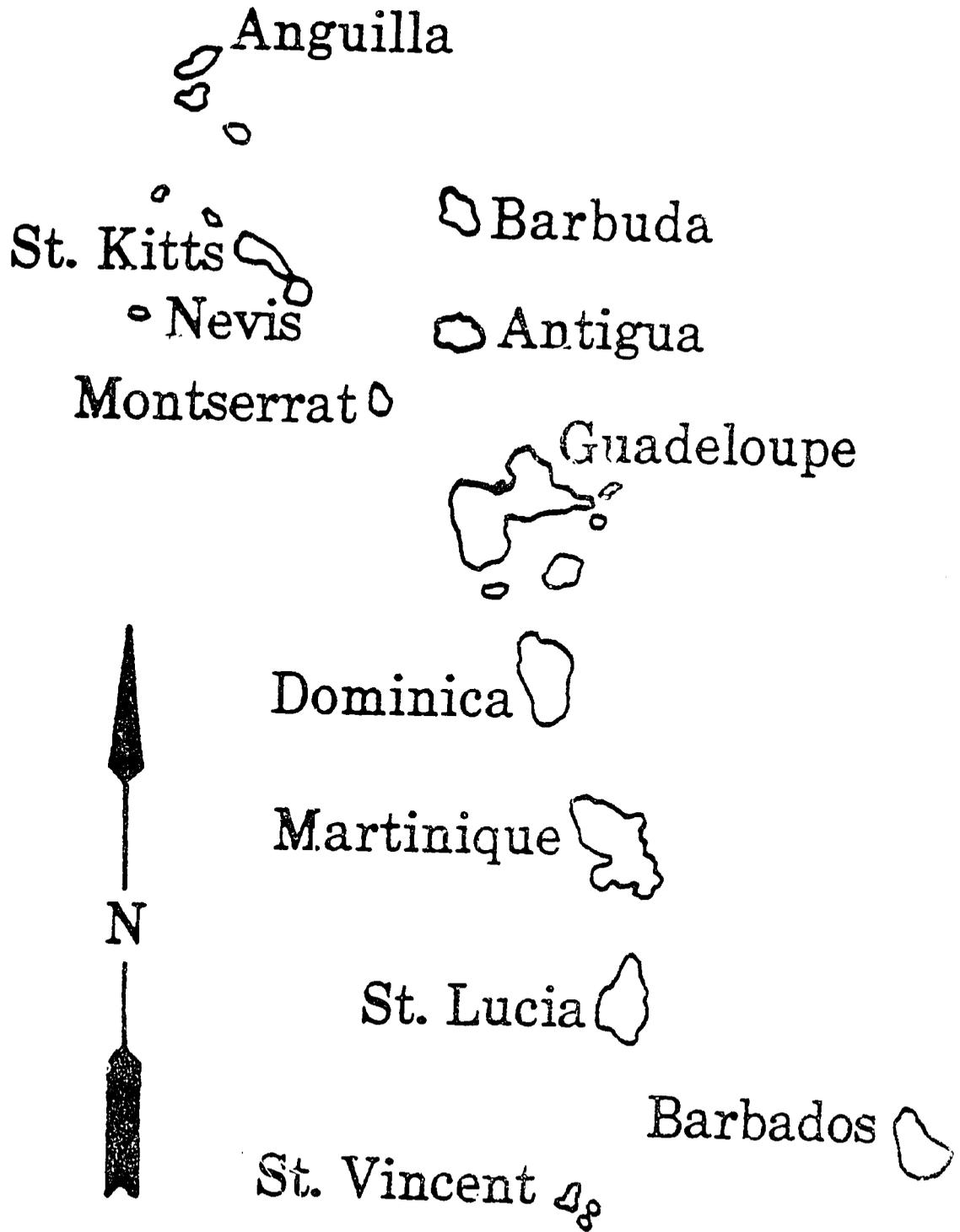
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EASTERN CARRIBEAN



PART I: COMPARATIVE REVIEW AND PROFILE

Definitions and Implications of "Unemployment"

The estimated unemployment rate for each of the four territories under study varies wildly from one study to the next, from one official report to the other. These ranges are as follows:

St. Vincent	9% - 25%
Dominica	7% - 22%
St. Lucia	9% - 35%
Barbados	7.7% - 15%

All of the unemployment rates are very high by general standards, whether set by economists, politicians, or ordinary citizens. The range of unemployment rates cited for each country indicates clearly the variety of percentages generated by differences in the definitions used for "employment" and "labor force," and the manner in which the data are collected. The percentages themselves are not easily comparable over time as the samples and techniques of data-gathering vary.

For example, a fairly standard definition of "labor force," as used by the Commonwealth Census includes "(a) persons who worked for most of the year preceding the census; (b) those who never worked but were actively engaged in seeking work; (c) those who for most of the 12 month period before the census were not working and were actively trying to get work but who had been employed at some time prior to this period of looking for work."¹ It is important to note that key words and expressions need to be defined: what is work? what is meant by "actively engaged in seeking work?" what does it mean to be employed?

Governments, planners, and citizens concerned with unemployment often tend to make two assumptions:

1. that employed means that someone is working, is making money, and is therefore a productive, prospering, worthwhile member of society;
2. that unemployed means someone is not working, has no money, is in the depths of poverty, and therefore not a contributing member of the social order.

¹ Sidney Cherniks, The Commonwealth Caribbean: The Integration Experience (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1976), p. 66.

On the contrary, in the Caribbean it is possible to be

1. unemployed while simultaneously having a more than adequate level of material, financial, and psychological satisfaction, provided by the general level of prosperity enjoyed by one's household;
2. employed yet living in circumstances of dire poverty and material deprivation, a situation distressingly common in the Lesser Developed Countries (LDCs) of St. Vincent, Dominica, and St. Lucia, although less so in the More Developed Country (MDC) of Barbados.

In summary, although it is crucial to realize that unemployment, defined as a lack of income, correlates highly with a condition of poverty, unemployment does not automatically mean poverty. Neither does employment mean prosperity or the satisfaction of basic human needs. Some examples will clarify. It appears that many people who do not consider themselves as "employed" are nevertheless working productively; for example, housewives, those involved in communal arrangements that exchange services and goods (such as food) without the involvement of money, and those young men and women who work with their parents on agricultural holdings or small business enterprises, who receive no regular and fixed salaries but do receive food, housing, and basic clothing needs, and perhaps some spending money. There appear to be many women who manage to open small shops selling staples and drinks and operate them while running their households. It is not clear, however, that these operations are yielding any monetary profits. In such cases, are they (self-) employed, or have they managed to find more work to do in already busy lives? Does "actively seeking employment" mean frequenting employment agencies? What if there is no employment agency in the country? Does it mean asking at least three or four establishments each day, or week, for job openings? What if you live in a rural area that is only serviced by bus twice a week, and you have no money to commute to "town" to job-hunt, and there are no wage-paying opportunities in the rural area?

What if you are a young woman between 14 and 19 years of age, or a middle-aged woman in her 40s, neither of whom have been culturally or educationally prepared for a "full-time" job other than managing households and children, neither of whom thinks it possible for them to find or hold down a job because of household responsibilities? Are they not to be counted because they are not "actively" looking for work, but are looking for economic security? What about women who would like to work at an income-producing job, or merely would work like it or not, if childcare could be arranged allowing her to consider the possibility for the first time?

Given the concerns of this project to focus on the unemployed with a view to considering ways in which they may be aided toward some financial security and independence, would it be wise to exclude a young man who has a full-time job that pays too little for him to support his children, leave his parents' house, and set up for himself, his mate and

his children? What about those who work--men, women, and children--on road crews, filling potholes, clearing gutters, and hauling away dirt fairly regularly in the months preceeding the survey, and who are considered employed--but without the surety that the piece work would continue, and without necessarily making sufficient amounts of money to pay all the current bills or plan rationally for future ones? What if the survey were taken shortly before political elections, when patronage jobs are often more available to voters? Or, waiting until one's party wins the election--when the percentages may remain the same, but the individuals actually working may change?

It is not possible to speak of the unemployed as one undifferentiated group. Nor, in some areas of the Eastern Caribbean, is it possible to reliably say how many, or what percent, of the entire population is unemployed. There is a large body of literature that discusses the complexities of measuring the condition. (See the bibliography for selected sources.) In addition, this report raises a number of issues for thought and discussion that deal with work and the unemployed.

Table I:1 gives a breakdown of unemployment as of April 1970. Although the picture had become much bleaker by June 1980, the figures in this table are interesting for comparative purposes. Particularly striking is the unemployment among those in the 14 to 19 years of age category, which reaches 35.4 percent among females in the states of St. Vincent, Dominica, and St. Lucia, the single most economically depressed sociodemographic group in the Eastern Caribbean.

Table I:1

Unemployment Rates by Age Group and Sex - April 1970

	14 Yrs. of Age & Over			14 to 19		20 to 24		25 to 59	
	Male and Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
St. Vincent	10.7	9.6	12.8	34.2	43.5	12.2	12.5	1.3	2.9
Dominica	7.0	6.2	8.3	28.7	29.6	4.6	9.2	1.1	1.4
St. Lucia	9.1	8.2	10.5	28.4	33.2	7.5	11.9	3.2	3.6
Barbados	7.7	6.0	10.2	28.2	44.5	6.1	12.9	1.3	2.0
Mean, excluding Barbados	8.9	8.0	10.6	30.4	35.4	8.1	11.2	1.9	2.6

Source: Caribbean Population Census Reports, cited in Growth, Development and Unemployment in the Caribbean. Caribbean Congress of Labour Research Studies, Monograph 4(1977), p. 36.

A Comparative and Contrastive Profile of St. Vincent, Dominica,
St. Lucia, and Barbados

The comparative characteristics of the four states dealt with in this report can be conveniently divided into the three interrelated categories of physical, demographic, and sociocultural. The most immediately influential characteristics are the physical constraints common to all four states, i.e., they are islands, territorily small, limited in natural resources, and beset with recurring hurricanes. Demographically the four states have populations that are small in comparison with the population sizes that one would expect in viable nations, yet these small populations are packed into small islands giving these states high population densities. These small, dense populations are further characterized by the startlingly high--by any demographic standards--percentage of youths. Finally, a traditional characteristic of Eastern Caribbean populations has been the migration patterns of people leaving the area. Socioculturally the four states are similar by virtue of their relatively recent appearance as independent nations, their common use (with some exceptions) of the English language, their peculiar racial makeup, and the existance of a primate city in each state. The contrasts among the four center primarily on the unique difference of Barbados as a relatively affluent society.

In developing a profile of these states, it is perhaps easiest to begin with the physical and demographic constraints common to all four. Table I:2 indicates the scale of society we are dealing with:

	St. Vincent*	Dominica	St. Lucia	Barbados
Area (Miles)	18 X 11	29 X 16	27 X 14	21 X 14
Population (est. 1978)	104,900	76,700**	121,500	253,100
Density ₂ (per km ²)	270	102	200	569

*Includes the 7 Grenadines.

** 1977.

As an island territory none of these politically independent countries has the benefit of attachment to a larger land mass that would facilitate inexpensive transportation, communication, and movement of people and trade. To add to the difficulties of developing internal communications and transportation, three of the four independent states are very mountainous; Barbados is the exception.

The implications of small size and population may be grasped somewhat more easily through the following equations:

St. Vincent = Hialeah, Florida
 Dominica = Joliet, Illinois
 St. Lucia = Macon, Georgia
 Barbados = Jersey City, New Jersey.

One only needs to think of these American cities cut off from the mainland, and surrounded by water. As independent states, they would be required to plan for, fund, and staff an entire national and local government; school, colleges and other educational institutions; health care; police; fire; transportation; tax assessment and collection; customs; judiciary; international and domestic airline and airport facilities; welfare; banking; sanitation; national defense; agricultural production and distribution; post offices; industry, manufacturing and services; and energy.

Periodic hurricanes are an expectable and natural fact of life for the region. Hurricanes David (1979) and Allen (1980) were giant catastrophes that blew away the bases of national economics, impoverished nations in one high wind and water storm, and ravaged capital cities and their shanty town suburbs. Roseau, the capital of financially depleted Dominica, is still littered with the debris of David; Allen blew in a year later while homeless Dominicans were still in tents and makeshift housing. Roofing is now on most houses because of foreign aid (especially from the U.S.A.), while the seas are held back from the eroded shores and crumbling roads because of the intervention of the British Royal Engineers. Even relatively prosperous Barbados was hard pressed to clean up its relatively light damage; there are simply not enough heavy trucks, chain saws, tractors and wide streets, not to mention emergency funding, available to get things back to normal quickly. The basis of the national economy and local diet, banana, was obliterated in St. Vincent, St. Lucia, and Dominica for the fiscal year.

Not only is the small population size a difficulty, affording a very small pool from which the state must find all the variety of skills necessary, but also the shape of the population is crucial. In this the Eastern Caribbean is both challenged and constrained, for about half of its population is under the age of 15. Not only is the size of the pool from which they recruit labor halved, but also the economy carries the extra weight of providing adequate services (such as health care and education) for a proportionately very large number of dependent people, while under the pressure of planning and creating jobs for an extraordinarily large number of people soon to enter the job market.

One of the traditional sources for jobs and upward mobility seems to be disappearing. In the past one of the common responses to limited local employment opportunities was to migrate out of the region. The major international movement took place between the end of World War II until the mid 1960s (when Britain initiated its Immigration Act in 1962). During that period approximately 10 percent of the total population of the Caribbean emigrated. Although the flow has abated somewhat, the interest in migration has not. The United States and Canada have become contemporary targets for the legal or illegal, temporary or permanent migrant. Florida stands as a beacon to all. Even traffic within the Caribbean is staggering; Vincentians migrate to Barbados and

Trinidad, Dominicans and St. Lucians to the French or Dutch islands. Much of the inter-island traffic appears to be undocumented. The demographic consequences alone are awesome; Vincentians insist that in parts of the island women outnumber men by 10 to 1, the result of male migration. Barbadians claim they are subsidizing the nursing professional in Canada, skilled trades in Britain, and the professions in the U.S.A. It is commonplace for an American to be asked to sponsor someone's visa after a moments chat. Taxi drivers in Barbados, when asked to convey someone to the U.S. Embassy, routinely take the passenger to the visa office out of town.

These migration patterns have been somewhat complicated by the imposition of the new governmental structures and responsibilities that inevitably accompanied political independence. None of these four states has been politically independent very long, and each has inherited a long and painful history of colonialism, slavery, and agricultural monocropism. They remain hindered, to varying degrees, by everything from undeveloped infrastructure to persistent racial discrimination. The small scale of each of these societies makes it harder, not easier, to solve the class and color divisions that persist. The place and status of each citizen remains to some extent determined by family background and reputation influencing activities in all areas from education to politics. Exceptions exist, but they remain exceptions in view of continuing patterns linking darker skin color with poorer life chances. The legacy of sexism makes the most socially and economically limited group the black female.

St. Lucia and Dominica share an added problem of linguistic diversity; their populations are divided, to some extent, by two different languages, adding a challenge to the already staggering ones of providing information to its citizens, of unifying the populations to shared work toward common goals under common symbols, while running the large risk of leaving a good number of the population on the education, political, and economic margins of society because of language handicaps.

Still another legacy of colonial times, considerably worsened since World War II, is the growth of a primate city in each state. The concentration of governmental power building on the earlier mercantile center resulted in the creation of one city to dominate each island, culturally, educationally, financially, socially, and psychologically. The degree of concentration in one urban center is striking on all four islands and with the contemporary collapse of rural economies, has resulted in a massive urbanization movement without a simultaneous increase of wealth or industrialization. The dominance of the "first" city is so great that in the Eastern Caribbean there is often no second city. Compared to Kingstown, Georgetown, St. Vincent, is almost a ghost town. Residents of Castries, St. Lucia, ridicule the idea of living in Soufriere. For Barbadians Bridgetown is the center of the insular universe. This is no surprise, since colonial times the city was the mercantile center of the economy and the seat of entertainment, schooling, "culture," government, opportunity, "dignity," social services and patronage. This hinterland was the area for plantations, peasant farmers, and the toiling agricultural classes, overwhelmingly black, poor, and minimally schooled. Even

today, planners and policy makers concentrate their ambitious industrial parks, training schools, hospitals, and other benchmarks of progress in and around the city. Today the problem is exacerbated. Migration to the cities is not the result of industrialization in most Caribbean islands, nor is it an aimless drift to the bright lights of town; rather, it is a conscious and calculated attempt to escape from rural poverty and lack of opportunity in the countryside.

Territorial Differences: Barbados and the Less Developed Countries (LDCs)

The differences between the four islands of Barbados, St. Vincent, St. Lucia, and Dominica are real and obvious. What is of importance here is to state a premise for those who must plan foreign aid and development assistance to these four territories: Barbados is and should be considered the exception in this group, and dealt with separately. Those elements that differentiate it significantly from the other three are sufficient to make failures of any plans that wish to target areas of specific need but are applied to all four territories without discrimination.

Barbados is a flat island without the mountainous and heavily forested interior characteristic of the LDCs. Large sugar producing estates cover the island without interruption while the ecology of the LDCs limits small-scale agricultural enterprise principally to banana, to coastal areas, occasional intermontane valleys, and the slopes of less steep mountains. Vegetable and root crop farming emphasizing a peasant technology, and peasant modes of production and marketing characterize the LDCs but are virtually absent in Barbados.

The road and transportation system of Barbados is advanced with all areas of the island quickly, easily, and cheaply accessible. The road systems of the other islands are in bad repair, dangerous, inefficient, not well serviced by public transport, expensive for the traveller, and fail to reach all population centers. In St. Vincent the road network resembles an inverted wishbone branching out from the capital of Kingstown. One cannot traverse or circle the island but, from the leeward side, must travel to capital city and make a journey north on the windward road. Hurricane damage in Dominica has washed away retaining walls, demolished bridges, and, in some cases, obliterated the road itself so that transport is possible only during the dry seasons.

Barbados is an urban society with a population density so high and compacted that rural-urban distinctions are inappropriate. Although the other islands show relatively high population densities (per unit of arable land) their rural-agricultural settlements and villages are not as well integrated into or serviced by the capital city center of national society. This lack of integration can be measured by lack of schools, training centers, health care facilities, penetration of mass media (particularly newspapers), access to employment opportunities, shopping outlets, and government services.

In education and training Barbados supports facilities ranging from pre-school creches through advanced secondary schools, vocational training centers, a sophisticated technical training college, community college, and a university offering the Ph.D. in several areas of study. Students from throughout the Caribbean regularly attend the country's advanced educational institutions. Although there is some variation in the LDCs, secondary schooling and beyond is limited and not widely available outside the capital. Technical colleges with limited resources and faculty are present in the LDCs though critics claim that given the conditions in these islands the training is too advanced, sophisticated, and expensive for local needs.

A mass media communications network either functions erratically in the LDCs or is totally absent. Television is not available, while the repertoire of radios is limited to one or two stations playing almost continuous music. The content of weekly newspapers is usually limited to extremely provincial local information while magazines, journals, and miscellaneous publications are not readily found. This is not the case in Barbados and one finds a greater exposure and discussion of national, regional, and international news and issues. Barbados is the headquarters of a number of regional and international agencies. On top of this, Dominica and St. Lucia are characterized by linguistic diversity with the bulk of the rural population and the less well educated preferring to speak French patois although English is the official language of the country.

Sensitivity to "social issues" such as increased opportunities for women or special attention to the needs of young people, on the part of government or the public sector varies as well. Several women's groups, utilizing government, university, and private support are active in Barbados in promoting "women's issues." Dominica, Barbados and, shortly, St. Lucia have a "woman's desk" in government. In St. Vincent, even the discussion of this topic is considered superfluous by government. Programs for young people, either entertainment, training, or youth mobilization differ widely in scope and conceptualization. Wide opportunities for entertainment as well as number of embryonic youth skills training programs are available in Barbados. Dominica, through a government ministry, works voluntarily with youth groups in self-help development efforts. St. Lucia is mobilizing youth through government sponsored clubs and training camps.

The overall prosperity of Barbados, compared to the other three, is staggering. Barbados enjoys a relatively high degree of capitalization that supports a prospering banking and commercial sector, profitable agro-business sector, assembly plant oriented industry, and a large scale tourist operation offering a range of services to a variety of tourists. The economies of the LDCs languish with assembly industries hesitating to increase investments or, in some cases, decided to leave. Banana production, undertaken on small farms of usually 25 or fewer acres, is monopolized by Geest and company shippers and distributors while tourism is, at best, embryonic.

One of the implications of Barbados's relatively sophisticated market economy is that its citizens are accustomed to expecting

expansion, increased industrialization, diversification of the economy, and the training of personnel to fill positions. Many of the young have grown up in households where parents have worked a 9-to-5 job, organized their lives to an industrial time table, and received wages from mainly one regular source. St. Vincent, as the extreme in this survey, is so impoverished that the purchase of a wristwatch is a major expenditure and likely to be considered a pure luxury. Barbadians, by and large, will think in terms of buying a car; Vincentians would find the purchase of a bicycle a major step. Although per capita income measures are problematic, Table I:3 supports the premise that Barbados is qualitatively different.

Table I:3

	<u>St. Vincent</u>	<u>Dominica</u>	<u>St Lucia</u>	<u>Barbados</u>
per capita income US \$	\$300	\$360	\$480	\$2,000*

(World Bank Atlas, 1975;

*Caribbean Contact, Jan., 1981)

Although one finds serious skill level imbalances, especially at the lower and middle management levels, Barbados far surpasses, in numbers, opportunities and training programs, the situation elsewhere. Also, Barbados tends to function more as a meritocracy at most levels than do the small-scale, face-to-face societies of the LDCs. Consequently, one finds a sense of optimistic ambition and sense of achievement motivation more prominent in Barbados. This is coupled with the fact that Barbados is a more individualistic society wherein people see activities, commitments and associations spread over a wide range of personnel and institutions rather than, for example, rooted in their family or village or place in life.

Finally, there seem to be significant demographic differences between Barbados and the LDCs. Although Barbados experienced a high degree of emigration in the 1950s and 1960s, this has slowed down with the trend reversing so that many people, now older, appear to be returning to the island or migrating to Barbados from elsewhere. The birth rate has also begun to decline and stabilize at a level far lower than that of the other islands. Estimates place the 15-year-old and younger population of Barbados at approximately 37 percent and holding while in the other islands the figure stands at 45 to 55 percent and in some cases rising. Thus, for the LDCs more children are being born and more young people are entering an already depressed labor market. Without income generating work they in turn become more dependent on their households and their societies.

There are numerous other distinguishing characteristics, some stark, many others very subtle, that signal differences between Barbados and the LDCs and to a lesser extent between the LDCs themselves. However, this is not meant to suggest a negative rank order of development possibilities. What it does suggest is that plans for aid must be devised to work within the context and potential of the host society. For example, grass roots rural organization and clubs in the LDCs are strong units of local community organization and would be auspicious groups with which to build agricultural development efforts. Similar groupings or clubs in Barbados would be inappropriate, not only because of the general disinterest in own-account agriculture but because clubs in this highly mobile society lack a high level of cooperative spirit and organization.

Household as Economic Unit

In the Caribbean a "household" is not simply a group of people who co-reside but also includes the functions of economic cooperation, the socialization of young, the delegation of duties and obligations based on a division of labor by age and sex, and the identification of the individual's responsibilities to the collectivity and the collectivity's responsibility to him or her. Household is a major building block of Caribbean society and regardless of the inherent brittleness of the organization, especially the frequent departures of adult males, the household operates as an economic collective maintaining the support of individual members and undertaking necessary social services. Although individuals own their property (furniture, tableware, clothing, personal possessions) and control their income, the maintenance of the household depends on each person's contribution. Children and young people are assigned tasks based on their age and sex and are expected to perform chores and services that might otherwise have to be paid for. Girls and young women are expected to do a wide variety of jobs, including care of their younger siblings if their mother and grandmother is working. Men are not directly and consistently involved in child rearing and are often fairly marginal to most of the domestic aspects of the household.

The amount of demand that the household makes on its members for domestic purposes has a direct effect on employment potentials. In poorer households, where every possible source of income acquisition must be pursued, young people must work, either on a household enterprise such as a garden plot or seek out whatever wage labor they can find. Under such circumstances education is a luxury while the type of job one qualifies for is low status and unremunerative. Most usually, especially in the LDCs, jobs of any sort are not available at all. In rural areas young men usually work on the family garden. Although they are "productively" engaged, they receive very little other than pocket money and feel themselves to be unemployed. Young women continuing their domestic chores also consider themselves unemployed. They face the additional burden of becoming pregnant and hence either placing more of an economic burden on the household, or having to fend largely for themselves and their dependent children. Urban young men and women seem

to face roughly similar circumstances without the presence of agriculture as a source of productive activity for them.

This tends to be the general picture for poorer families in the poorer islands of Dominica, St. Vincent, and St. Lucia. Children and young people must work to secure even bits of income for their households. One cannot afford the luxury of picking and choosing work: they are desperate for it and there are few opportunities from which to choose. Even if they are employed it is possible that the wages they receive are so low that the household is still poor by any measure.

The situation is different in more prosperous households. Since the main spending and support unit is the household, the fact that individuals, especially young ones, are unemployed tells us nothing about the material conditions where they live. If an adequate level of income is secured from other sources young people have the leisure to be selective about what jobs they would consider working at. In Barbados, for example, where there is no real material deprivation and where household income is relatively high few young people are under a great deal of pressure to work at low status or low paying jobs that, in Barbados, they consider beneath them. Thus, simply because "jobs" are provided is no guarantee that one will find people to work at them. Notice that West Indians from the LDCs go to Barbados as migrant laborers to do work that Barbadians won't do.

Therefore, employment planners cannot afford to think of "unemployment" simply in terms of "individuals" in the West Indies. As the main unit of consumption and expenditure is the household, it is general level of prosperity of the household itself that will play a large part in determining whether or not a person is willing to work at a certain job. It will also indicate if a household has sufficient or surplus income to invest in continuing a child's dependence later into adolescence, for example, by affording the time and money for further skills or academic training. As mentioned in the Introduction, simply because a person is unemployed does not mean he or she is poor. The corollary is equally important; one can be employed and still be desperately poor (especially with a large household of dependents).

Occupational Multiplicity and the Acquisition of Income

In addition to relying on widespread networks of kin and friends that serve as avenues of income flow into households, most West Indians of all classes fashion a strategy based on the holding of multiple, part-time, simultaneous or consecutive, informal or formal jobs to maintain and insure that several avenues for access to cash are available.

West Indian economies are fragile and their history has been punctuated by a series of booms and busts that have interrupted and, sometimes, demolished the income sources of the region's inhabitants. Fluctuations in the international market economy, over which the small islands have little influence, as well as climatic disasters (volcano

eruptions, hurricanes, blights) exacerbate the situation. Individual West Indians, within their cooperative household units, have made certain socioeconomic adaptations to these contingencies and have developed strategies designed to cope with this economic insecurity.

For poorer West Indians not only is one source of income unreliable, it is often inadequate to support the individual and those dependent on him or her. Also, in the predominantly agricultural LDCs work availability is often seasonal ("crop time") and can guarantee income only during planting or harvesting time. Tourism also takes on this rough seasonality. Holding "one" job is thus looked upon with trepidation and, in some cases, is considered down right foolhardy. The planner may think that this is "irrational" economic behavior and thus alterable with the infusion of appropriate economic measures aimed at converting the marginal workers into secure one-job to one-person workers. It will be suggested here and in other parts of the report that occupational multiplicity has taken on cultural dimensions and will not change overnight or through the pronouncements of national planners. Occupational multiplicity, especially among the poor, is linked to concepts of time, work, status, leisure, own-account production, consumption, household roles, responsibilities, and organization.

Although each household works out its own strategy to secure cash and goods some general patterns emerge. Also, chores for which no direct compensation is garnered but which may be invaluable services must be included as well. Let us assume a co-residential house composed of an adult man and woman, her mother, and several of their children and assign them the conventional tasks assumed by most poorer West Indians.

- Man:** Tending agricultural plot ("man's work" - clearing, planting, harvesting) for household consumption and some sale.
 Estate work during "crop season" to secure cash wages.
 Odd jobbing for cash, liquor, tobacco, or reciprocal "swap labor."
 Hunting, fishing or gathering.
 Occasional government work; clearing brush, cleaning culverts, grading roadways.
 Men's work around house; repairs, errands, upkeep.
- Woman:** Tending agricultural plot ("woman's work" - weeding, harvesting, marketing) for household consumption and some sale.
 Take in ironing and laundry.
 Bake and cook for sale or running small "house front" shop.
 Tend chickens in yard.
 Gather fruits for preparation and sale.
 Tend kitchen garden.
 Odd jobbing for cash (road work, custodial work) or reciprocal "swap labor."
 Woman's work around house; particularly child rearing, careful shopping and food preparation.

Children: Minding younger children.
 Tending rabbits, chickens, or pigs.
 Work on garden plot and kitchen garden.
 Household chores while adults are occupied.
 School.

Older
 Woman: Marketing or huckstering.
 Craftwork or sewing.
 Household chores.

The possibilities are numerous and are just as concerned with keeping cash from flowing out of the household as they are with acquiring it. Also, social roles and relationships are built around these activities and as interdependent responsibilities become embedded in the way households are managed and run. It should also be pointed out that throughout the history of the West Indies poorer people have had to rely on the mutual support and assistance of each other in times of economic hardship. Thus, people are not "economic atoms" independent from the demands and requests of others, secure with their dependable and regular income. Rather, they must cultivate a social network of friends, kin, neighbors, shopkeepers, and "significant others" to call upon in times of need. Therefore, a good deal of energy must be invested in maintaining good, working social ties. To remove one's self from the securities of this support network and strike out to find one's future in an enclave industry assembly plant is risky business indeed and can present considerable emotional hardship in addition to financial.

Even better off West Indians participate in this economic planning and strategy development. This is especially the case in the LDCs where salaries are uniformly lower. It is no surprise to run across a lawyer who is also secretary of a government department, part-time lecturer at the secondary school or university extra-mural campus, part-owner in a small business and small farmer who hires his labor force to work his land and dabbles in import-export. Actually, obtaining a government job is ideal. Although the salary is small, it is regular and the "job" allows one the opportunity to undertake other work; errands, shopping and business.

Through the activities of their members households cope with economic vicissitudes by securing many and alternative sources of income. The responsibilities incumbent in this strategy are immense and people must always assure that they are not dependent on a particular source of income to such a degree that it cannot be dropped or temporarily shelved in favor of another more lucrative or convenient one that unexpectedly arises. Thus, occupational multiplicity presents great flexibility as well. It is easier to tell one's neighbor down the street that her ironing will be a couple days late than to tell an assembly line foreman that one cannot come to work for a few days because "something came up." The lady down the street would understand. The foreman cannot and will not.

Youth in the Eastern Caribbean: Population Structure

High fertility rates in the Caribbean have had a great effect on the post-World War II age structure of Caribbean societies. In all populations that have had recent heavy additions through natural increases, there is a pronounced tendency for a high proportion to be below working age. Table I:4 reveals that only in Barbados does the proportion under 15 years of age fall beneath 40 percent of the population.

In St. Vincent this proportion actually rises to half, thus placing an extraordinary burden on the working segment (or those who should be working) of the population. It is expected that the 1980 census, when processed, will indicate an increase in the percentage of the population under 15 years of age.

Table I:4

Distribution of Caribbean Populations by Age
1970

<u>Country</u>	<u>Under 15</u>	<u>15-64</u>	<u>64 and over</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Dependency ratio*</u>
Barbados	37.1%	54.6%	8.3%	100%	83
Dominica	49.1%	45.0%	5.9%	100%	122
St. Lucia	49.6%	45.1%	5.3%	100%	122
St. Vincent	51.2%	43.9%	4.9%	100%	128

*The "dependency ratio" is formed by dividing the age group from which the economically active are drawn into the remaining population. It will rise to 100 when there is one "dependent" for every adult member of the population below 65 years of age. It should be born in mind that such a calculation does not consider the extraordinarily high unemployment rates in the Eastern Caribbean, which would increase the number of de facto dependents and increase the dependency ratio. Such an exacerbated situation would increase the "dependency ratio" much more.

Source: M. Cross, Urbanization and Urban Growth in the Caribbean (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1979), p. 61.

All four countries demonstrate a larger number of females, in almost all age categories, than males. In large measure this imbalance can be explained by the long tradition of emigration. St. Lucia's population profile is shown in Table I:5.

Table I:5
Population by Sex and Five Year Age Groups
1979 Estimates

<u>Age Group</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Total</u>
0-4	10,975	10,771	21,726
5-9	10,550	10,117	20,707
10-14	8,118	8,159	16,257
(0-14 total)	(29,643)	(29,047)	(58,690)
15-19	5,496	5,855	11,381
20-24	3,483	4,554	8,037
25-29	2,527	3,242	5,769
30-34	1,974	2,605	4,579
35-39	1,918	2,711	4,629
40-44	1,946	2,611	6,557
45-49	2,046	2,436	4,482
50-54	1,194	2,018	3,812
55-59	1,554	1,768	3,322
60-64	1,230	1,599	2,827
65-69	883	1,212	2,095
70-74	610	977	1,587
75-over	816	1,755	2,571
Total	55,950	62,480	118,338

Source: St. Lucia Ministry of Trade, Department of Statistics, St. Lucia Annual Statistical Digest (Government of St. Lucia, 1979), p. 3.

Out of a total population of 118,338, 49.6 percent were 14 years old or younger in 1979. Females begin to outnumber males in the 10 to 14-year-old age category and continue that lead throughout the life cycle. With these high figures in the 10 to 14, 15 to 19 and 20 to 24 age groups, coupled with high fertility rate, one can expect the consequence that now and in the near future there will be an increasing number of school age women bearing children.

St. Lucia is not unique. Data from the 1970 Commonwealth Census indicates the distribution for St. Vincent and Dominica as shown in Table I:6.

Table I:6
Population Distribution by Age and Sex
1970

Ages	St. Vincent		Dominica	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
0-14	22,390	21,813	17,204	16,914
14	1,198	1,187	869	852
15-19	4,424	4,677	3,325	3,563
20-24	2,727	3,239	2,269	2,599
25-34	2,984	3,990	2,515	3,210
35-44	2,600	3,644	2,271	2,881
45-54	2,256	3,046	2,166	2,719
55-64	1,938	2,396	1,759	2,143
65 plus	1,473	2,717	1,549	2,552
14 plus	19,600	24,896	16,633	20,519
All Ages	40,792	45,522	32,968	36,581
Total Population	86,314		69,549	

Source: Angela Cropper, "The Integration of Women in Development for Windward and Leeward Islands of the Caribbean" (paper prepared for the Policy Branch of the Canadian International Development Agency, Barbados, 1980), p. 5.

The population structure of Barbados differs from those of the LDCs. For the 1975 population estimates one finds roughly 33 percent of the population 14 years old and under compared with figures in the high 40 percentile and low 50 percentile for St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and Dominica. Projections for 1980 and 1985 call for a steady decrease of this figure. Male-female ratios in all age categories are more uniform in Barbados with females gaining an ascendancy in numbers only later in life beginning at age group 30 to 34, as shown in Table I:7. The 1975 population estimate and the 1980 and 1985 population projections were constructed with the following assumptions:

1. the pattern of mortality will continue at the same level;
2. the level of fertility will decline marginally;
3. the level of emigration will continue at roughly the same level.

Table I:7

Population of Barbados by Age and Sex
1975 estimate and 1980 and 1985 projections

Age Group	1975		1980		1985	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
0-4	12,200	12,000	11,100	11,100	12,200	12,100
5-9	13,400	13,000	12,200	11,900	11,100	11,000
10-14	16,100	15,800	13,200	12,900	12,100	11,800
14 and under	41,700	40,800	36,500	35,900	35,400	34,900
14 and under total and %	82,500 (33%)		72,400 (28%)		70,300 (26%)	
15-19	14,800	14,900	15,700	15,100	13,000	12,600
20-24	12,700	12,500	14,500	14,300	15,400	14,800
25-29	9,600	9,100	12,300	12,000	14,300	14,000
30-34	5,500	5,900	9,300	8,700	12,100	11,700
35-39	4,600	5,600	5,300	5,500	9,200	8,500
40-44	4,100	5,600	4,400	5,200	5,100	5,300
45-49	4,400	6,100	4,000	5,300	4,200	5,000
50-54	4,100	5,400	4,100	5,700	3,700	5,100
55-59	4,600	6,000	3,800	5,200	3,800	5,500
60-64	4,200	5,400	4,200	5,600	3,400	4,900
65-69	3,700	4,600	3,600	4,900	3,600	5,100
70 plus	4,800	9,300	5,900	10,000	7,000	11,100
Totals	118,900	131,100	123,700	133,400	130,200	138,500
Population Totals	250,000		257,100		268,800	

Source: Ministry of Finance and Planning, Barbados Development Plan 1979-1983 (Barbados Government Headquarters, 1979), p. 49.

Although its relative numbers of young people is decreasing, Barbados, like its regional neighbors St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and Dominica, must plan for an absolute increase in the numbers of young people entering and soon to be entering its school and training programs, and labor force.

Careful consideration should be given to the fact that a majority of these young people, especially in the LDCs, will be women. Thus, programs should be tailored that provide income opportunities for many more women than are currently employed.

Finally, emigration has been a constant feature of post-emancipation Caribbean and is an important consideration in the thinking of

everyone from the urban and rural poor in divising their career strategies to national planners estimating population size and resource allocation. The solution lies not in sharply reduced emigration possibilities but in compensatory planning to productively absorb the mostly young, mostly male migrants.

Occupational Preferences and Aspirations of Youth

This section discusses the general pattern of occupational preferences of young people, in the age groups 10 to 15 and 15 to 24, in Barbados, St. Vincent, St. Lucia, and Dominica. As in other sections of this report, it must be pointed out that Barbados departs significantly from the other three in terms of what students are prepared for in school (both the quality and type of curriculum), what they aspire to, and what they ultimately engage in as work or occupation. The other three islands will be addressed as a unit and without distinction.

Over the past 25 years a large body of literature has emerged on the subject of education and career aspiration. Several of these studies, concentrating on the larger territories of Trinidad and Jamaica, have undertaken comprehensive surveys of school age children and, using questionnaires have listed and ranked occupational preferences by age, sex, ethnicity, social class, and place of residence. No such work is available for the Eastern Caribbean though several doctoral dissertations present accurate psychosociological evaluations. These materials were reviewed and coordinated with the consultants' on-site work. As our visitation was during the students' summer holiday, we did not have the opportunity to administer a questionnaire. However, we did gather impressionistic information through lengthy interviews with teachers and government personnel responsible for education and in open-ended discussions with students and school age youth.

The girls and boys, young men and women interviewed came primarily from the lower and working classes of the islands. Although we cannot state with precision the exact extent of their schooling, whether or not they are employed and the amount of their families' income, we can analyze their expressed desires as they relate to the current job market situation in the islands, availability of youth skills training programs, and the general level of unemployment.

Although we expected that the influence of parents on a younger person's aspirations would be present, we were surprised by the extent of it. In most cases it was mentioned that parents wanted their children to "move up" and, except in the highest professions, did not want their child to work at the same job they did. This was especially pronounced in children from farming families and whose parents worked as domestics, manual laborers, and the lower ranks of the civil service. In Barbados children are sometimes discouraged from entering skilled trades because the parent wants them to be "something better." Sometimes a young person's efforts to earn pin money through the vending of peanuts or clerking at a shop will be discouraged because it is work considered "too low." This is not the case in the other islands.

Also, a surprising number of young people gave migration as their job aspiration. Barbadians preferred Canada and the United States, while persons from the other islands selected Barbados, Trinidad, the French islands, or Florida. In the LDCs the wish to "get out" was marked.

Of the occupations preferred by boys up to 15 years of age, mechanical work such as automobile mechanic, electrician, carpenter and plumber (in that order) stand out as far and away the most desirable occupations. When asked, most of the young people said they wished to be self-employed. In Barbados the higher professions such as medical doctor, lawyer, magistrate, and high government work were regularly mentioned. Preferences after this included taxi driver (i.e., owner), teacher, entertainer, office worker, police man, soldier, and own-account farmer. No one in Barbados mentioned own-account farming while no one in any of the four islands mentioned estate work, farm laborer, or unskilled laborer. It is noteworthy that children in St. Vincent found it harder to play this "what I want to be" game, perhaps a telling revelation that even making a fantasy choice has little connection with reality. Overwhelmingly, when a choice was made, migration was stated, as if migration would then make choices realistic. Especially in St. Vincent it seemed to us that asking young people to answer questionnaires that required they choose an occupation would yield fewer results of value than asking what they think they will be doing when they are out of school for one year, when they are 20, when they are 30, and so on. Such questions would yield a clearer picture of how they perceive they will fit into the society, and what sort of fit the society would allow. Young women especially found it harder than young men to think in terms of "occupation," much less "career." For most of the young women with whom we spoke, the delineation seemed to be that women worked, while men had jobs.

It is extremely unlikely that many of the children we spoke with will ever enter the very high professions. Thus, insofar as choice of occupational preferences go, the young boys, although ambitious, show a remarkable degree of realism in recognizing which jobs paid best and which their educational levels would permit.

Among older boys and young men, roughly 15 to 24 years old, there was a noticeable shift in occupational preferences in terms of what they wanted as their source of livelihood, what they would accept as work, and what sort of work was available to them. Within the group craft and semi-skilled work is the most highly favored occupational category and included carpentry, shoemaking, plumbing, painting, and repair work. Working in a small business (tire recapping, electrical repair, etc.), taxi driver, mechanic, and working in an office followed in rough order of frequency. Own-account farming was mentioned very often in the LDCs, while only occasional references to it were made in Barbados. There was no talk of the higher professions. None of the young men mentioned factory or assembly plant work because it is associated with "women's work." The major difference between the age group 15-and-under and for the group 15-and-older is that for the older group unskilled, lower status, lower paying jobs are becoming more desirable, attractive, and

necessary. The older that men get without work the greater the frequency of preference for formally devalued occupations.

Thus, the occupational aspirations of poorer school boys and the prospects they face as adults differ rather sharply. Whereas school boys exclude some occupations (farming) and emphasize others, the reverse is true of young men.

Many young men displayed an aggressive interest in youth skills training programs. The participation in them in Barbados is high, enthusiastic, and of good quality. The idea that one can be taught a trade outside of the formal school atmosphere appeals to many young men (and women). When a pilot project youth skills training program was announced for Dominica, over 300 young men showed up from all over the island for the 80 available slots. Government staff was so surprised they had neither space for the young people to sit nor enough application forms.

School girls up to 15 years of age preferred occupations one could loosely call secretarial, followed by nursing, teaching, seamstressing and clerking in shops, stores, and government civil service. Very few mentioned domestic work, unskilled work, marketing, crafts, or farming. Factory or assembly work was occasionally mentioned in Barbados only, perhaps reflecting how little experience they had had with industry in primarily agricultural countries. Higher paying work such as skilled craftsman or manager position was not mentioned, perhaps in tacit recognition that these are "men's jobs." The overwhelming vote for nursing, teaching and secretarial work for young women declares how restricted the range of occupational choice is for women; even for young girls who for a short time have the opportunity to fantasize. In Barbados, however, one does see occasional young women in traditionally male trades. The youth skills training program there, though it does not go out of its way to recruit women, has several involved in carpentry training, upholstery, plumbing, electrical training, and auto repair.

For young women, aged roughly 15 to 24, occupational preferences changed considerably with the desire for secretarial work decreasing markedly. Outside of Barbados interest in nursing and teaching falls off considerably and is replaced with an increase in desire for domestic work, sewing, waitressing, clerking in a shop, and assembly plant work. It must be remembered that in the smaller LDCs nursing and teaching are high status, middle class jobs that require advanced education and financing. In Barbados such opportunities and funding is possible and thus many young women can pursue this career. In Dominica and St. Vincent health care delivery is understaffed and underfunded given needs. Thus, on the one hand in the LDCs nurses are overworked, as are teachers, but on the other hand there is very little possibility to train more. In Dominica this year, over 100 men and women applied for four slots available for nursing training.

For the LDCs the gap between girls' occupational aspirations and the prospects presented by their environment is just as great as that for boys. Both boys and girls, at an early age, exclude all forms of

unskilled labor, farming, factory work and marketing trade from their occupational horizons. But, as these young people leave school they also leave behind their ambitions to become teachers, nurses, doctors, mechanics, and whatever else they had aspired to do. It follows that until economic pressures override distaste, these young people can hardly be expected to show much interest in work they dislike.

In Barbados the employment, educational, and training system is such that work and training opportunities may be found by young people if they know where to look. There are simply more choices available here. Own-account farming by young people is a dead issue.

There is a considerable body of literature on the inappropriateness of the West Indian public school curriculum and how the process of education in the Caribbean encourages inflated aspirations and unrealistic occupational preferences; it will not be summarized here. Nonetheless, an educational system that permits or encourages these aspirations cannot avoid some responsibility for the resultant disillusionment, frustration, and disappointment. Simultaneously the educational system rarely presents, much less fosters, the possibilities for young women to be trained in the more lucrative jobs held almost exclusively by men. There is no counseling at schools or job preparation training. It was not until this year that Barbados received its first and only full-time, fully trained educational counselor. Employment offices attached to Ministries of Labour are present in St. Lucia and Barbados. In Barbados the system functions with minor success but seems to be a last resort for a young person seeking work. In St. Lucia the office is run very informally by the officer who contacts his personal friends in hopes of locating jobs for young people. This is because people normally prefer to hire persons they know or who are referred to them by people they know.

Young people in the Eastern Caribbean will work at manual labor in spite of what the educational system teaches them and the negative way in which the prestige rank orders of their societies evaluate such work. The foci are different and vary between Barbados on the one hand and St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and Dominica on the other. Barbados' future lays with industrialization, tourism, and its efficient (by Eastern Caribbean standards) service sector. The LDCs at this point are agricultural and enjoy very limited industrialization and tourism. Certain activities can gain a sense of dignity and status from the educational institution and the media, and thus be made more attractive to the young school leaver and job seeker. Also, follow-up work in vocational training and youth skills training programs can seize upon a great deal of enthusiasm on the part of young girls and boys for craft, semi-skilled occupation, and own-account farming, presupposing that more jobs can be created that pay reasonable wages and can use those who have had the training but are still unemployed. The most serious indictment of the Caribbean would be to accuse its young people of uncommon laziness or attempt to lay the problems of the region at their feet.

The Decline of Agricultural and Rural Living Standards

Once again a distinction must be recognized between Barbados and the other three states of Dominica, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent. As a more developed country, Barbados enjoyed, for example, a rise in per capita gross national product between 1970 and 1975 of about 1.4 percent per annum, while in the other three states it fell about 1.9 percent. In 1977 Barbados had a per capita gross domestic product of US\$1530, while St. Vincent, for example, had one of only US\$320. This fall in income is naturally reflected in rural living standards and levels.

Other measures differentiate Barbados from the LDCs. The literacy rate in rural Barbados, for example, approaches 100 percent, while in the other states it is rarely thought to be over 50 percent. Sugarcane workers in Barbados enjoy a guaranteed minimal income, while no such guarantees accrue to small farmers and rural laborers in Dominica, St. Lucia, or St. Vincent. Rural areas in Barbados are flat, while they are, for the most part, very mountainous in the other states. The transportation infrastructure is consequently cheaper and better in Barbados.

..

Similarities do exist. In all four states farming is perceived by residents as a low profitability occupation, and rural living suffers from low prestige. Part of the low levels of rural living derives from physical features such as thin soils, erratic rainfall patterns, uncontrolled deforestation and consequent soil erosion. On a governmental level agriculture and improvement in rural living occupies a low priority among national policy makers. There are contradictory land use and land tenure policies. And development officials seem to have unrealistic expectations that rural problems can be solved by advanced agricultural technology.

Levels of living in rural areas are, of course, directly dependent on the profitability of agriculture, and although "data pertinent to a proper agriculture sector study are often nonexistent, unavailable, inaccurate or superficial,"² a fairly dependable assessment of extant data is that rural living levels have declined in the three less developed states and have not risen appreciably in Barbados. Some differences in living-level indices, however, do exist among the less developed countries. In St. Vincent, for example, between 1970 and 1978 rural areas experienced worsening access to water, while in 1972, 43.4 percent of all rural households reported no water supply at all. By contrast St. Lucia has fairly good water facilities due to historical efforts at controlling schistosomiasis. Although all are in the hurricane belt, Dominica seems to suffer the most, having been devastated by David and Allen in the past two years..

²Weir's Agricultural Consulting Services--Jamaica, Small Farming in The Less Developed Countries of the Commonwealth Caribbean (Barbados Caribbean Development Bank, 1980), p. 139.

All four states suffer from having soils of only medium to low fertility with Dominica, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent having soils mainly of volcanic origin and Barbados' soils being mainly corals, marls, and volcanic muds. The fertile topsoils are badly eroding in most rural areas with sheet and gully erosion common in Barbados.

Both soils and rural living levels are aggravated by monocrop agriculture with Barbados having 39,000 of 66,000 agricultural acres devoted to sugarcane and the other states being heavily dependent on bananas. Although the agricultural income of Barbados does fluctuate according to trends in sugar prices, agriculture accounts for a smaller share of the gross domestic product here than in any of the other three states.

Another measure of the decline in rural living levels is the decline in productivity and export volumes. Banana production in St. Vincent, for example, dropped from 30,000 tons in 1976 to 28,000 in 1978. Dominica is now leasing stateowned lands, which may lead to increased output, but St. Lucia and St. Vincent have no clear land policy. In general, however, the quality and value of the banana crops from these LDCs have declined in recent years.

If the problems of agriculture seem intractable, we must keep in mind that these difficulties in raising rural living levels are precisely what motivated Caribbean governments to turn to industrialization after World War II.

It is clear that the costs of living are higher in rural areas than urban, especially in St. Vincent, Dominica, and St. Lucia where people can least afford them. Transportation costs, including depreciation of rapidly ruined vehicles on pot-holed mountain roads, are added to the basic price of goods. Trade Union officials report that food and other prices are often raised higher than one could account for by merely adding transportation costs. An increase in imported goods in the last years added to the cost of many goods now required but not produced locally. Most repairs and parts' replacement have to be done in capital cities, requiring loss of time and money. Since hurricanes David and Allen many towns and rural districts remain without electricity, increasing time and money spent on fuels for lighting and, perhaps more important, decreasing the diversity of nighttime leisure pursuits available to rural or small town dwellers. The dissatisfaction with rural living is perhaps best illustrated by the high rates of migration and urbanization experienced over the past 20 years. From 1961 to 1972 in St. Vincent, for example, land in agricultural use declined by 18.9 percent. Given all the problems faced by small farmers and the lower standards in living they are asked to endure, it should not surprise anyone that young people, given the choice, will face the realities, and leave for the city.

The Viability of Agriculture as an Occupational Choice

The conventional wisdom indicates that agriculture is so lowly esteemed as an occupation in the Caribbean that people would prefer to

be unemployed rather than be agriculturalists. The low prestige associated with agriculture has been linked to its being a reminder of slavery as well as its current low profitability.

For the purposes of this investigation it is important to recognize two distinctions. Most Caribbean training programs for young people are designed to train horticulturalists rather than agriculturalists. The implication is important to note; when asked to consider agriculture as a livelihood very few see agriculture as an occupation that involves a large capital investment, mechanization, or other aspects that in other countries would conjure up the idea of agriculture as a business. Horticulture as it is offered to most young people in the Eastern Caribbean is subsistence farming and offers only an insecure future of dirty, backbreaking work, and poor incomes.

The second distinction involves differentiating among three kinds of work:

1. estate work
2. farm labor
3. own-account farming.

Only when asked, "Would you do it if it were the only way in which to keep from starving," would any young person say they would work as a tenant farmer on estate lands or as a paid farm laborer for someone else's concern. However, many young people in St. Vincent, Dominica, and St. Lucia (not Barbados) indicated a positive interest in pursuing their futures in agriculture in a situation where they had their own land. The major positive aspects of such a living were:

1. the independence they would derive from being able to determine their own use of time and use of land (most thought such an occupation would require much work but also that it would allow some flexibility to engage in other occupations);
2. the income they would obtain, especially since they realized that rising costs of imported foods would make the home-grown food more competitive;
3. the ownership of land that would allow them to build their own homes on the land;
4. the control of resources that would enable them to get support from government organizations and agencies, e.g., loans to make the land more productive by improving it or hiring help;
5. the opportunity, especially in Dominica and St. Lucia, to participate in developing their countries and increasing self-sufficiency through import substitution potentials in the area of local food production.

There was not universal enthusiasm for agriculture among young people, but we were very impressed by how positive and reasoned were

many of the reasons. Never once, for example, was the argument made that agricultural work was slave labor. The agricultural system with its archaic demands was, however, often seen as reducing the farmer to virtual slavery. In these cases the examples they cited, often of relatives they saw working under appalling conditions and tenuous promise of profit, clearly differentiated agriculture as an occupation from the actual conditions under which many are forced to endure it.

It is clear that young people in Barbados are much less likely to respond as enthusiastically as those in the LDCs. Many have been raised with little or no intimate knowledge of life in rural, farming communities. Although Barbados is designated an agricultural country in some reports, most of the acreage is under sugar and is more likely to be reminiscent of slavery and plantation economies rather than modern farming. More importantly perhaps is that tourism and growing industry offer positions that pay steady wages, are cleaner, much less physically debilitating, and come automatically with a higher status attached. There is also less interest among young people in Barbados to be self-employed, compared to their peers in the LDCs.

We think that many young people in St. Vincent, Dominica, and St. Lucia would seriously consider permanent employment in agriculture. There are also many reasons why they cannot or will not make that choice. In Part II a long list of reasons is given in the section on St. Vincent. Where the reasons vary in other territories, they are noted. The different attitudes and circumstances pertaining in Barbados are summarized in the section for that island.

Women in Agriculture

The widespread concern for improving the productivity and advancing the viability of agriculture often overlooks the large contribution that women make to farming enterprises. Any discussion of increasing the household income of poorer families or of promoting the interests of women in the work force in the Eastern Caribbean cannot afford to ignore these women.

Barbara Yates has pointed out that while the proportion of the labor force involved in agriculture has declined in the past years, the proportion of women has in this force declined to a lesser extent and in some cases increased as is shown in Table I:8.

Table I:8

Participation of Women in Agricultural Labor Force

<u>Country</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1979</u>
Barbados	41%	40%
Dominica	35%	n.a.
St. Lucia	29%	49%
St. Vincent	36%	30%

Source: Barbara A. Yates, "Women in Agriculture in the Eastern Caribbean," (paper presented to the Agricultural Extension in the Eastern Caribbean and Belize, n.d.), p. 2.

Apart from the physical work of preparing plots, planting and harvesting, women almost completely dominate the distribution and retailing of food crops.

The production of consumable agricultural goods and produce for sale provides an important source of food and income for poorer households. For female-headed households the importance of women in agriculture increases. It is estimated that in the Caribbean the incidence of female-headed households is on the increase, suggesting that women must turn to their own efforts to supply food and cash to their dependent households. Even in households where there is a male present, the failure to recognize the contribution of females involved in agriculture skews our understanding of how household economic systems run and on whom they are dependent for various services and sources of income.

Many of the women involved in agriculture are extremely poor, and although they make up a large proportion of farmers, they do not receive technical assistance and support commensurate with their importance. Yates asserts that women may become even further disadvantaged by certain policies of economic assistance that direct the delivery of technical support to the wrong audience all together, thus creating more inefficiencies than formally existed.³ Stereotypes of female roles make specialists apt to consider only home economics type programs for women in agriculture rather than information geared to soil conservation, choice of crops, planting techniques and so forth. The limitations of the female-headed household must be considered and a sensitivity cultivated for women who must gather their own fuel, plant and harvest crops

³Barbara A. Yates, "Women in Agriculture in The Eastern Caribbean" (paper presented to the Agricultural Extension in the Eastern Caribbean and Belize, n.d.), p. 5.

for consumption and sale, and expend the time required for routine householding chores. Male policy makers generally fail to understand, and consequently underutilize, the productive capacity of women in agriculture. In agricultural extension services, women are underrepresented as recipients of assistance as well as underrepresented as agricultural agents. Although having more female agents in itself will not alleviate the problem in a communication and information dissemination service that thinks only in terms of one gender. On a field visit to St. Lucia with both male and female agricultural agents, we noted that the female agent acted as a lobby for and information source on women farmers while the male agent thought consistently in terms of young men, adult men and older men.

Women make up a substantial part of the agricultural work force. The fact that they are not assisted as much as men in their endeavors is not only unfair to women but, perhaps more importantly for developing countries, amounts to serious economic waste and loss of income in the agricultural sector.

Women-Headed Households

A recent study by Maura Buvinic and Nadia Youssef of women who head households accurately noted that they form a "special group among the poor worthy of the full attention of policy makers concerned with improving the quality of life of the poorest of the poor."⁴ Although the definitions of "head of household" is open to debate, and as a consequence varies, the definition used by Buvinic and Youssef is suitable here because of its emphasis on economic responsibility; these household heads are "women who function as de facto heads of households; those women who, because of marital dissolution, desertion, abandonment, absence of spouse or male marginality in the home, are structurally placed in a situation in which they become economically responsible for providing for their own survival and that of their children."⁵

Information derived from the 1970 Commonwealth Census gives some idea of the extent or incidence of female-headed households in the four territories under study.

In all four territories 40 percent or more of the households surveyed were headed by women. St. Vincent's 46 percent was equalled by Grenada and surpassed by only one other Commonwealth Caribbean country

⁴Mayra Buvinic and Nadia H. Youssef, Women-Headed Households: The Ignored Factor in Development Planning (Report prepared for the Office of Women in Development, Agency for International Development, Washington, 1980) i.

⁵Buvinic, Women-Headed Households, p. 10.

in the 1970 census, St. Kitts (50 percent). Of 15 countries that completed the census, the overall average percent of household heads who were female was 35. Barbados, St. Vincent, St. Lucia, and Dominica were over the reported regional average.

In the LDCs the majority of women who headed households had had only primary school education: St. Vincent (87 percent), Dominica (83 percent), St. Lucia (64 percent). Barbados, again the exception, report 56 percent of its female heads of households had had at least some secondary education. The percent of female-headed households was higher in the lower education levels than for male-headed households. More male heads of households reported having received a secondary education than did female heads. The only exception to this was St. Lucia in the category of "no education/infants" where three percent more households were headed by men than by women who had only had infants' schooling or none at all, reflecting, perhaps, the rural constituency.

The employment level correlated to the sex of head of household was more divergent than might have been indicated by the level of education percentages. In all four states, 84 percent or more male heads of household were working, while less than half of the female heads of household were. More male heads of household reported they were looking for work than did female heads. From 34 to 47 percent of the female heads of household reported they were primarily involved in "home duties," compared to a response of 0 to 1 percent of the male heads. In all four nations more female than male heads of household were reported as retired or disabled.

In terms of income level, 55 to 62 percent of the female heads of household declared "no income" or did not state an income, as opposed to a range of 14 to 26 percent of male heads. The imbalance is inversely reflected at the top end of the income scale as well, where only 5 to 21 percent of the women reported a substantial income, comparing unfavorably with 33 to 69 percent male-headed households in the same category.

Based on 1970 census data, these figures do not take into account those who reported households as headed by males because of status or cultural issues but which were de facto headed by females. Nor do they take into account those households which had the potential for becoming female-headed. Neither do they consider those many male-headed households wherein a female's income was a necessary contribution to survival.

According to Buyinic and Youssef, the world-wide literature indicates that the rise of female-headed households is not "tracable to specific ethnic/cultural heritages. Rather, most studies suggest that explanatory factors for female family headship should be sought in both internal and international migration; mechanization of agriculture; the development of agribusiness; urbanization; overpopulation; lower-class

marginality, and the emergence of a class system of wage labor."⁶ If the incidence of female-headed households is directly affected by these developments, then consider what the past decade may have wrought because of continuing migration (mostly of males in the LDCs), price rises, population increases, increased urbanization, increased dependence on imported goods necessitating cash, and the added economic hardships of two hurricanes. Even if the percentages of households headed by women does not increase, it seems evident from observation, interviews, and the available printed data that the poor are finding it harder and harder to make ends meet. With increasing competition for jobs those least equipped by education, training, and flexibility of movement (i.e., those unencumbered by small children) are least able to compete--despite the fact that their responsibilities may not have decreased.

Tables I:8 through I:13 graphically summarize the information on households for the four states under study. Tables I:8 and I:9 refer to marital status of women who head households and is divided into various types of union and marital arrangements. Tables I:10 through I:13 compare male- and female-headed households in terms of level of education, major activities, occupation, and age.

A number of government officials reported to us in interviews that they were aware that "many" women were responsible for the economic welfare of their families. Simultaneously, three points were generally raised in defense of not planning specifically for the aid of these household heads. The first reason, briefly summarized, was that they thought it the responsibility of men to care for the women and children and that creating jobs for the men automatically would take care of the women and the children. The problems with this reasoning are major. It puts responsibilities on men who may not be willing or able to meet them. There may not be any men present who would take on this responsibility even if they had adequate incomes, as in some areas women greatly outnumber the men. In some societies polygamy is a solution, but it is highly unlikely to be applied in the Caribbean. More importantly it overlooks the productive capacities of about half or more of the population, and perhaps unintentionally relegates them to perpetual dependency as their proper station. Waiting for men with adequate incomes to appear and solve their problems assumes the problems can wait, a manifestly false proposition for many of the women who head households. Even when jobs were created and filled only by men, such as contract labor for overseas agricultural concerns, it was not clear--nor even investigated in many cases--whether those men actually remitted salaries home and if the monies were sufficient to keep the household going when they did. In any case, a majority of women who are heads of households are not and have not been married with no legal basis for forcing an economic contribution from any man with whom they may be involved.

⁶Buvinic, Women-Headed Households, p. ii.

Table I:9

Percent Distribution of Female Heads of Household (FHH) in the Commonwealth Caribbean,
by Marital Status*

	<u>St. Vincent</u>	<u>Dominica</u>	<u>St. Lucia</u>	<u>Barbados</u>	<u>Average Score of all 15 countries</u>
Total Heads of Household	14,568	12,417	17,984	47,097	--
Female Heads of Household	6,770	5,370	7,197	19,486	--
% Heads who are Female	46	43	40	41	35
% FHH Never Married	68	55	55	53	47
% FHH Married	21	27	27	27	28
% FHH Widowed	11	18	18	18	21
% FHH Divorced	--	--	--	1	2
% FHH Separated	--	--	--	1	1

Source: Buvinic, Women-Headed Households, pp. 99-100 (Table 6), citing 1970 Population Census of the Commonwealth Caribbean.

*Single member households not included.

Table I:10

Percent Distribution of Female Heads of Household (FHH), By Union Status
Adjusted Figures¹ (Unadjusted Figures in Parenthesis²)

	<u>St. Vincent</u>	<u>Dominica</u>	<u>St. Lucia</u>	<u>Barbados</u>	<u>Average of all 15 counties</u>	
Total Female Heads of Household	(6,770)/4,952	(5,370)/4,161	(7,197)/5,385	(19,486)/14,545	--	--
% Married	(25)/34	(25)/32	(29)/38	(29)/39	39	(31)
% Common Law Union	(16)/22	(9)/12	(13)/17	(14)/18	14	(11)
% Visiting	(7)/9	(9)/11	(6)/8	(2)/3	5	(4)
% Not living with Husband	(7)/10	(17)/23	(14)/19	(15)/20	25	(19)
% Not living with Common Law Partner	(16)/22	(17)/22	(12)/17	(13)/17	15	(12)
% Never had Husband or Common Law Partner	(2)/2	(--)/--	(--)/1	(2)/2	1	(--)
Not Stated	(27)	(23)	(25)	(25)		(22)

Source: Buvinic, Women-Headed Households, pp. 101-2 (Tables 7 and 8), citing 1970 Population Census of the Commonwealth Caribbean, Vol. 9.

¹Single member households not included; excludes 'not stated' category.

²Single member households not included.

Table I:11

Percent Distribution* of Heads of Household in the Commonwealth Caribbean,
by Sex and Level of Education

	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>None/Infant</u>	<u>Prim.</u>	<u>Sec.</u>	<u>Higher</u>	<u>Level Unknown</u>
St. Vincent	M	7,798	5	82	8	1	4
	F	6,770	6	87	4	-	3
Dominica	M	7,047	8	78	10	1	3
	F	5,370	8	83	7	-	2
St. Lucia	M	10,787	29	57	8	1	5
	F	7,197	26	64	6	-	4
Barbados	M	27,611	1	29	64	2	4
	F	19,486	1	39	56	-	4
Ave. All 15 Countries	M		6.3	68.4	17.9	2.5	4.7
	F		6.6	75.9	12.8	.4	4.4

Source: Buvinic, Women-Headed Households, p. 103 (Table 9), citing 1970 Population Census of the Commonwealth Caribbean, Vol. 9.

*Does not include single-person households.

Table I:12

Percent Distribution* of Heads of Household in the Commonwealth Caribbean
by Sex and Main Activity

	Sex	Heads of Household	Worked	Seeking Work	Home Duties	Retired/ Disability	Other Activities/ Not Stated
St. Vincent	M	9,255	84	1	1	11	3
	F	7,685	35	1	46	16	2
Dominica	M	8,723	87	-	-	11	2
	F	6,425	44	-	37	17	2
St. Lucia	M	12,858	85	2	-	9	4
	F	8,895	40	1	42	14	3
Barbados	M	33,442	83	1	-	14	2
	F	25,154	45	-	34	19	1
Ave. of 15 Countries	M		85	2	-	10	3
	F		40	1	44	13	3

Source: Buvinic, Women-Headed Households, p. 104-5 (Table 10), citing 1970 Population Census of the Commonwealth Caribbean, Vol. 9.

*Includes single-member households.

Table I:13
 Percent Distribution of Heads of Household in the Commonwealth Caribbean
 by Sex and by Occupation

	Sex	100% Heads of Household	Profession/ Administrative	Clerical	Sales/ Service	Agricul. & Related	Prod/Labor & Related	Other Occupations Not Stated
St. Vincent	M	7,798	6	2	10	32	34	16
	F	6,770	2	1	13	12	13	59
Dominica	M	7,047	4	2	6	50	25	13
	F	5,370	3	2	15	19	8	53
St. Lucia	M	10,787	4	2	6	45	27	16
	F	7,197	2	2	13	17	6	60
Barbados	M	27,611	11	4	14	15	38	19
	F	19,486	2	2	26	11	6	53
Ave. of 15 Countries	M		9	3	12	26	36	14
	F		3	3	20	9	5	59

Source: Buvinic, Women-Headed Households, p. 106-7 (Table 11), citing 1970 Population Census of the Commonwealth Caribbean, Vol. 9.

Table I:14
 Percent Distribution* of Heads of Household in the Commonwealth Caribbean
 by Sex and Age

	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>15-24</u>	<u>25-44</u>	<u>45-59</u>	<u>60+</u>
St. Vincent	M	7,798	4	41	33	22
	F	6,770	9	36	27	27
Dominica	M	7,047	6	39	33	22
	F	5,370	9	35	27	29
St. Lucia	M	10,787	5	42	34	19
	F	7,197	10	37	25	27
Barbados	M	27,611	3	37	34	26
	F	19,486	4	31	30	33
Ave. of 15 Countries	M		5	42	30	20
	F		7	35	28	28

Source: Buvinic, Women-Headed Households, p. 109 (Table 13), citing 1970 Population Census of the Commonwealth Caribbean, Vol. 9.

*Does include single-member households.

A second reason given for not planning specifically for these households is that the government was planning for the economic well-being of all households, and as the economy improved so would their situation. A rising economic tide, which not all of the four nations under study enjoy, does not necessarily lift all creaky boats. Some go under, as the literature on development planning has increasingly indicated.

The third reason was that there are "women's programs," or "women's groups," or "women's desks" (government bureaus) under which these women's concerns fall. In response to this, it is necessary to point out that not all the territories have a "women's desk," e.g., St. Vincent. Secondly, even in those areas where some awareness exists that "women" as a constituency or social category with special needs should be given special attention, it is not clear that segregating all women out without distinction is a real service. Women's desks are underfunded, understaffed, and under utilized by governments in most areas of planning. The responsibility for making the case needed for women in development planning generally falls on the woman who heads the desk, which means that she has to do double duty as information-gatherer and information dispenser. Trying to locate and maintain contact with all women's groups, wherever she can in the country, she also has to insert herself everywhere, trying to find out what is going on in government so that she can then exert whatever lobbying power she can muster. She generally has little solid data to present to government, as it hasn't been collected in the cases of the LDCs and in fact costs too much to collect. Without some hard evidence that special attention to women will be of national (or political) benefit, it is difficult to change the mind of men in high position who may see a "woman's issue" as frivolous. Evidence proving the real and potential economic contributions of women, in addition to their roles as homemaker and child-bearer, could benefit not only these women but also their dependent kin and the nation as a whole, "increasing the productive capacity of this group of women workers will help the country's economy in the short run. Enlarging/expanding the income potential of these women will have a marked effect upon the economy in the long run, by paving the way for the emergence of a future capable work force represented by the children of women who head households."⁷

In order to illustrate the proposition that increasing women's productivity and income (as opposed to just increasing their work and responsibilities) may have some surprising and positive ramifications, one may look at a small project begun in 1978 in a rural area of Jamaica. The income-generating project involved the production of *bammy*, a local cassava-based bread, by 32 women within the age group of 26 to 50. A minority of the women were heads of households, but all were members of households dependent upon their earnings. It was not a cooperative venture insofar as each woman was paid according to her

⁷ Buvinic, *Women-Headed Households*, p. 7.

productivity; i.e., how many bammy of a certain quality she produced. Of interest here are some of the observations made for the UN. report about the wider effects of this new economic activity by the women.

The women have learned how to budget their time in order to accomodate an income-earning occupation with the home [where bammy is made]. They have also learned to be punctual with their production... Another discipline is evident in the regular attendance at Management Committee meetings... The general development of self-confidence... Attitudes towards work have improved and this can be seen through increased production... Since the unemployment rate is high within the Parish and some of the men within the families are themselves unemployed, this project can also be seen as providing employment for men who assist the women in the production of the bammy. Of great importance is the fact that the women have been able to earn an income while remaining at home to tend the smaller children. Children also begin to learn work concepts and that there is a 'time for work and a time for play.' Gradually, leadership qualities are emerging and a generosity among older women to pass on their skills to younger women who wish to become a part of the group. This is most important since continuation of the project is dependent on the inclusion of younger women within the Parish.⁸

Although the project was directly designed to employ women, the economic benefits accrued to the household. Some of the non-economic benefits (increased self-confidence, increased appreciation for work, quality standards, punctuality, willingness to teach other workers, regular attendance at meetings, and the initial training of children to respect and emulate these traits) can only be considered positive, and not only for the women involved. Lastly it is important to note that children could be accomodated under this project's organization of production. In the Eastern Caribbean the lack of child-care facilities for those women who have small children remains a large barrier to regular and punctual attendance at a job, and the major reason for high absenteeism at work.

Teenage Mothers

Although the phenomenon is not well documented at present, the Eastern Caribbean is witnessing a percipitous rise in the pregnancy rate among teenagers. Not only was this observation made in all four territories but also note was taken that the average age of this group is

⁸"National Report Submitted by Jamaica" (World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women, 1980. A/CONF.94/NR/7).

decreasing. Despite the increase in family-planning facilities, observers unanimously voiced a concern that among teenagers 12 to 14 years old the incidence of pregnancy is increasing. Trying to deduce the reasons for this trend, however, is tricky. Most agree that the trend is tied to the economic situation of teenagers, though exactly how the economic factors influence the incidence of pregnancy among this particular age group of women is unclear.

One social worker in Dominica, when asked about this phenomenon, commented that the causes are "in the air one breathes." Here we attempt to evaluate what constitutes this "air," and how it ties into the employment picture perceived by very young women.

First is the lack of self-worth felt by many young women that come from poor families. They have had little in the way of material luxury, and often little in the way of intellectual or spiritual excitement that would enhance their own self-images and confidences. Those in the LDCs know that their countries are "poor" and that many people are without work that pays decently. For young women as well as young men school has often been a scene of frustration and failure. They know by merely looking around that women just a bit older than them are not employed and that it was difficult for many that are employed to have found that work. It appears to most that there is only so much employment (i.e., luck, skill) to go around; the shops seem to have their fill of clerks, and government, as everyone knows, is trying to hire fewer people in order to save money. In this sense, everyone who has gotten a job has taken away one more opportunity for the next who comes along. Many young women from poor homes have had the experience of seeing women work but not be employed, especially not employed in jobs that carry some prestige. Those options never experienced vicariously through watching others are not real options for most; asking a young woman what she would like to "be" when she is an adult is often asking an unfathomable question. To ask her what she anticipates she will be doing when she is an adult, will be more understandable, and the answer will be more grounded in the realities that inform her. She will be a mother, she will be in charge of her own house. Many young women see being married to a young man they love as the capstone. Home, husband and children. Part of the romance of the picture is the independence that is assumed will go with keeping house on one's own. To decorate as one would like, to do as one would like, and most importantly to decide for one's self when and how something is to be done. Young women are so frequently and for so long under the tutelage of older women that having one's own home carries a status and a reality of independence.

Having a child is markedly the rite de passage from childhood to full womanhood, not only in the eyes of the society in general but also for many young women. Consciously or unconsciously when a woman has a child, she becomes a real woman in the culture.

Add the status of woman to limited options in perception and reality and it becomes easier to appreciate why pregnancies at a very early age are not unlikely. Then to add to this the effect, say, of a

hurricane that knocks out electricity in an area for a year or more, removing many of the forms of more socially acceptable entertainment, and the likelihood of pregnancy increases.

It is widely said that when a woman and a man "friend" "visit" two things occur: after a time of courting in which gifts are bought and money expended on the woman, a man will ask that she have his child as a sign of her affection. Fearing a loss of the relationship, she acquiesces. Or she may take the initiative to have a child to tie the father closer to her. The evidence at present indicates that most fathers will not continue the relationship. There is no proof that most fathers will continue to financially share or carry the economic burden a child presents to the mother. This is probably most accurate an assessment among teenagers, for whom sexual experience, and building personal relationships with members of the opposite sex, is still experimental and new. Without legal marriage, and without a legal recognition of paternity, the mother has no legal recourse to regular payments for the children. In neither case does paternity require the man to pay for her support. There is, to our knowledge, no research available that would document that fathers share financially in equal or greater amounts in the care of the child than does the mother. That the woman will most likely carry the financial burden alone, or with the help of her own kin, is the most likely scenario. If she is a teenager, the strain goes most directly to her kin, further taxing what are most likely limited resources. She will most likely be in a poor situation from which to negotiate decent employment; probably with little education past primary school, with little or no training in marketable skills, with little or no job experience, and with a totally dependent child to tie her down, she can expect little relief from the state, while continuing dependence on the adult kin on which she had been dependent since birth. As there are few opportunities available for a teenage mother, she can anticipate no institutionalized avenue of redressing her economic dependence.

There are a number of factors that help to make pregnancy out of marriage less reprehensible than it might be in other societies. First, there is a historical experience of lower class West Indians reproducing outside of legal matrimony. However one explains this (economic marginality, the inheritance of slavery, adaptation to marginality) the reality is that although pregnancy outside of marriage is not condoned, the child is not spurned. The cultural concept of illegitimacy is not the same as in the United States. Culturally, no child is a bastard and unwanted as a result. Secondly, because women's status is so closely associated with child-bearing, and because children are seen as a joy (despite the economic burden) and as the hope of the future, it is an area in which a woman, no matter how low her status or material condition, can achieve status.

The third reason that is offered here is more closely linked to the political economy of the Caribbean, especially of the LDCs. Some people, especially men, seem to think that pregnancy among young women is a naive way to attract the permanent attention and stipendary support of young men in hopes of reducing their own financial dependence on

already over-burdened households. This may be more of a consideration among older women. For the young teenager to make a child is to be able to say THIS is mine, I created this. In this one area she can herself, no matter how limited her knowledge of her own body or of the ultimate cost to her and kin, chose to create and thus contribute, to her own satisfaction and to the cultures. The economic costs will be tallied later, as she matures.

Migration and Remittances

Many households in the Eastern Caribbean either have absolutely no visible means of financial support or live so far beyond their expected means that one would have to assume high stipends from outside sources. Indeed, large foreign remittances are being sent back by West Indians who left their homelands in the vast emigration that took place between 1945 and the late 1960s. It has been estimated that in no society of the English-speaking Caribbean was the net emigration less than 5 percent of the total population. Segal writes, "Between 1947 and 1962...approximately 10 percent of the total population of the Caribbean migrated outside the area."⁹ The British Commonwealth Immigration Act of 1962 brought to a close the period of massive unrestricted migration. Migrants have nonetheless continued to migrate and to migrate to new destinations, as Table I:14 shows.

Table I:15

Caribbean Net Emigration 1950 - 1972

<u>Country</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Destination</u>
Barbados	28,000	United Kingdom
	30,000	U.S.A.
	10,000	Canada
Leeward and Windward Is. (St. Kitts, Nevis, Anguilla, Montserrat, Antigua, St. Lucia Dominica, St. Vincent, Grenada)	59,000	United Kingdom
	45,000	U.S.A.
	10,000	Canada
Total (1950 - 1972)	192,000	

Source: Malcolm Cross, Urbanization and Urban Growth in the Caribbean (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), p. 70.

⁹A. Segal, Population Policies in the Caribbean (Lexington, Mass: Heath and Co., 1975), p. 10.

What is also certain is that the migration has had profound demographic and economic effects on the Caribbean. Generally, the migrants have come from the 20- to 35-year-old age group and tended to be disproportionately more skilled than their non-migrating cohorts. The consequence has been a brain drain siphoning off the Caribbean's best, brightest, and most ambitious.

One of the indirect benefits for the sending society has been the regular flow of migrant's remittances back to their dependents. The role of remittances in both contributing to household level prosperity and providing foreign exchange for government is striking. Without the inflow of cash represented by remittances, the present conditions of many families, and most of the islands, would be seriously altered. Some would move from a level of relative prosperity to marginality; others would plunge from marginality to extreme poverty and crisis.

Currently no systematic measure exists of the absolute dollar amount of cash remitted annually to the countries of the Eastern Caribbean. However, intuitively "one knows" by seeing the line up at the post office to fetch their mail from overseas, or cash postal money orders from Canada, the United Kingdom and the U.S.A. According to data collected in 1962 (the last year of open emigration), Barbados collected US\$7,900,000 in postal and cash orders amounting to 6.7 percent of the total personal income generated in Barbados itself. In the same year, the country of St. Vincent acquired US\$1,521,000 in remittances.¹⁰ Government widely recognizes the importance of its citizens overseas; and according to some critics, has actually encouraged migration to relieve population pressure as well as to invest in future monetary remittances.

This line of inquiry has consequences for a discussion of unemployment and work, for it directly addresses how certain households maintain themselves without the necessity of everyone working or perhaps working at positions they consider degrading, unremunerative, tiresome, and the like. Thus, while the popular conception of unemployment is one of deprivation and hardship, this is not the case for the many households who garner support from kinship networks stretching to North America and the U.K. In turn this presence of funding has reduced the motivation to work among some people because there is no urgent necessity to acquire money for food, rent and clothing (the latter also sent by relatives overseas). Consequently planners should recognize that just the simple provision of unskilled labor opportunities will not necessarily effect unemployment. The fact that an individual is unemployed tells us nothing about the organization, budget, access to money, level of income, and so forth enjoyed by the larger household in which he or she shares.

¹⁰ Robert A. Manners, "Remittances and the Unit of Analysis in Anthropological Research," Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, 21 (Autumn, 1965).

Thus, planners must consider the role of remittances in examining everything from household income and budgets to national annual per capita wages. One caveat, however, is that the 20- to 35-year-olds who migrated from 1950 through 1965 are now anywhere from 15 to 30 years older. Many of the migrants then could be as old as 65--near retirement--others as young as 35 with families to support. Certainly when migrants die the remittance will stop. In addition, there are more subtle life cycle changes. Just because a migrant sent remittances to his mother is no reason to expect that he will, after her death, continue to send remittances to his sister who assumes head of the household. As older kinship connections die away and are replaced by new persons and as people grow apart and develop new responsibilities, the role of remittances may diminish.

Education

Education, its critics say, is counterproductive to the best interests of the developing countries of the region. At best, it is claimed, the system does little more than foster unrealistic aspirations and ambitions among school children and teenagers. Its curriculum is geared to producing shop clerks, civil servants, and office workers, with a corresponding neglect of semi-skilled, skilled, and agricultural trades. The social value of manual labor is thus unstated and de-valued. The system remains elitist, with the 11-plus examinations following primary school rendering a mighty academic influence that determines or ends the course of a child's future education.

Island by island figures demonstrate precipitous declines in secondary school enrollment as compared to the numbers of students at the primary levels. In Dominica in 1979 over 24,000 students were enrolled in primary school while fewer than 4,000 were attending secondary. St. Lucia's 30,610 primary school students were matched by 4,879 secondary school pupils, prompting a government official to say that young people are out of school, out of work, and unemployed at the most critical period of their lives (14-18 years). Only recently have attitudes begun to change so that appropriate programs can be developed to help students who have left primary school to obtain vocational skills training in a non-academic institution. Whereas advancement to secondary school and training colleges requires solid academic achievement and money, the new training programs look first to ambition as the necessary entry requirement.

The education system serves both boys and girls. Indeed it appears that females are well represented in the school populations at all levels. However, the educational institutions reflect the sexual stereotyping of the societies, and young women continue to leave school, at all levels, preoccupied more with an aim to get married than to find jobs and valid careers. The educational system must assume much of the responsibility for anti-career orientation since it continues to support the prevailing attitudes of what constitutes proper work for women. The textbooks used in schools have been criticized as sexist. Girls continue

to be directed into home economics and secretarial sciences rather than into subjects that would prepare them for non-traditional jobs that pay more and are more stable. Guidance counsellors, when available in schools, often unconsciously fail to direct girls to vocational training programs, which helps to explain the small incidence of females in these programs. Directing girls into jobs that have been traditionally female helps ultimately to push them into areas that are underpaid (compared to jobs held by men) and already glutted. Since relatively few young women are as yet inclined to pursue jobs in areas traditionally monopolized by men, the school guidance programs that continue to direct young women into "women's" jobs are inadvertently contributing to the excessively high unemployment rates and low incomes that women suffer, and to the continuing under-utilization of human resources.

Limited financial resources help to maintain teacher training programs that are inadequate for preparing West Indian elementary and secondary school teachers to deal with the great responsibilities and demands of their societies. On the other hand, coupling this training with very low pay, difficult work loads, poor facilities, and the necessity of maintaining status as the teacher in a community, it is not surprising that the pressures often drive many away from the profession.

Schools are urban institutions insofar as they teach a curriculum, largely by rote memorization, geared to city life and its needs. Rural people, the bulk of the population in the LDCs, are at a disadvantage in that they are generally not receiving training that will equip them to stay in those areas as productive and innovative citizens. Secondary schools are uniformly located in the capital and occasionally one or two other major towns. Thus, to attend advanced education new living arrangements must be devised, a great economic stress felt most in the LDCs.

These educational issues fuel an ongoing debate in the Caribbean that is well-documented and need not be reviewed here. It remains clear that the educational systems are not adequately preparing many West Indian children for useful, productive, and satisfying participation in a rapidly changing society. This is most striking for the 14- to 18-year old youths that leave primary school and find themselves with nothing to do: no jobs, no skills, and an education of little direct relevance to the job market. Jack Harewood has argued that it is not the uneducated who suffer the higher incidence of unemployment, but the "middle range" educated person. He claims that students who graduated from primary school but could not or did not go to secondary school, had an unemployment rate of 20 percent. Persons with no formal education had a much lower unemployment rate of 4 percent, those who went to but did not complete primary school had an unemployment rate of 10 percent, while university graduates had a rate of 5 percent.¹¹

¹¹ Jack Harewood, "Education and Manpower" (paper presented at Seminar on "Manpower Planning" sponsored by Caribbean Development Bank, Barbados, 1974), pp. 37-38.

The problems are significant whether we talk about sexual stereotyping, poor instruction techniques and materials, antiquated facilities, inappropriate curriculum, lack of student preparation for the job market and the world of work, the encouraging of false and unrealistic ambitions and aspirations, or the persistent undervaluing of the contribution of skilled laborers to the society as a whole.

The Rastas

It is noteworthy that in the 1980 Caricom population census taken in Barbados, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent, Rastafarianism was not available in the list of 19 religious affiliations for the respondents' choice. It may have been that inclusion of Rastafarianism on the census would have constituted a legitimization of a movement that few regional governments favor. Inclusion in the census, however, would have offered some hard data on age, gender, employment, education, and household arrangements of what appears to be a particularly depressed group in the Caribbean. As it is, no studies are available that do more than guess at the demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of the followers of Rastafari.

Jamaican Origins

A classic example of a millennial movement for the oppressed, Rastafarianism emerged from the ghettos of West Kingston, Jamaica. Offering redemption for the chronic psychological and economic stresses of apparently hopeless poverty, colonialism, and persistent racism, the Rastafarians of Jamaica created, over the past four decades, the most dynamic socio-religious movement in the Caribbean. Their imposing "dreadlocks," use of marijuana as a sacrament, condemnation of Jamaica as "Babylon," belief in repatriation to the African motherland, and the worship of Haile Selassie as God Almighty, King of Kings and Lord of Lords, has attracted worldwide attention advertised in no small measure by the pulsing beat and protest lyrics of reggae music.

The Rastafarians in general came from the lowest segment of Jamaican society, although a sprinkling of new recruits has emerged from the middle class. The membership of the movement is overwhelmingly unemployed and underemployed--as well as very dark-skinned. The acute level of deprivation within this group allowed a fertile environment for the nurturing of an ideology of escape and of protest. The movement reached such proportions by 1960 that the Government of Jamaica commissioned a report on the Rastafarian movement to be undertaken by the University of the West Indies at Mona.¹²

¹²M.G. Smith, Roy Augier, and Rex Nettleford, The Rastafari Movement in Kingston, Jamaica (Mona, Jamaica: ISER, University of the West Indies, 1960).

The final report remains the classic source on the movement at the time. The recommendations made by that investigating team remind us that some of the problems between Rastas and non-Rastas still persist; the public still is suspicious of Rastas, still believes that Rastas engage in violence, theft and illegal behavior, and still thinks that Rastas live in communities severely deprived of material necessities. Friction between the police and Rastas continues, with some degree of discrimination and brutality on the part of law enforcement officials voiced in all territories and occasionally in the press. What is newer is the uncomfortable feeling on the part of many officials and citizens that somehow Rastafarianism correlates highly with unemployment and depressed chances for the future among the young.

Like all social movements, however, Rastafarianism has changed over time. The young Rastas of today, either in Jamaica or in the Eastern Caribbean, are not the same as the brethren of Rastafari who initiated the movement in the 1930s, not in religious zeal, theological and symbolic sophistication, social make-up, education, life goals, nor ideology. In some quarters, Rasta has shifted from a passive, millennial focus to a more activist and aggressive political posture directly involved in contemporary social processes.¹³ Coupled with fragments of the Black Power ideology of North America in the 1960s, and fueled by Caribbean nationalism, anti-colonialism, and independence movements in the 1960s and 1970s, Rastafarianism has provided a source of inspiration to many young people, and some intellectuals, in search of a post-colonial identity.

Rastas in the Eastern Caribbean

As the movement changed, especially since 1960, and as it spread out of Jamaica to the smaller, more provincial territories of the Eastern Caribbean, it acquired a secular quality. The Rasta posture has become part of the growing-up experience of many adolescents, and involves both rebellion against authority and protest of the rigidities and limitations of life in small neo-colonial societies. For some Rasta is also a convenient cover for criminal activity and a rationalization for indulging in the pleasure of the "holy weed" (marijuana).

Although there are variations from territory to territory, several characteristics are widely shared among Rastas in the Eastern Caribbean. The vast majority of participants appear to be poor, either unskilled school drop-outs or primary school graduates, and dark complexioned. The movement is overwhelmingly urban based. Two major features distinguish the Rasta movement in the Eastern Caribbean from the Jamaican prototype. The first is the lack of a senior echelon of cult elders who could lend continuity to the movement, serve as spiritual advisors, and organize Rastas into a coherent, political or economic force. The second is that

¹³ Klaus de Albuquerque, "Youth and Politics in Jamaica On the Role of 'Political' and 'Functional' Rastafarians" (paper presented at the Caribbean Studies Association, San Juan, Puerto Rico, 1975).

Eastern Caribbean Rastas are overwhelmingly young men; female Rastas are rare. Neither characteristic bodes well for the long range survival of Rastafarianism in the Eastern Caribbean as anything more than a style of living, with the dimension of a youthful, rebellious fad.

A Spectrum of Rastas

As Rastafarianism is an import into the Eastern Caribbean, and relatively new in these societies, and because of its youthful and male membership and the lack of elders to "purify" the movement, knowledge of the belief in and commitment to the tenets of Rastafari vary greatly. It is important to recognize the diversity inherent in Rastafari in the Eastern Caribbean, a diversity conveniently illustrated as a spectrum.

At one end we find the youngster who has been attracted by the excitement of the style of the movement and who participates largely by adopting Rasta adornment and posturing in public places with small cliches of comrades. Young people in the Caribbean are searching for definition of themselves and a niche in the society. This search is not only part of the adolescent and teenage experimentation with new roles and ideas commonly found in most Western societies but is also exacerbated by the strains and contradictions inherent in changing from a colonial identity to that of an independent "man." To be a somebody, and respected, in a society that provides little economic opportunity, one can drop out of the wider society to participate in a "sub-culture" where dignity is obtained through dreadlocks,¹⁴ large woolen caps, an argot of street and Rasta language and vocabulary, consumption of "Ital" food,¹⁵ and dressing in the revered pan-Negritude colors of yellow, red, black and green. Besides, the costuming can be fun, entertaining, original, and aesthetically pleasing, as well as serving to set the young apart from older people and higher placed member of the social order. Such posturing, however, presents a problem. There is a danger that, even though the majority may be passing through a "phase" to adulthood and more conventional behavior, the time spent as "outsiders" in their own countries and cultures may make it even more difficult for them to reenter their societies and the world of work after some years as Rastas. Those without social connections or academic training can only look forward to the same or worse financial insecurities their non-Rasta

¹⁴Dreadlocks, long uncut hair, are a sign of distinction. The elaborateness is appreciated both for its aesthetics and as a sign of personal style and commitment. The length is a gauge of how long the wearer has been an active Rasta, as it takes years to grow great locks.

¹⁵Ital foods are valued for their symbolism as well as favored for health reasons. Essentially it is a vegetarian diet that prohibits meat, shell- and large fish, salt, any foods with preservatives and chemicals, milk, coffee, and liquor. It is a "natural" diet that reflects religious purification.

counterparts will confront when they reach their early twenties and begin to look for some economic security for themselves and perhaps a family. The years spent participating at this level of Rastafari may have made him even less employable; full of ideas and slogans about being exploited, and without the discipline and routine of structured work. When there are so many unemployed applying for so few jobs, many employers see no need to take a chance with a practicing or ex-Rasta.

At the other end of the spectrum is perhaps the most unstudied and most creative by-product of the Rasta movement in the Eastern Caribbean. As with most Rastas in the Eastern Caribbean, this faction is shorn of most of the basic beliefs of the Jamaican religious Rastas; one hears almost nothing of Haile Selassie as the living god, of the complete hopelessness of the situation in the Eastern Caribbean and the consequent need for repatriation to Africa, or New World blacks and reincarnations of Israel in exile at the hand of the Whites.

This segment of the Rastas has molded the Rasta beliefs of brotherhood, discipline of diet, life style and costume into a potentially very constructive, ambitious, work-oriented collective vision. Among these Rastas dignity is found in honest work, and work itself is considered good and healthy. The emphasis is on self-employment, working for oneself, one's family, and one's brothers--not wage labor or labor to enrich others. Craft skills and agriculture are emphasized as honorable pursuits because they involve working with one's hands and with nature. The positive assessment of manual labor and agriculture make this kind of Rasta counter to what is anticipated from the young. There are Rastas who will refuse paid employment, but the average Rasta appears to be a hard and conscientious worker when employed. Of those who reject wage employment, claiming it contaminates them and maintains exploitation, many seek the common and preferred practice of working for and among themselves. Many Rastas are in fact skilled craftsmen: furniture makers, wood carvers, leather workers, artists and musicians, some subsistence farmers and fishermen. Commonly, those Rastas who are self-employed or who have a wage income help support brethren who have no skills or who cannot find work.

Female Rastas

Few women appear to be Rasta, but without a study of the movement in the Eastern Caribbean the following reasons offered to account for the rarity of women will be merely educated guesses guided by interviews in the region and personal observation.

Caribbean girls are, generally, more restricted in their extra-household contacts than are boys. They are also contributing to the operation of households from an early age, while the boys have a freer rein. By their teenage years the women are often important in the household, responsible for the cleaning, cooking, and child care, taking over for those adults who need to leave the house to work for wages. By mid to late teen years they may even have one or more children of their own who need their care. Tied so closely to the operation of a household, young women find difficulty in making the changes necessary to become Rasta.

Ideologically Rastafarianism views women as a complement to men, but also as inferior; their proper female role is to be unseen, quiet supporters of their men, caring for the home and raising children. Although in Jamaica there are women Rastas in some areas of public life who are involved in attempts to raise the status and income of women in that society, we heard of no women Rastas in public life in the four states of the Eastern Caribbean.

The ideology of female inferiority, however, may not be the major reason why women appear not to join in numbers. It may be postulated that since the vast majority of Rastas are men who are economically marginal and since part of the Rasta life-style involves sharing what is available with brother Rastas, most Rasta men do not have the material goods to sustain a woman and her children. For those young women who want to be able to go out and dance on occasion, buy some nice clothes, and socialize with others of their age, the Rasta life may not be sufficiently attractive, materially or socially. What was frequently reported to us was the quandry faced by many young women whose boyfriends became Rasta and who began to pressure them to become Rasta too or to break the relationship off--a hard choice for many young women at that age, especially if a child is involved.

One last point that should be mentioned is that an Ital diet can be healthy only if one knows how to properly balance foods to ensure an adequate supply of protein and other basic nutriments. Nurses in St. Vincent reported that pregnant women and their children frequently suffered from malnutrition, infants were born weighing less than normal, etc. There appeared to be more scepticism of an Ital diet among young women as regards children than among young men, perhaps because of their initial socialization that placed so much emphasis on child care.

In Part II island accounts will flesh out those generalities with some illustrations. In all areas the public in general appears to hold three, occasionally contradictory, impressions of Rastas. First, that Rastas steal, especially crops raised by other farmers, making a perennial Caribbean problem worse. Second, that Rastas should go to work like other people, except that many have the suspicion that you can not blame Rasta kids as there are not many options available for young people. Third, many people, especially "respectable" church-goers, are very bothered by the use of marijuana by Rastas, although at the same time many people are unconvinced that marijuana is dangerous.

Identity Management and World View

The organization of attitudes toward work is fundamentally different in the Caribbean from what a Western-trained observer might expect. The fact of this fundamental difference must be thoroughly appreciated before any understanding of unemployment problems can be achieved and certainly before any viable development schemes to alleviate such problems can be formulated. Such an understanding is not easy to reach since it deals with entering into a world of culturally different concepts, a qualitatively different way of cognizing socio-economic surroundings.

Perhaps the best way to begin is to make explicit the standard Western notions of work, business, and bureaucracy, which include the ideas of upward mobility, career development, promotion on the basis of merit, fair compensation for work or talent, progression through the ranks, and a view of work as basically rational and systematic. Employers and employees alike are expected to be committed to the system and to view it as credible and rewarding. A battery of social institutions (which indeed exist also in the Caribbean) has as its goal the socialization of young people into the roles they will play in the economic-social-political order. Schools, apart from the content of the curriculum, train students to obey orders, be punctual, respond to various auditory and visual cues, work in a disciplined fashion, cherish excellence and the dignity of a job well done. Family, church, mass media and other institutions pass on the same training through the sometimes subtle, sometimes explicit processes of preparing young people for adulthood.

Naturally people's perception of things and of their self varies with age, gender, social class, degree of education, ethnicity, occupation, geographical location, and particular historical circumstances, among other variables, but the generally achieved expectation in modern Western societies is that the identity management and world view mechanisms through which young people pass will produce a population with fairly uniform values and a homogeneous view of the world around them, a population that will "work" both in and for the society.

The young populations of the small states of the Caribbean also have values and a world view and they also have identity management mechanisms. Large numbers of these poverty-stricken, poorly educated, urban-oriented youths, however, embrace a constellation of concepts that are fundamentally opposed to the Western linear, rational, systematic notions of livelihood and career. This particular Caribbean world view and self-concept centers on what has been termed "crab antics."¹⁶

The standard Caribbean metaphor for social life, crab antics are illustrated by the following story: There is a big barrel with a mess of crabs scrambling around the bottom, each trying to get out. They step on each other and snap at each other struggling to climb up the side of the barrel but are always pulled back down by other crabs who have the same goal. It is every crab for himself. The moral of the story is that to get out of the barrel a crab must be either big and strong or very clever. Not everyone in the Caribbean can be big and strong, but anyone can strive to be clever.

What follows here then is a general discussion of a vague but consistently present value system that figures prominently in the way

¹⁶ Peter Wilson, Crab Antics: The Social Anthropology of English-Speaking Negro Societies of the Caribbean (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973).

some young men think of themselves or, perhaps, like to think of themselves. Like all value systems, the symbols are diffuse and invoke different meanings and different degrees of meanings in different people. Where the crab antics value is very pronounced (second perhaps only to politics in some Eastern Caribbean countries) is on the streets and in public where streetcorner aristocrats from the poorer and disadvantaged classes act out their dreams and frustrations and develop a view of the world and themselves.

Crab antics tends to be a male game and is performance oriented. As a rule women do not play this game of identity management in the public and flamboyant way that men do. In the Caribbean women are not expected to have an identity in the sense of competing with males. Or, perhaps, a young woman's identity is tied to other, more private activities and requires a different expression. Also, in traditional Caribbean culture a woman's identity, and sense of self, emerges first with motherhood, and then most prominently with age when she becomes grandmother, perhaps household head, and the feared critic of politicians, blowhards, and the mighty and the meek alike.

Many of the young men found regularly on the street corners of Eastern Caribbean cities like to think of themselves as "hustlers" or movers and carefully cultivate the image of the cavalier, devil-may-care, bon vivant. This hustler posture is important for teenagers of the lower classes because it influences the way in which the future is envisioned or planned. One becomes an operator based on the widely held belief that nothing is as it appears to be and that the success one enjoys is the result of guile, luck, fate, loquacity, or having the right connections. Cleverness often becomes the basis of one's self-esteem and must frequently be reinforced by performing acts of great skill or daring.

Life may take on the dimensions of a game. One may hold the view that wealth cannot be achieved by working and thus seek to substitute schemes and strategies in its place. Thus, planning may not involve a continuous, linear series of actions that culminates in the acquisition of a calculated goal (i.e., education, job). Rather, one develops a personal style used to manipulate, appeal, catch the eye, ingratiate, find sympathy, personalize and advance one's interests. Since problems are not rational, solutions must be discontinuous.

One's access to status is to be found in the close and non-threatening forum of the peer group. One has a place and is recognized as an individual with certain unique qualities; qualities that would go unnoticed or negatively appraised at the work place, not mentioned at school, in church, by the police or in middle class circles. Thus reputation may be based on the ability to consume vast quantities of beer, or being a polished raconteur, or having numerous girl friends, being a daring thief, a boxer, or the group comedian. What this means is that one derives more reward and sense of self-esteem from the group than from the occupational hierarchy of the world of work or schooling, which may be occasions for failure. In these intense gatherings view of how the world operates may be fed by unexpected sources. As schools, government agencies, the business community, or other conventional

avenues of social policy are held in suspicion or dismissed as exploiters, one may turn for sources of wisdom and instruction to the convoluted lyrics of contemporary music or the violent, crassly fashioned trash movies so popular in the Caribbean. Kung Fu and North American black gangster movies provide a ready environment into which boys can project themselves.

In a broad sense, the young men--generally poor, unlettered, unskilled, unemployed, and at this stage with little prospect of satisfying employment--are attempting to resolve with subcultural constructs of their own making some of the social and economic difficulties that confront them. However, this behavior should not be seen in isolation from larger society. The youth face massive problems and perceive accurately, but in their own terms, their educational disadvantages, jobs without futures, and low pay. They also understand that their societies expect them to have jobs of social value if they are to be "men."

At this point, no way exists to measure the extent of this attitude among young people in the Eastern Caribbean. Not all of the unemployed young people from the working or lower classes share or are interested in the short term hustler view of the world portrayed above. The degree varies from society to society depending on the local circumstances; individual initiative and luck; availability of work; vocational training systems, sensitivity and concern of government, church and private bodies; the extent to which youth are mobilized or organized and provided with entertainment, encouragement, and support; and the general perception of youth as being part of (or not) of a national development effort.

Caribbean history is an oppressive one, and many West Indians are victimized by institutions and sets of relationships that crystalized long ago. The acquisition of status and livelihood, and the relationship of that process to a workable identity system, has always been problematic in colonial societies. The relationship between class, color and cultural orientation has led to certain tensions in the Caribbean, and the young men's choices of how best to deal with the conflict are crucial aspects of the behavior found in many parts of the Eastern Caribbean today.

Crime

The burgeoning increase of crime in the Caribbean, both in variety and in incidence, has attracted the attention and concern of government officials, politicians, law enforcement officers, planners and policy makers, journalists, business people, and the common citizen. Conventional sociological wisdom maintains that increasing impoverishment and economic strain, as well as rapid social change, leads to an increase in criminal offenses, especially by young males between 14 and 21 years of age. Since this same segment of the population has the greatest difficulties finding jobs, crime may be regarded at least partially as a response to unemployment.

Although circumstances vary from island to island, one can make several generalizations on the nature of crime in the Eastern Caribbean. The following generalizations must be qualified by pointing out that the collection and analysis of police, court, and prison statistics (or objective measurements of any sort) are characterized by crude, inefficient, and unsystematic methods of data collection and analysis throughout the Eastern Caribbean, with the possible exception of Barbados.

Certain generalizations characterize these countries. They are small-scale and face-to-face societies. Police and the courts work at a more informal or "personalized" level since an offender is often known by his or, less frequently, her habits, pastimes, hangouts, family, and reputation. Social control or "punishment" can be more spontaneous, situational, and discretionary. However, implicit in this approach is a lack of uniformity in either application or degree. Since they are small-scale, the countries of the Eastern Caribbean lack a "hard-core" professional criminal class of offenders who can systematically disappear into a structured criminal "underground." Several of the smaller territories have a tacit "three strikes and you are out" rule. Suppose a young person was caught stealing a fruit from market, or, worse, trying to make off with someone's bicycle and is apprehended by a law officer. Several considerations emerge. First, the magnitude of the offense. Is it worth all the paper work? Is there space in lockup? Are the court dockets already full? The role of the police officer while on the streets in small scale, highly personalized societies is of law officer, social worker, lawyer, judge and jury with a tremendous amount of flexibility and discretion built in. Also in smaller societies it is as likely as not that the arresting officer knows the family of the offender or knows somebody who does. Thus there can be intervention, threat, or punishment on a non-institutional, personal level. Perhaps, for the first offense the person might be threatened with "I know your mother and will tell her what you have done." Or, perhaps some intimidation and roughing up might be involved.

The more serious offense, or second offense, usually involves more serious consequences for the offender. Although it could result in prosecution, there is the likelihood that the person would be brought to the station house and "have the matter explained" to him for the better part of the day and evening.

However, police are also members of the community and anonymity is virtually impossible in small societies. Thus they must deal with the same pressures, requests, relationships, and special interest groups as others. A police officer's response to a person is conditioned by who that person is, who that person is related to or connected with, or what resources that person has at his or her disposal to contest the charge or, worse, make life miserable for the police officer by, perhaps, contacting superior officers, interfering with promotion procedures, influencing duty rosters and posting assignments, and so forth. It is therefore little wonder that in smaller societies police deal very gingerly with the wealthy, well-placed and well-connected (who are usually themselves or their close allies in government anyway). The powerless and the poor, on the other hand, are dealt with more directly and emphatically.

Despite these flexibilities the same group gets into trouble repeatedly. The general characterization of criminals is of persons who are involved in theft, prostitution, pimping, and "hustling" during their tumultuous teenage years but who then settle into fairly routine and non-criminal lives. However, since the bulk of West Indian population is under the age of twenty, and the teenage population will continue to grow, the crime problem may be expected to increase in the foreseeable future. The profile of criminals in the Eastern Caribbean as young, male, unemployed, uneducated, and frustrated is reinforced by efforts of the police, the public, and the press to label certain groups of the population as "the problem." The poorer young people who have the streets as a forum, and who lounge along main thoroughfares and outside rum shops, are easily visible. Those who either present themselves as streetwise hipsters or are Rastafari are often singled out as criminal material because their costumes and lifestyles attract attention.

Crime in the Eastern Caribbean has increased in variety as well as in frequency. Along with the growth of offenses against property, crimes involving the cultivation and sale of marijuana are uniquely characteristic of these four states. As a full- or part-time occupation, the sale (and usage) of marijuana is attractive to many young West Indians. The financial returns, as well as the reputation one might earn from being a "cool" dealer often outweigh the social and financial returns young people might expect from legitimate work. Crimes against property often consist of stealing easily resalable items such as clothing, radios, cameras, tape cassettes, and other small items obtainable with fairly low risks from busy downtown shops and residences. Break-ins take place in poorer neighborhoods as well as more prosperous, adding to the economic strain of those least able to cover the losses. Theft from the prosperous gets more attention, however, because of the size and worth of the stolen items and because the victims are more vocal. Finally, robbery of the person, either hold-ups or picking pockets and snatching purses, is widely felt to be on the increase. In Barbados with its highly developed tourist trade (and facilities available for the easy and independent travel of foreigners), personal crime has caused increasing alarm.

In addition to the increase of crime, the types of crimes, and the characteristic of the criminals, the treatment of these criminals after they have been convicted is an ingredient of prime importance in gaining a complete picture of crime in the Eastern Caribbean. Conditions for the detention of offenders vary greatly from island to island. In some cases, locking up young people is recognized as strictly social revenge, punishment and the removal of undesirable elements from the public domain. Rehabilitation and follow-up services are either not considered or considered beyond the means of available resources. Barbados demonstrates leadership in this area by at least attempting, through its "Industrial School," to provide emotional care, informal social therapy and skill training for its detainees.

Clubs, Voluntary Organizations, and Informal Groups

Participation in clubs and informal social groups is a widespread feature of Caribbean life. In the Eastern Caribbean individuals participate in such community level groups as entertainment clubs, "swap" or exchange labor groups, prayer societies, social leagues, rotating credit organizations, burial societies, sports teams, charitable organizations, local arms of national and international lodges, church affiliated sodalities, village council forums, and local level networks. These groups may not be formalized or registered as standing bodies but they nevertheless provide a basis for interaction for their members. What this means is that for rural and urban people alike, there are forums which bring people together outside of the household and the workplace. The earmark that concerns us here is that these groups are not imposed or orchestrated from the outside but are organized in terms of what people themselves see as meaningful issues, perceived in their own terms, organized along avenues of communication and chains of command they are committed to, and grounded in the fabric of their community or neighborhood. The assumption here is that many (but not all) of these groupings provide a basis upon which training programs, income generating projects, social action and development efforts can be built or assisted. Astute West Indian politicians have known this for some time and have cultivated community level groups for constituency support and foot soldiers in their electoral efforts. Special issue groups such as a Save the Children Association or the Rotary club have built many of their social aid programs around "in place" organizations of young people, adult women, work groups of men or all three.

Local clubs, whether they are located in urban neighborhoods or rural villages, vary in their membership composition, professed goals and functions, and degree of social cohesion and longevity. Many are purely instrumental; for example, a group of young men who gather to play soccer or a group of young people who organize and hold weekend dances. Others might be for groups of adult women who have longstanding responsibilities to one another such as exchanging domestic services, and informal credit and loan arrangements. Nevertheless, such groupings provide the basis for a larger, more widespread social effort than would be possible with just the household or kinship group as one's social and economic support network.

Among poorer people such clubs tend to be characterized by 1. young people of both sexes, most of the time cooperating together, and 2. adult women, usually over the age of 35 or 40 years old. Adult men seem more inclined to organize their activities around relationships formed at the work place or in small, loose peer group gatherings such as a rum shop crew or several friends who gather regularly to play dominoes. Although adult male groups require the collective presence of several individuals, the members are not as interdependent in providing crucial services to one another. Put bluntly, another male domino player can be recruited with less scrutiny and evaluation than a club member on which the outcome of some planned event or service might rest. Finally, money is in short supply in the Eastern Caribbean and people must rely on others with whom they have reciprocal relationships, for entertainment and necessary services and assistance in hard times. Such commodities

and services cannot regularly be purchased. This is especially so in small, rural villages where kinship ties may underlay much of the village social organization, people are in face-to-face daily contact and have grown to rely on others for support and assistance in the absence of outside national services and organizations. Clubs also provide a means of achieving status and recognition in the eyes of one's cohorts. What often appear to be uniformly homogeneous villages in the Caribbean (i.e., "everybody is poor") are often, in fact, highly differentiated and complexly organized along the lines of these clubs and groups.

Clubs and informal groupings operate differently in each of the societies and enjoy different levels of national governmental support and recognition. Barbados is once again the extreme case, especially for youth groups. Briefly, Barbados is a highly individualized society where youths can and do have interests and obligations to many other persons, activities and institutions outside their immediate environs. Life is highly differentiated and youth gather usually for one function or activity; for, example the "Green Hills" sports club will gather for soccer on Saturday afternoons and nothing more. It would thus be unwise to attempt to build or graft other functions onto such a loosely organized collectivity. Other personal interests pull members away to other tasks and more important (in Barbados) interests.

Youth groups in the rural LDCs are, however, more complex. A village group could at once be involved in planning a dance, playing sports, organizing a special interest workshop (such as inviting a government field officer to give a lecture on health and nutrition) working on an income generating project (such as small scale livestock rearing), participating in a development project that might include road building, or requesting that a mobile library visit their village. Thus, program planners would be astute to consider the differences between the Barbados-like groups on the one hand and the LDC-like on the other. The former would be useful as a node in a communication network through which information would be distributed, with no demanding liens placed on anyone's time or responsibilities. The latter type would be better suited as a foundation on which to build collaborative development efforts and programs such as a training workshop, agricultural project, or, as in the case of Dominica especially, a self-help development project such as building a feeder road or water catchment.

Adult clubs tend to draw the participation of women, most usually those over 35 years old who have the interest, respectability earned through age, freedom from dependent children, independence from male demands, and economic security earned through the possession of house, yard, plot of ground or material acquisitions. Older women often act as village decision makers, something the appointed government official, usually male, installed from the outside readily finds out. Charitable organizations caring for the destitute, clubs organized around the church, and income generating projects such as craftwork and sewing have often arisen sui generis out of networks of adults who have agreed on priorities and the means to accomplish them.

None of this means that these groups function smoothly in their isolation. They attempt to maximize social energy and produce what they can under circumstances of extreme marginality lacking financing, organizational support, backstopping by specialists, access to markets and outlets, and the expertise of experts. Thus, we are not arguing that they be left alone but that planners recognize the strengths of decentralized groups. It is very facile for planners to think of development schemes as great national flow charts emanating from the capital city and run by distant (physically and socially) bureaucrats who have little in common with poorer folk. The failure of this approach is amply demonstrated in the number of abandoned community centers and disintegrating projects that litter the Third World. It need not be so. As Robert Maguire has pointed out in his work in the Caribbean:

Such scenes are common in developing countries. Abandoned schools, disintegrating roads, half finished or decaying monuments to good intentions, to frustration, exhaustion of funds, lack of planning. But in most cases there is an underlying reason for these scenes--the failure to involve local people in the effort. The school in Haiti stands empty because the people of the area did not feel a part of the physical mutation that simply appeared in their midst. Perhaps they would not have identified this building as a priority. They were probably never consulted.¹⁷

Skills Training and Income Generating Programs

Skills training and income generating projects designed to retool those who are under- and unemployed are gaining widespread governmental and private voluntary organization support in the Eastern Caribbean. By working with the limitations and possibilities of the system as it is now, program goals aim to help a number of individuals become either self-employed or to gain access to jobs that previously had been closed to them because of lack of skills. The focus is on retooling those who are under- or unemployed rather than making structural changes in the economy.

Youth skills training programs are intended to respond to deficiencies in the educational system and needs of the 14 to 19 year olds who have dropped out of school and others who are unemployed by providing them with informal vocational training. "Informal" means that the training is outside of the educational system and curriculum and does not require a graduate certificate or transcript of academic performance for program admission. Training programs are designed to be less theoretical and advanced than the lengthier and more expensive courses offered by the technical colleges of the region.

¹⁷ Robert Maguire, Bottom-up Development in Haiti. IAF Paper No. 1 (Rosslyn, Virginia: Inter-American Foundation, 1979), p. 5..

The underlining assumption is that jobs are available or will open up for those who have the practical skills required of the auto mechanic, electrician, carpenter, plumber, mason, or upholsterer. It is also assumed that, given the level of skills taught, one could choose self-employment.

Because these programs are relatively new, few young people have thus far taken advantage of the opportunities. Not all applicants can be accommodated because of program size and the number of openings; young people are regularly turned away. Also, the double screening, first by the applicants themselves who will decide, on hearing of the program, to apply or not, and secondly by instructors who interview and assess the maturity and motivation of the applicants, select out the most ambitious of the young school leavers who are unemployed and wish to learn a manual skill. In principle the program is open to both males and females in all areas of training; in practice very few women enroll in courses that teach job skills associated with male roles.

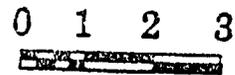
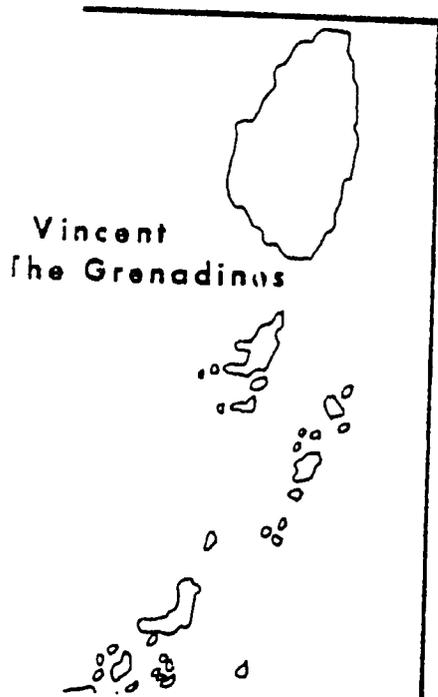
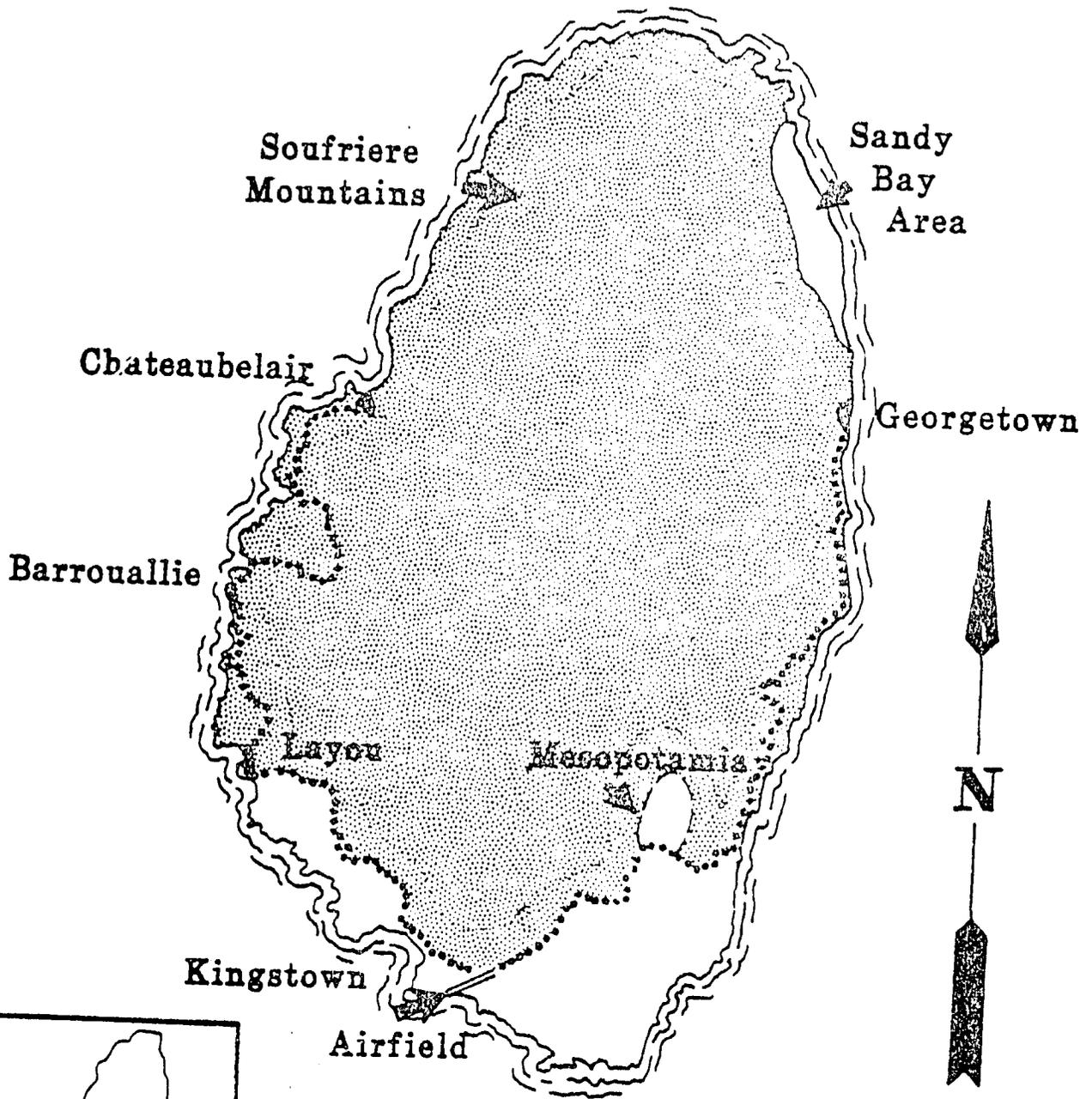
Income generating projects, on the other hand, involve mostly women over the age of 25 or so. They are projects designed to help women increase the amount of money entering their households by upgrading and "rationalizing" skills that the women already possess. Thus, there is a concentration on endeavors associated with householding, sewing and food preparation. The fundamental approach is generally to build on old skills, to make more productive use of women's "free time," and to show how they can market their skills and produce for income. Theoretically, the results for women involved can be lucrative, though it must be noted that women are still trained in areas that are stereotyped as "women's," and that the training is not geared to allow them to tap the better-paying, stable jobs. The risk remains that raising expectations and hopes, and increasing the work women do more substantially than their incomes, will force them to compete with each other on the marginal edges of the economy. Also, unlike youth skills training programs which tend to be government supported and coordinated, the women's income generating projects tend to receive substantially less government attention and support, leaving the organization and funding to come from decentralized and financially pressed private voluntary organizations.

The teaching of skills, and the upgrading of old skills, is a priority on everyone's agenda, although less so in St. Vincent and more so in Barbados than elsewhere. St. Vincent has no capital to speak of, and less chance of absorbing and productively using the new skills learned than does Barbados, which not only has the money to spend but is also willing to spend it on programs that are initially experimental and do not guarantee immediate success.

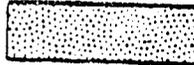
Everywhere there is more concern with youth than women, and youth programs themselves tend to be strongly oriented towards males. In addition, young women are not absorbed into the income generating projects aimed at women and therefore remain the group for which the least amount of money, energy, concern, and special attention is directed. The overrepresentation of women in their mid-thirties and older in clubs, organizations and income generating projects suggests that younger women may not have the material and time resources that would

allow them to participate. Older women generally have more resources to work with, are free from small, dependent children, are usually more independent of their men than are younger women, and they probably own a house, plot of land, or some other source of permanance, status, and economic stability. Younger women have far less of these things. That the youth skills training programs and income generating programs tend to select out specific types of people is not in itself bad; it is only important to note that there are still segments of the young and female population who are not being reached.

ST. VINCENT



Principal Roads

Mountains 

PART II: COUNTRY BY COUNTRY SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

St. Vincent

Unemployment

Detailed statistical information is not available on the structure and level of employment and unemployment in St. Vincent. From such information as is available it has been estimated that of the total available work force of about 40,000 people (i.e., the total population less those aged 15 years and under, 65 years and over, and females unavailable for work because of "domestic circumstances") approximately 25 percent is unemployed.¹ Thus, the unemployment level is unacceptably high, especially among young people, as illustrated in Table II:1.

General information gleaned from the Commonwealth Caribbean Census of 1970 preceeds the energy crisis and general world recession of the 1970s. Although several tables from the 1970 census will be included here for purposes of illustrating what types of data are collected, it should be born in mind that the data itself is obsolete, inaccurate and seriously underestimates the unemployment as it now is.

Table II:1

Percentage of Unemployment by Age Groups and Sex
April 1970

14 Yrs. of Age & Over			14-19 Yrs.		20-24 Yrs.		25-59 Yrs.		60 & Over	
Male & Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
10.7	9.6	12.8	34.2	43.5	12.2	12.5	1.3	2.9	1.2	1.3

¹The Development Corporation, Investment Opportunities in St. Vincent and the Grenadines (The Development Corporation: St. Vincent, 1979), p. 17.

The situation in St. Vincent is the worst in the Eastern Caribbean. However, there is no way of exactly determining the extent and type of the problem until data are gleaned from the 1980 Commonwealth Caribbean Census, and more specific, carefully devised studies are undertaken on unemployment in that country.

Occupational Multiplicity

The rural poor constitute 90 percent of the population of St. Vincent. The simple supply of necessities (food, clothing, and cash) presents a central problem for this group. The difficulty in making a living is aggravated by unemployment, underemployment, low returns from own-account and wage labor activities, and the high prices of imported goods. Rural and urban Vincentians operate almost entirely within a cash economy and even those farmers who consume all that they produce must still purchase seeds, striplings, tools, and agricultural necessities. Thus, they must sell some of what they produce (and occasionally eat less) or engage in part-time wage labor. The general mix of occupational multiplicity for male and female rural poor Vincentians thus includes own-account production and efforts at securing periodic or permanent wage labor. Efforts to obtain wages often force people, especially males, to leave villages and seek work in different parts of the island, in the Grenadines, or elsewhere. Absence from home can last hours, days, weeks, months, seasons, or longer. The basic principle of occupational multiplicity for Vincentians is that no one job is adequately lucrative or reliable for full time specialization.

The restrictions imposed by the economic underdevelopment of St. Vincent, specifically, the rural poor's lack of job skills and the opportunities for gainful employment, have led to a situation where occupational multiplicity is a strategy that reduces economic risk. The complexity of this strategy is expressed in the absolute number of different occupations engaged in by people, the great variety of work experience they participate in through their lives, the combination of domestic services, own-account production and wage labor, and the unwillingness to participate in one job to the exclusion of others.

Occupational Preference

In St. Vincent teenagers, especially those in school, acquire unrealistic job expectations from the school system, mass media, and the dominant values of the upper and middle classes. These values emphasize a "respectability" derived from the colonial experience and based on the European conception of social organization in the former colonies. Prestige is obtained through education, wealth, being a patron of the arts, and a member of the professional classes. The realities of the circumstances in which lower class Vincentians live make the achievement of such goals almost impossible.

When asked, "What kind of work would you like to do after school?" most young people (13 to 16 or 17 year olds) generally named such high status occupations as teaching, nursing, office and secretarial work. Following in frequency, especially among boys, was carpentry, auto mechanics and skilled trade crafts. Least preferred work included street cleaning, road work, farming, fishing, washing clothes, and "being unemployed."

Parents generally support the aspirations of their children and denigrate occupations that they themselves may hold. Highly ambivalent parental attitudes toward the immediate environment result in young people looking with shame on their surroundings, expressed in the ready willingness of young people to migrate. Often heard motivations for migration include "You can't earn any money here," "St. Vincent is a poor island with no opportunities," "There are plenty of good jobs in Canada," "I can make a better living in the United States," and "You can't get ahead in St. Vincent." However, by the time young people reach their late teens it is the very jobs that they denigrate that they are most likely to pursue. One's ambitions and aspirations fall off markedly by the late teenage years.

In his ambitious study of a rural community, Hymie Rubenstein queried school age children about their occupational preferences and dislikes and arrived at the tabulation in Tables II:2 and II:3 for young people in their early teens.

Table II:2

Occupational Aspirations (in rank order)

<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>
Carpenter	Nurse
Physician	Store Clerk
Teacher	Teacher
Mechanic	Office Clerk
Policeman	Policewoman
Office Clerk	Postmistress
Lawyer	Stewardess
Sailor	Seemstress
Magistrate	
Mason	
Tailor	
Engineer	

Source: Hymie Rubenstein, "Black Adaptive Strategies: Coping with Poverty in an Eastern Caribbean Village" (Unpublished PH.D. Dissertation, University of Toronto, 1976), pp. 212-213.

Table II:3
Occupations Least Liked

<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>
Street Cleaner	Street Cleaner
Road Laborer	Road Laborer
Farmer	Farmer
Unemployment	Unemployment
Fisherman	Washerwoman
Watchman	Fish Vendor
Laborer	Begger
	Domestic Servant
	Stone Gatherer
	Prostitute

Source: Rubenstein, "Black Adaptive Strategies."

The occupational aspirations of young people in St. Vincent are generally unattainable. Schooling is expensive and, given the division of household responsibilities, inordinately time consuming. Most dwellings do not have the facilities--proper lighting or any lighting at all, room space, desk, money for pencils and notebooks, quiet time, or the necessary atmosphere--to provide an environment in which their children effectively can pursue their education. School resources and the availability of trained teachers are inadequate, especially in the rural areas. The occupations to which children aspire--nurse, teacher, professional, skilled craftsman--require additional training and education. In St. Vincent such facilities are very expensive, time consuming, located uniformly in the city of Kingstown, and based on earlier educational achievement. As a result the enrollment is low and the facilities severely underutilized. Skill training programs are absent except for the advanced courses taught at the technical college--which in turn presents all the problems associated with formal, institutional education.

Also, the occupations to which young people aspire are either not located in the rural communities or available in such limited numbers that they absorb only a few persons who then hold the jobs for the rest of their lives. The lack of skills and job opportunities for 90 percent of St. Vincent's population is the most serious problem that that small, underdeveloped society faces.

Constraints to Small-Scale Agricultural Development: With Implications for the LDCs.

It is an issue of widespread concern that agricultural production is on the decline in the Eastern Caribbean and that young people possess a manifest aversion to entering this occupation. Planners and government officials, as well as the national middle and upper classes, usually resort to the explanation that both young and old shun agriculture because they are lazy, shiftless, unable to plan their future, and consequently are poor because of their own shortcomings. It is our contention here that these pronouncements are incorrect and serve only to advance negative stereotypes of West Indian peoples.

It will be suggested here that there are a number of concrete factors involved in the Vincentians' rational decision not to pursue agriculture as a full-time occupation. This section will draw heavily on the work of Rubenstein who undertook lengthy and systematic anthropological work on that island.²

Virtually all rural Vincentians (and many urban as well) are members of the island's lower class. They dominate such unremunerative and low status occupations as the bottom of the civil service, petit retailing, peasant and subsistence farming, fishing, domestic service, manual labor, and semi-skilled trades. Remittances from overseas provide a large share of many household budgets. Large numbers of potentially productive persons are regularly unemployed or underemployed.

A wide variety of fruits and vegetables are grown in St. Vincent. Ground provisions such as yams, tannias, eddos, and sweet potatoes make up the bulk of subsistence crops while banana and arrowroot, both of which are grown for export, serve as cash crops. It is more accurate to call farming in St. Vincent "horticulture" as much of it is done without benefit of mechanization and relies on the hoe, shovel, and machete. The farming itself is based on a division of labor by sex. Men clear the land of heavy growth while women weed the growing plants. Both sexes plant and harvest. Land tenure includes three basic types of ownership and utilization. Bought land is property purchased and legally owned by one individual. Inherited land is property transmitted to an heir from a former owner. By far, the most common form of property holding is family land whereby property is held jointly by two or more (usually more) persons. Thus, family land results in a multiplicity of claims on land and its products. Bought land and inherited land often become family land when there is no deed drawn up and kin claim rights to a forebearer's property.

Rubenstein enumerates four interrelated sets of factors that account for the decline of agriculture and lack of interest in its rejuvenation. These include: 1. demography, 2. ecology, 3. economics, and 4. the belief and value system.

²Hymie Rubenstein, "The Utilization of Arable Land in an Eastern Caribbean Valley," Canadian Journal of Sociology, 1 (1975), 157-167.

Demographic Factors. Emigration from St. Vincent during the 1950s, 1960s and into the 1970s has been significant. In the decade of the 1960s 20,000 people left, resulting in a labor shortage, especially on holdings of over ten 10 acres that require a periodic labor force to clean, plant, and cultivate the gardens. Vincentian emigration has attracted a larger number of men than women and has consequently upset the sexual division of labor. Rubenstein states, "A complaint often voiced by potential female cultivators is that they cannot plant since they are unable to secure enough male assistance to dig banks for them."³

Migrants left their land in the care of relatives or friends. Not having a permanent claim to the land the caretakers were unwilling to invest labor or money in the plots and thus production declined far below what it was under the previous planter.

Since land is not inherited until late in life (until the death of one's parents), much property is in the hands of older people. Also, because men tend to marry women younger than themselves, they are regularly survived by their spouses. Much land is held by widows. There is a decline in the amount of labor an older person can put into the land as well as an unwillingness of young people to work on a plot that is not theirs with perhaps only the vague promise that they will inherit in the future. Also, there is the chance that the land will become family land, and the one young person who invested time and labor in it might be forced to share the plot with others when the owner dies. Adam Kuper discovered this in rural Jamaica and regularly found the unwillingness of young people to work on "someone else's" land, even if the other person was kin.⁴

Ecological Factors. St. Vincent has a difficult if beautiful natural landscape dominated by a central mountain range and heavily forested interior. Choice lands are on the coast, and until recently large estate or property owners would only permit settlement on marginal lands sufficiently small and unproductive to insure that there was always a ready pool of rural proletarian wage labor available if needed. Small plots are found on steep mountain sides or in the more inaccessible parts of the island. In addition, inheritance patterns have fragmented land ownership or usage rights so that one may have several postage stamp sized plots separated far and wide one from the other. Thus, the distance and travel time required to walk (with tools) to the plots make work exhausting and inefficient. The road and public transport system of the island makes transport of goods to market difficult. Many persons claim that they would grow banana but for the fact that the fruit is bruised (thus unsalable) on the way to packing plants or that they cannot find help to carry the bananas on their heads to transshipment points. In Dominica some young men pointed out that marijuana was

³Rubenstein, "The Utilization of Arable Land," p. 159.

⁴Adam Kuper, Changing Jamaica (London: Routledge & K. Paul, 1978).

better business than bananas; it's easier to carry marijuana on your head than bananas and you can sell it for more money.

Many holdings are on steep inclines where rapid drainage results in soil erosion. Marginal lands require more time for soil rejuvenation and thus are out of production for long periods. Artificial fertilizers are expensive and difficult to obtain in appropriate quantities.

Most of the island plots are small, about five to ten acres. Thus most forms of mechanization as well as advanced fertilizing and rotation techniques are impractical. Also, given the size of the plots and the level of impoverishment, it is essential that families first plant their subsistence crops. Given the amount of cash return from planting cash crops on small plots, it is not worth the investment.

Horticulture is demanding and time consuming work. Many marginally and, sometimes, undernourished farmers simply do not have the energy to undertake this back-breaking work. Also, since many people are involved in multiple occupations to secure their livelihood, they do not have enough time to invest in their plots and produce more. It is likely that more income and job security is gained by maintaining several small, simultaneous jobs with farming as a backstop or failsafe than to consider full time planting.

Economic Factors. Working as an agricultural laborer on someone else's land (rather than own-account farming) is uniformly dismissed as undesirable except under the most desperate conditions. Wages are abysmal (US\$0.38 for men and US\$0.33 for women per day) and not adequate to support a household. With workers unwilling to labor for such low wages and owners unwilling to pay more it happens that larger land holdings are often planted in a crop such as coconut which requires very little attention (and hence labor and less work availability).

Market conditions are generally unreliable. Obviously, St. Vincent has little influence on the international consumption, supply and demand, and prices paid for her products. Markets can also dry up and disappear with the consequence that there are regular periods of boom and bust unless guarantees are built into the contract. This occurs at the local level as well with periodic market gluts of one product and acute shortages of others. For example, after both hurricanes David and Allen fresh fruits were blown from trees and were available at market for pennies before they rotted. Thereafter, until the next growing season, fresh fruit could only be afforded by the wealthy. Also, rural Vincentians are short of cash, and when it was discovered that a shrewd cultivator made a killing in carrots, virtually everyone planted the same vegetable in hopes of cashing in. Since no island-wide agency existed to monitor the market, tons of carrots were left unsold. Also, no mechanism was available for exporting the carrots.

Vincentians are poor and have no reserve capital to absorb losses due to climatic problems, accidents, or other risks. No farm insurance

or reliable government agency exists to assist small farmers who have met hard times. Thus, farmers are unwilling to make investments or, after having lost once, to try again.

Many small farmers simply do not have the money to start planning. For reasons that can best be explained by Vincentian commercial banks or development agencies, money is not available for seeds, implements, tools, fertilizer or property purchase.

Depending on the crop, farmers must face a waiting period between when they plant their crop and when it is ready for sale. They must therefore rely on credit or mortgage until the crop is sold. Most peasants are unwilling to commit their house or land to such an agreement, also, they do not want to go into debt.

Thievery of high-return fruits and vegetables is widespread. Since plots are spread far and wide, thieves can easily harvest someone else's labors.

Belief and Value System. Manual field labor for someone else is considered "nigger work." However, to own one's own land has been a centuries old aspiration in the Caribbean and carries with it a completely different attitude toward the possibilities of farming. Nevertheless, little incentive, encouragement, or training is provided for young farmers. Programs exist but are rarely fully implemented. Technical college training is oriented to business managers and agrobusiness production and hence does not meet the needs of small-scale farming. The educational system, though it does not directly denigrate farming as an occupation, glorifies and orients students to other (wished for) pursuits. In a neighboring island with the same circumstances as St. Vincent, boys in the reform school were punished by being made to do farm work on prison grounds.

Returning again to inheritance patterns and the presence of family land, potential farmers are reluctant to work land on which they have no clear title or claim. A West Indian horror story, widely told, is that after a farmer invests and labors in the production of a crop an unscrupulous co-holder who did nothing lays claim to a share of the profits because it was his land too.

The use of "swap" or exchange labor has declined. This form of labor usually involved groups of men, and often women, who would work on each others plots when extra help was needed. The work itself was accompanied by work songs, riddles, raucous gossip, and story telling, all of which made the monotonous work more pleasurable. A fete would often follow the completion of work. Labor exchange is reciprocal, so people were obliged to help others who helped them. Thus, the decision to plant was not an individual one per se but rested on the assumption that there would be other persons around to help in the task. Rubenstein concludes that the decline in exchange labor is due to "the migration of many farmers, animosity as a result of political differences among those who previously exchanged labor, and reductions in

cultivation among older farmers."⁵ He goes on to claim that the most active farmers are those that are still able to employ this traditional form of cultivation.

Finally, there is the deeply symbolic meaning that land has to people descended from landless plantation slaves. Again, Rubenstein sums this up with great poignancy

...land has utility beyond its cultivability; it can be used as a house spot; animals can be grazed on it; it can be purchased for speculation. In addition, land is desired in its own right beyond its productive or commercial potential and it is the ambition of almost every landless villager to own a piece of land. To own land symbolizes individual well being and confers prestige and respectability on the owner. Equally important, land is something permanent and immovable, thereby conferring stability in a social system in which unpredictability and impermanence are constant elements. Finally, land represents a legacy that may be passed on to one's heirs, thus assuming that one will be remembered by one's descendants.⁶

All these factors are known to rural Vincentians and influence their actions and choices of occupations. If there is talk of slavery, it refers to the circumstances surrounding agriculture and not agriculture itself.

Women

According to official sources, females constitute about 53 percent of the population of St. Vincent. Continuing emigration of large numbers of males will probably result in an increase in the proportion of females that will show up in the 1980 census. The unemployment rate for women stands at about 18 percent. This 18 percent figures does not consider such variables as undercounting, hidden unemployment, poor government records, and so forth, and it is probably an underestimate.

In any case, gender is not always considered an important variable in the various measures taken of Vincentian life, and gender is sometimes ignored altogether in official studies. Such practices make it difficult to accurately assess the place of women in the national economic picture, but there are certain figures that do give an approximation of the status of women in St. Vincent. For example, the estimated percentage of households headed by women is 46, which does not include those households missing a male breadwinner who may be working

⁵Rubenstein, "The Utilization of Arable Land," p. 165.

⁶Rubenstein, "The Utilization of Arable Land," p. 165.

overseas but is married to a woman who is in effect responsible for the household. These female-headed households do seem to fall at the bottom of the socioeconomic scale: 85 percent of them reported incomes of less than US\$190 in 1970, and it is doubtful that their situation has improved in the decade since.

Of the four countries visited St. Vincent is unique in that the secondary status of women is imbedded in law. The most immediately obvious aspect of this legal discrimination is the dual pay scales. Table II:4 presents the current state of wage differentials established by statute.

Table II:4

Legal Wage Differentials in St. Vincent for Men and Women
in U.S. Dollars

<u>Agricultural Workers</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
Minimum Wage	\$3.07 per day	\$2.30 per day
<u>Industrial Workers</u>		
Skilled	\$4.01 per 8-hour day	\$3.70 per 8-hour day
Unskilled	\$3.07 per 8-hour day	\$2.30 per 8-hour day

The wages for domestic servants, who are usually women, are very low. Under law the minimum wage with meals is US\$23 per month and without meals US\$38.50 per month. For inexperienced workers or "persons without adequate references" the wage per month with meals is US\$18 and without meals US\$31. According to the law, a week for a domestic servant begins "on Monday morning, ending on Sunday evening." The law does provide an upper level of ten hours a day with a two-hour break allowed in a work day and one and a half days off per week as well as two Sundays off per month.

Since most women with children are not legally married, the laws of property, tax, divorce, and inheritance are important. In summary, these women who are not legally married suffer negatively if a union is dissolved by death or separation. This also applies to her children. If a Vincentian woman marries a foreigner, he has no right to claim citizenship; a Vincentian man, however, can have his foreign wife claim citizenship. There were some indications that this causes problems where there are work permits required for which foreigners are excluded. In any case, even if the laws were changed, it cannot be assumed women would be aware of the changes, how to use them in their favor, and be able to afford legal council.

Females are represented in Vincentian schools in higher percentages than their representation in the population at large would indicate. As of August 1979, from levels Infants I through Senior II in 61 primary schools, females were 49 percent of a total of 24,222 enrolled students. Of five Junior Secondary schools, females were 58 percent of the total of 1,198. Of the total enrollment in 13 secondary schools of 4,054 students, females were 61 percent.

Although it appears that females are attending school in greater frequency than males, it was often noted by Vincentians that girls' absenteeism is higher, since they are often kept home to care for younger siblings or help with housework when a parent has to go to work or leave the house on business. The result is that literacy is not nearly as high as official estimates indicate. It also means that the education those young women receive will be deficient. There is no compulsory education law to limit this absenteeism. Repeated absences from school also leave the impression on the young that education is not as important for the girls.

Moreover, there is no reason to believe that in St. Vincent the proportion of women to men in various occupations has radically changed for the better since 1970. At that time 25 percent of the women employed were in services (domestics, etc.). From 1960 to 1970 the number of women employed declined, raising their unemployment rate from 6.3 percent to 13 percent. Since the 1970s have not seen a great improvement in the economic situation in St. Vincent, everyone who has considered the question thinks that percentage has risen again.

It was reported, with surprising frequency, that sex (as opposed to gender) is also used as an economic variable. According to one female informant, young women from poor households are "aided and abetted to go live with a man, and this comes as early as 12 years of age. Just what do you think their prospects are?" Observers claim that not only are teenage pregnancies increasing in incidence, but so are the number of illegal abortions. Another aspect of sex as an economic tool was the reported pressure on women applying for jobs; a favorable consideration of their application sometimes requires sexual services. Lastly, it was reported privately that the incidence of rapes is increasing though the reporting of rapes is not. The reason given is that the families of the victim feel ashamed and frequently prefer to take a cash settlement from the perpetrator instead and call the incident closed.

Other constraints besides legal ones prevent women from organizing for their own benefit. Women are themselves divided by a number of social and cultural conditions. There are religious differences; many of the clubs and sodalities to which women belong are denominational aligned. Occupational status remains important; the status of agriculture is low, and therefore so is the status of a woman who practices it. In St. Vincent it is estimated that about 30 percent of the agricultural labor force is female. Color and class distinctions also divide women. The idea of gender as a basis of unity is not widespread. Those who do venture to make "feminism" a public issue are subject to verbal (and occasionally other) abuse, incurring shame. For women, shame is a heavy public price to pay since it attacks one of the precious assets she

works to establish and maintain: respectability. Political divisions divide women as well since they are the majority of voters and often very active in contending political parties. The thought of rising "women's issues" in political forums is sufficient to give most women pause, even if they do believe it is necessary; many people, male as well as female, indicated that it is only realistic to expect victimization as a possible price for bucking the established, male, party decision-making apparatus. The government ideology is one of a "rising tide will carry all boats," and women are not to be "favored." So long as the government does not set even a minimal example of support for the contributions of more than half of the population, it will be slow in coming. Most likely it will remain a situation for some time in which those least enabled to organize in their own behalf will be called to nonetheless.

Lack of government support is important because so many women lack the self-confidence to move into new and more public roles, including better paying jobs. It is not only in St. Vincent that programs and projects flounder because of the lack of self-confidence the participants have in their own abilities to control more of their lives. Even sending an official representative to the United Nations world conference on the Decade for Women in Copenhagen in 1980 (at UN expense) would have been a psychological lift and evidence that there is some awareness on part of government of the special disabilities many women face, and of their contributions as well.

Migration and Remittances

Migration is one of the most dramatic means people can undertake to improve what they perceive to be their life chances and socioeconomic standing. Such physical removal can take place in different time frames and for different motives. The migration patterns in which Vincentians participate include seasonal migration, temporary, non-seasonal migration, and permanent removal. The major motive is to seek work for which wages will be paid. The effects of migration on the sending population include demographic changes, alterations in the division of labor (because of the relatively larger number of males that leave), the cultivation and perpetuation of a "migration orientation" on the part of those left behind, and the infusion of new capital into the system brought by returning migrants or sent as remittances.

Although up to very recently migration has attracted mostly males, the work possibilities of the destination determine in large part the sexual ratio of the migrating group. Thus, Barbados attracts mostly men because of the opportunity for cutting sugarcane. The Grenadines, Trinidad, Canada, the United States and, formally in great numbers, the United Kingdom attract members of both sexes. Although recent estimates place the sexual ratio of migrants at parity, it seems that male emigration is still higher. Most temporary jobs abroad are seasonal and attract (or are designed for) males.

The huge migration of Vincentians to the United Kingdom during the 1950s and early 1960s dwindled considerably with the imposition of the

Commonwealth Immigration Act of 1962. Canada has become the favored target of Vincentians, followed by the United States. For the latter country permanent migration has aimed at the northern cities of Brooklyn and Washington, D.C., while seasonal migrants go to southern Florida to work on sugar and vegetable farms. Migration to Barbados is a relatively recent phenomenon, begun in the late 1960s with the migration of males as seasonal cane cutters. Trinidad continues to attract migrants who work in the petroleum industry. The Grenadines attract migrants who work in agriculture, construction work, and the tourist enterprises. Migration to the United Kingdom seems to have been a permanent one. Surrounding Caribbean countries attract seasonal and temporary, non-seasonal migrants. The United States and Canada attract seasonal, temporary, non-seasonal, and permanent migrants.

Among poorer people, a widespread desire to leave the island is expressed in economic terms as a wish to "get ahead," though the move is often perceived as temporary and the desire to return always remains. However, migration studies of several world areas indicate that although migrants might say they wish to return before their departure and perhaps continue this claim while resident in the host country, many never return to their homeland.

When we queried young people, they overwhelmingly selected the United States as the country to which they would like to migrate; Barbados followed with the United Kingdom third. The reasoning is that the United States is richer and presents more opportunities. For young men the desire to migrate included more than employment opportunities. To leave St. Vincent is to achieve adulthood and upon returning to St. Vincent a young man assumes the status of one "who has been abroad." This feeling is widespread in many (ex-)colonial societies. There is the tacit assumption that nothing can be gained or learned by living in the colony and one must go overseas (preferably to the "mother country") to acquire skills, savvy, experience and, in this case, "manhood."

Migration estimates for the period 1960 to 1970 suggest that approximately 20,000 persons left St. Vincent. There are no equivalent estimates for the 1970 decade. However, Rubenstein estimates that for the period 1960 to 1970 St. Vincent had an average emigration rate of 1.49 percent.⁷ This figure expresses the average annual migration as a percentage of the average population for the period. Thus if this average annual emigration rate is applicable to the decade of the 1970s, the country was still losing 1.49 percent of its population per year; or roughly 1,500 person per year.

Demographically this departure is reflected in a population imbalance between males and females. Of the 36,000 persons tabulated in the 1970 census, females outnumbered males in all age groups over 14 years of age by a total of 5,000 individuals. This imbalance is felt most strongly in agricultural communities (the predominant community

⁷Rubenstein, "Black Adaptive Strategies," p. 312.

form in St. Vincent) where the sexual division of labor surrounding clearing, planting, weeding, harvesting, and marketing is upset. Also, land utilization patterns can be upset as older people who own property are more likely to migrate and leave their grounds behind untended. There is great reluctance for someone else to plant them for fear of investing time and money in something that is not theirs.

It is difficult to establish if there is a "brain drain" in St. Vincent. Since there are so few highly skilled people in St. Vincent, the departure of even a handful of them has serious consequences for the island. If "talk" is to be believed, however, the ambitious and semi-skilled people do migrate if the chance presents itself.

The departure of so many people has set up well established remittance networks. Rubenstein points out that in a sample of 100 households in the community he studied, 26 households depend on remittances for 25 percent of their budget, 38 households receive 25 percent or less of their budgets from remittances and 36 households receive no remittances at all. Four households are totally dependent on remittances.⁸ He goes on to report that in the period 1969 to 1971 the post office in his community of 2,200 people, paid out about US\$32,890 in remittances from the United Kingdom, Trinidad, Barbados, Grenada, Antigua, St. Kitts, Guyana, St. Lucia, and the Virgin Islands.

One of the strategies of migration is to return home with a stake which can be used to purchase a piece of property, house, or small business. Much of the countryside in St. Vincent is covered with half completed, modest stone houses. People point out that so and so returned from overseas with money and built as much of the house as possible before the money ran out. Many re-emigrate to build up another stake. There is no information available of whether money is put into small businesses, as in St. Lucia.

Seasonal migration is undertaken by individuals and small groups and is now also sponsored by the government of St. Vincent through the Ministry of Labor. The government contracts with agricultural estates and businesses to supply a certain number of laborers. In the case of the United States there is a quota established for the number of Vincentians who can cut cane in south Florida. Canada participates by requesting farm laborers, as does Barbados for its sugar estates. Saudi Arabia has even received Vincentian carpenters on one- and two-year contracts. Government in turn recruits laborers for these highly desirable positions. There was some talk that this recruitment was little more than political patronage but this was not confirmed. For 1979 to 1980 the following figures were given:

U.S.A. - 385 cane cutters (October - April 1979-1980)
(500 positions anticipated)

⁸Rubenstein, "Black Adaptive Strategies," p. 334.

Canada - 67 farm laborers (October - April 1979-1980)
 (150 positions anticipated)
 Barbados - 400 cane cutters (April - June 1979)
 Saudi Arabia - 32 skilled construction workers (2-year period)

The Ministry of Labor estimates that migratory wage labor supplies 90 percent of the income these men earn. Although no detailed age profile was available it was suggested that the men cutting cane were "older" (40s and 50s).

Temporary, non-seasonal migration is usually undertaken by young adults who spend from several months to a few years away from home. Slightly more men are involved than women and migrants usually seek non-permanent occupations, such as construction or employment in oil refineries and industry. Destinations are Aruba, Curacao, Trinidad, Barbados, and the Grenadines. Within this variety of migration one finds a recurrent migration pattern where, usually, men make periodic treks, of varying lengths of time in search of wage labor. Their intention is to acquire a stake.

Permanent migration involves continued residence in another country, most usually in the United Kingdom, Canada or the United States. However, since the migration to Canada and the United States is such a relatively recent phenomenon, it is difficult to determine if this will constitute permanent migration although some of the migrants have been living there for ten years. The feature of chain migration is present here, whereby an initial migrant settles into a host country and begins sending for spouse, children, and relatives.

No exact figures, other than those for the government sponsored seasonal laborers, could be uncovered during the research time.

Rastas

Except for a very few but prominent examples, most Rastas are the poor and uneducated youth who live in the hovels of "Bottom Town," "Paul's Lot," and "Uptown" in the capital city of Kingstown. For many, commitment to the holy word of Jah-Rastafari appears to focus on personal adornment and smoking marijuana in intense peer group gatherings. The wearing of dreadlocks and the sometimes menacing postures of Rastafari seen elsewhere in the Caribbean are largely absent. Most young Rastas of downtown Kingstown have nothing else to do with their lives. Most are so poor they must continue to live with their parents. They are neither spiritually nor politically organized and seem to be waiting out their teenage years until social and economic responsibilities or changes of adulthood force them into the substratum of the Vincentian occupational hierarchy. By and large they spend their days hanging around the market and docks in the hopes of running an errand or picking up piece work. They have no skills, no skills are being taught them, and jobs are unavailable. As with their non-Rasta counterparts, they face a relatively squalid future as marginal peasant farmers and

small-scale, impoverished banana cultivators (if they have access to a plot of land), or members of the urban unemployed.

The perception of these Rastas by the business people, press, police, and non-Rasta community is diffuse, unsystematic, and highly situational and personal. Although Rastas are commonly thought of as slovenly, lazy, dirty, with a propensity for petty theft and smoking marijuana, no special concern is expressed beyond the fear that their poorly designed Ital diet of fruit and vegetables would do them physical damage, especially with pregnant women. There is a lack of any effort or interest in orienting the movement towards any positive social or productive goals. The attitude seems to be that if one leaves the "problem" alone it will eventually go away, or the Rastas will "grow out of it."

There are Rastas in St. Vincent that present a different and interesting aspect of the movement. They are slightly older (in their 20s), ambitious, and take the basic teachings of Rastafari seriously. Although their work efforts may be individual or in small groups, they display a strong work ethic and sense of discipline and self-confidence.

Anthony. Anthony is a rural born, 21-year-old black Vincentian who has never left St. Vincent. For two years he has worked as an errand boy in a small Kingstown shop. He lives by himself in one room above a rum shop in one of the squalid sections of town. He is bright, articulate, healthy and self-confident. For him and others like him, Rastafari is a lifestyle that gives pleasure and meaning. During the past two years he has set aside one-quarter of every month's salary for the purchase of a plot of land adjacent to his parents' plot (which he will one day inherit). His strategy is to work several more years, by which time he will have enough money for a down payment on the plot where he wants to plant ground crops and vegetables with hopes of expanding to the raising of chickens and pigs. He would have done so already except that he could not secure a loan from any of the development agencies or banks in St. Vincent--even though his parents were willing to commit their house as collateral and his sister was will to have a lien on her salary as a nurse as additional backup. This does not surprise Anthony as he expects nothing from government.

Anthony eats Ital food but is very concerned about staying healthy and well nourished. He does not eat meat or fish, for he considers it to be the flesh of dead beasts. He drinks juices and eats fruit, eggs, cheese, vegetables, rice, peanuts, beans, and root crops. He runs and exercises every morning on the beach. He cooks his own meals and plans his own menus, something many men would be at a total loss to devise, plan and execute. He budgets a good deal of his small salary to food. He does not drink rum because he says it and other strong intoxicants blur one's wisdom and corrupt one's thought. Rather, he drinks several bottles of stout each day for "strength and power." He smokes marijuana on Saturday night (his sabbath) and at parties with his friends, not at every opportunity. Thus entertainment recreation are routinized and tied to scheduled activities.

When Anthony and others like him explain their beliefs they say their practices "purify and cleanse" them of evil and corruption. Their symbolism strikes again and again at the notion that society is unjust and corrupt, and in order to find salvation they must cleanse themselves of society's evils by eating only "natural" foods (i.e., vegetables-"bush") and avoiding intoxicants (which marijuana is not; as a plant, "bush," it is a natural substance). Rum has long debilitated the West Indian working classes, with the financial and physical consequences of heavy drinking a serious contemporary problem in the Caribbean. The esteemed physician, Dr. Michael Beaubrun of Trinidad, has gone so far as to call marijuana the "benevolent alternative" to rum (if not over-indulged in). He is not dropping out, but looks at his behavior as removing himself from the evils of corrupt politics and crass materialism. Agriculture, again "natural" is his chosen means of support.

At a deeper level Anthony is training and disciplining himself through a Rasta medium in a fashion that schools and other formal institutions have been unable to do. He also seeks his future in his own work and, as someone self-employed, sees his efforts advancing himself and not enriching someone else. For people like Anthony, Rastafari is neither a millennial dream of Mother Africa, nor a political cause to advance Black power and oust the corrupted lackeys of Babylon. It is, rather, a belief that gives him motivation and meaning in a society that will not or can not deliver the psychological or material satisfactions for which he strives.

Killer Sandy and the Kicking Hell Shoe Shop. The following article, taken from the West Indian Crusader of St. Vincent, describes the activities of Calvin "Killer" Sandy and his efforts at mounting a small business enterprise using Rasta employees.⁹

The shop, a one room street front house, endoses the activites of six young men between the ages of 16 and 24 who labor at cutting leather design, sewing and stitching, gluing and turning out sandals, shoes and boots. Their efforts are accompanied by the blaring rhythms of reggae, the walls are covered with photos and prints of North American Black singers and Trinidadian calypsonians. Friends and fellow Rastas stop by to chat, tell stories, exchange news, and enjoy themselves. Work at the Kicking Hell Shoe Shop is not considered servitude or drudgery or exploitation.

The Kicking Hell Shoe Shop was funded initially by a small seed money grant from C.A.D.E.C.; there was no further financial backing nor management, purchasing and marketing training. As a "business-entertainment" enterprise the shoe shop faces the problems of expansion. At this point the size of the operation and its weekly production makes the price of its shoes more expensive than those of the commerical, imported shoe stores. In one respect this is not a problem because

⁹The West Indian Crusader, St. Vincent, August 17, 1980, p. 9.

Mr. Sandy's leather, hand stitched shoes will far outlast the rubber soled, glued together footwear. However, like most small scale operations he produces only enough to pay his salaries and expenses and has nothing to reinvest. Commercial banks and development corporations do not regularly fund such small ventures; being a Rastafari and running what is at this point a specialized shoe shop would not help one's chances in securing financial backing. There is interest by some potential investors, who want him to produce more and thereby drop the unit cost of his shoes. This may be merely a communications problem, whereby the producers do not yet see the "advantages" of producing more.

There is widespread talk among Rastas in St. Vincent that they would like to engage in farming. However, the limitations that confront other willing agriculturalists face Rastas as well. It would seem that by working through the ideology of Rastafari and using it as a medium of communication, many highly motivated young people could be reached. If some of the professed goals of development include self-employment, local crafts, small to medium scale manufacture, and the attracting of younger people into agriculture, a Rasta segment may provide a resource not to be ignored. What would have to be provided to anyone else would have to be provided to them.

Identity Management

In St. Vincent many young people who are either unemployed or in such unremunerative and low status occupations as unskilled laborers, estate workers, porters, and errand-runners regularly point out that access to even a minor position requires the intervention and endorsement of a patron who will "arrange" matters. The term "godfather" was often used to describe such an intermediary. The patron-client relationship is a personal one and takes into consideration such factors as the client's family relationships, voting record and political party support, and record of favors given and promised. It should be emphasized that the jobs referred to here are not ones of high position but routine jobs such as streetcleaner, clerk, or night watchman. Observers often note, and Caribbean citizens will confirm, that politics is treated as a life and death issue; when you consider the importance of patronage jobs to those desperate for income, it is easier to understand why. Competition for the few positions available is intense and based on merit, or lack of it, that may have nothing to do with the job description.

The feeling of resigned frustration among young people in St. Vincent was marked. Even if one could secure a minor position, it was claimed, the opportunity ceiling was so low that any initiative and motivation was quenched. The position of women is unique in St. Vincent as this is the only area visited where discrimination on the basis of gender is embedded in law with enormous economic ramifications for women.

An often cited alternative to sullen resentment or unremunerative toil at a low status job was to leave the island. Proportionally St.

77a

YOU GOT TO HAVE CULTURE

WE probably could find some justification for the calypso sung by the Trinidadian who referred to some of our Rastamen as "counterfeits" and "imitations."

BY
ROOTSMAN

In the words of Calvin "Miller" Sandy, well-known Kingstown shoemaker "A Rasta should be a real cultured man and should be prepared to work."

Sandy was once a Rastaman in the middle 70's. But one morning, he suddenly got up and decided to cut his locks because he figured he really wasn't getting anywhere that way. Not that he has anything against the Rastamen, and you.

TURNUED OFF

"I was a Rasta in the days when there were not many of them around. But somehow I got turned off. I like the scene but I can't share the attitude of the majority of them," he says. "I believe a Rastaman should be cultured, should work and should believe in honesty. Not the way some of them behave."

Sandy 30, and proprietor of "Kicking Hell Shoe Shop", was a member of a Rasta group in 1976 that used to make fashionable earrings and rings, etc, from such things like coconut shells and gourd wood. But things

went bad, and it was like he could'nt turn to the cult for help.

CADEC came to the rescue for Sandy however, after he had switched to making footwear. He now boasts of two loans from CADEC since, and a good clientele.

LONG WAY

Sandy's shop is situated in St. George's place, opposite the Clivus Hotel and with the assistance of a team of four he can turn out up to forty pairs of leather shoes a week and in any given style - even built to order.

But Miller Sandy

came a long way. "long way from the day when he had to wear the first pair of shoes he made to make sure it fits like one, to his present standing as one of the best shoemakers around, with footwear he claims can last for years."

"I now feel perfect and relaxed."

"I WAS
A RASTA
IN THE
DAYS
WHEN
THERE
WERE NONE"



Mrs Owen design

"A RASTAMAN
SHOULD
BELIEVE
IN HONESTY"



Made in PEAK & LOT

"A RASTA
SHOULD
BE
PREPARED
TO
WORK"



They enjoy their work

Vincent had the highest emigration rate of the four islands in the Eastern Caribbean. However, such avenues for migration are now either shut off or made more difficult by quota and visa requirements. Nonetheless, many young men work on ships, either the smaller vessels that carry cargo to the surrounding islands or freighters engaged in more distant traffic, with the ultimate hope to secure residence in Barbados, Trinidad, or the United States.

As in most (ex-)colonial societies, a negative valance attached to local products; whether these are ideas, material items, or in this case, human resources. Imported ideas are considered superior, especially education and training. Thus, even the temporary sojourner who returns to St. Vincent with a skill or craft is credited with a legitimacy and competence that someone locally (with the same or superior expertise) would not enjoy, solely because it was learned abroad. This behavior only fuels the idea that merit or progress is irrational and not controllable.

Life in St. Vincent, especially for young people, takes on the dimensions of "more of the same"--an uninspiring, unchanging, introverted society that has been caught in the same suffocating matrix for as long as anybody can remember. The world seems to be changing around them, but there are no major watersheds or new opportunities to signal a break with the past and the emergence of a new more optimistic day. St. Vincent has not undergone the marked economic and social changes that loosened up the old colonial structure and gave rise to opportunities previously unknown, as happened in Barbados and Trinidad, for example. Behavior patterns in St. Vincent are still linked to the traditional modes of production and distribution of wealth and privilege. Barbados is really a different society for the children born in the 1960s than it was for their parents and grandparents. In St. Vincent youth grown up in circumstances economically similar to their parents, except that migration has made many inroads in what were once more closely knit settlements, and St. Vincent is now a cash economy with little means of generating its own.

Crime, Punishment, and Rehabilitation:

On a dark street in the poorest section of Kingstown one of the consultants was approached by a group of four young men late at night. He was asked if he wanted to buy marijuana and was cautioned, "people here not bad like in Jamaica, we not stick you with knife." This observation, though in part true, must be qualified and set in the context of a poor, provincial, very small, conservative society with severe limitations constraining the aspirations and expectations of its young people.

Police claim that although there is an increase in crime among persons under 16 years of age and between 16 and 21, the dimensions are not significant. Although the citizenry are ready to foist negative stereotypes on youth (lazy, insolent, immoral, and the like), crime is

not a topic of daily conversation and concern. Available figures indicate that in every category of offense, more crimes are committed by persons over the age of 21 than under.

For younger people the offense most committed was theft of property; usually from shops, stores, of unguarded property, and breaking into homes. There was little theft from the person; not surprising in a face-to-face society where the assailant could be easily identified and located. An interesting trend is the high degree of wounding and assault, not only among young people but throughout the population. One could postulate that in such a small-scale society--now under desperate economic stress and characterized by a sharp maldistribution of property, money, and status, and where people are in regular and daily contact with each other--there is an explosive tendency whereby disagreements and altercations are resolved through violence. One could turn this around and suggest that citizens without recourse to the established machinery of justice or who have reason to be distrustful of it, seek other means to vent their frustrations and "solve" their problems.

Table II:5 lists the number of persons sentenced for offenses in 1979. Sentences include a prison sentence, remand, corporal punishment, fines, dismissals, or community service orders. There is no information available on the number of offenses actually committed, number of arrests made but not brought to trial, or altercations resolved out of court.

Table II:5

Persons Sentenced, 1979

Total Offenses by All Ages	Offenses	Offenses Committed by Persons Aged 10-21	
		Male	Female
36	Rape	3 (8%)	0
14	Murder and Manslaughter	5 (35%)	0
350	Wounding (broken skin)	53 (15%)	5 (1%)
91	Offensive weapons (knives, clubs, etc.)	15 (16%)	3 (3%)
241	Stealing	28 (11.5%)	0
175	Breakins	62 (35.5%)	0
238	Praedial Larceny	54 (22.5%)	7 (3%)
301	Gambling and Narcotics	58 (19%)	5 (1.5%)
1359	Petty Assault	110 (8%)	41 (3%)
608	Major Assault	58 (9.5%)	11 (2%)
<u>3413 (100%)</u>	Totals	<u>446 (13%)</u>	<u>72 (2%)</u>
		<u>518 (15%)</u>	

Most of the offenses, and certainly the most serious, took place in the city of Kingstown. Outside the city, and concentrated in the rural farming areas, praedial larceny was most prevalent and involved the theft of fruits, garden crops, work implements and animals. There is no concrete information on the degree of marijuana cultivation, importation, or sale. However, it appears that marijuana is grown locally and readily available. Officialdom in St. Vincent does not seem inordinantly concerned about this offense. Compared regionally, blue collar or "public" crime in St. Vincent would rank low on its scale of seriousness.

Also, no particular group seems to be singled out by police as the "cause" of crime. Although youth are not praised for their perceived attributes, neither are they condemned. One is left with the impression that the young are just there--on the corners, unemployed, truant from school--and neither a factor for encouragement nor concern. This applies also to St. Vincent's incipient Rasta movement.

However, there are several disturbing matters. Two issues, involving women as victims and the rehabilitation of youthful (male) offenders, require further discussion. Women's issues are not considered important in social planning, and the general concern for the socio-economic and political advancement of women is at best reactionary. What is disturbing in the field of crime is not only the high number of reported rapes but the widespread feeling that a large number of rapes go unreported or are solved by such out of court means as paying money to the victim's family, promising to provide for any child that may result, character defamation, or intimidation. Several well-placed and informed persons claimed that this was only part of a larger process of sexual exploitation and intimidation that confronts females. Sexual favors are often requested when a female requires, for example, assistance or solicits a job, and the fine edge between consenting adults and abuse of power and prerogative is, reportedly, regularly transgressed.

Conditions for the detention of offenders are abysmal. The police station lock-up, the prison (for men), and the detention center for juvenile offenders are obsolete. Facilities for rehabilitation and after care are non-existent or so mismanaged, understaffed, and underfunded that they are ineffectual or worse. There are no facilities for females. At the time of our visit, we were told there was one woman in prison (because of the Union Island uprising in 1979) alone with one female guard in a wing of an old building far outside of town. It amounts to solitary confinement for the prisoner and guard alike.

It was also pointed out that because of the crowded conditions of prison, lack of staff to look after detainees, and the expense of maintaining prisoners, magistrates were more and more turning to fines as punishment especially in cases involving young people whose crimes were not very serious. However, such a sentence places an additional hardship on families and parents of young people, who are probably unemployed and dependent on their parents already. Several stories emerged during our stay about families who had to mortgage houses and sell personal property in order to pay a fine levied on their sons who had been convicted of smoking marijuana. One such fine was for US\$385.

The Liberty Lodge detention center for juvenile offenders and "wayward boys" houses approximately 25 youths between the ages of 8 and 16. Not all the boys are offenders in a criminal sense. Many are simply school truants or children forced into vagabondage because of inept or cruel parents and a desperate home life (i.e., beaten, not fed, nor clothed). Although the professed goal of the center is to "get boys back into society," there are no training or educational facilities available of any scope or seriousness to undertake this task. One can anticipate that they will return to the same environments they came from with no additional skills or changed points of view. Also, Vincentians resist hiring such people; the feeling is widespread that one who has been to Liberty Lodge is a "bad boy." In a highly personalized society such a stigma is damning.

Several leading jurists in the Caribbean have suggested that imprisonment and fines be replaced with "community service orders" where the offender is not locked up but ordered to do public service (painting public buildings, cleaning streets, or applying his or her particular skill) for the community.

Crime in St. Vincent has neither reached a high level nor victimized influential persons enough to be an issue of concern. For the time being the situation will remain in a gloomy stasis. However, frustrations are increasing among young people.

Their reactions at this stage are sullenness and lethargy. Whether these frustrations will be vented in increased crime, a search for alternative political systems, or perhaps, an increased participation in millennial cult groups such as Rastafari is problematic. The one sure matter is that something in the system must give to provide young people with opportunities to advance themselves and find a meaningful place in their communities economic and prestige structure. At this point almost nothing is available to them.

Clubs Voluntary Organizations, and Informal Groups

Approximately 60 youth clubs operate in St. Vincent. Most of them, unless specifically designed for a gender-related activity such as soccer or needlework, have both male and female members from 14 to 25 years old. The number of members often depends on the club's activities and the size of the community. Average membership varies between 15 and 60. A list of various club activities, compiled by the consultants through the administration of a questionnaire, includes sports (cricket, soccer, netball and table tennis), cookery, school study and homework shops, cultural projects (music, art, poetry and drama), sewing and garment making for own use and sale, fund raising (dances, bingo, fairs, tea parties, soliciting donations, games and walks), religious worship, and community work such as helping the old and sick, cleaning the village, road repair, house painting, and sponsoring seminars by government extension agents.

Each club has a core of officers, usually older members who are the most enthusiastic. Other young people attend only for events that suit them or come for entertainment. Club leadership tends to be in the hands of the better educated young people (primary school graduates and secondary school pupils and graduates). Clubs are highly decentralized and lack a national coordinating body for several reasons. There was a National Youth Council active through the 1960s and early 1970s, but it is now dormant. A small operating stipend was provided by government. Lack of imaginative and hardworking personnel at the center was the most cited reason for the collapse of the coordinating body. However, a central coordinating agency also had to court irregular government funding which could be withheld, and face the expensive and time consuming logistics of transportation and communication in St. Vincent. It also appears that the establishment of a formalized central committee was putting the cart before the horse. Work had to be done strengthening local groups and building a grass roots foundation before the ambitious task of establishing a national body could be broached.

An often cited complaint was that clubs had no place to meet. St. Vincent does not have a network of community centers which could be used. Schools were a possibility but club members claimed that they could only be used at inconvenient times, had to be rearranged and later cleaned up after meetings, and did not give the feeling that the meeting place was "theirs" and an enjoyable place to be. Consequently, meetings must be held in someone's yard or, more regularly, in a rented meeting hall. Members stated that a meeting place very rarely was donated, and some felt they were being gouged by local older officials on rent. They felt this was unfair as money could be better used to purchase sports equipment, materials for craft work, or for distribution among members. A number of young people also interpreted the unwillingness of village elders to relax rental fees as a further sign of the older generation's hostility, and lack of understanding of the predicament of the young, especially those already out of school and unemployed.

St. Vincent has no significant youth projects or programs that draw upon the support of youth as do St. Lucia and Dominica. Although the situation in St. Vincent suggests that there is a ready resource of young people in the island willing to participate in activities that could potentially be molded into a development effort, only inadequate and unsystematic support from government, private organizations, the churches, and schools is forthcoming. One young man, the president of a local club, wrote a report for us and included the following analysis of the problems clubs confront:

In St. Vincent youth encounters various problems. To begin with there is no serious governmental organization that looks into youth affairs. There was a National Youth Council in St. Vincent, but, this organization cannot help the youths because it is financially weak, it does not function sufficiently within the rural areas, and its programs are only designed for the educated.

It is difficult to argue strongly for an endorsement of youth groups in St. Vincent based simply on their concrete accomplishments. However, considering what youth clubs and informal groups in Dominica and St. Lucia have done with private voluntary organization and governmental support, one could anticipate a growth in youth productivity and participation in national society if the encouragement and support were provided them. Youths do represent an enormous amount of energy and "loose" time. In 1973 it took an average of three years for school leavers to find a job; in 1980 it was estimated to take about five years. One Vincentian noted that the young "hang around for one to three years learning to live without a job. The under-privileged ones get so they don't care; the privileged feel immune." As the young appear capable of organizing themselves with little help from elders and state organization, it would seem useful to help fill the unemployed years with productive activities, while others figure out ways to create employment for when they are adults. As a basis for social action youth clubs in St. Vincent could at least provide a forum for information distribution and basic training in agricultural and craft techniques. A more ambitious task would include the cultivation of local level development projects such as community work, agricultural training and skill training in small groups. Funding for such programs would be crucial, but not the largest of the expenditures. The most demanding task would be the development of a national consciousness aimed at salvaging and training youth through their incorporation into a sensitive and well-planned program of national development.

Many women participate in organizations outside of the home. Exactly who they are and how many of them are engaged in club or organizational activities was not possible to discern. What organizations there are range from national level service clubs and professional associations, whose membership include the better educated and financially secure, to grassroots level informal groups of women who collaborate regularly. The latter are, generally, unrecognized as formal standing bodies.

Organizations tend to be of five types: affiliates of political parties, religious or denominational organizations, social clubs, professional organizations, and sports clubs. Almost all organizations are service clubs and do not directly act to sponsor or promote women's issues. However, since many of their activities deal with nutrition, child welfare, and health, such clubs do reach a mainly female clientele.

Local level clubs or groups appear to be very fragile. Emigration appears to have siphoned off members in some cases, weakening the body left behind. The basic reasons that the clubs and organizations appear fragile is that resources necessary for joining an organization are lacking for many people; time and money, both to be budgeted in a regular and repetitive pattern; a modicum of economic stability and status in the local community that would allow a free mingling and cooperation with others. Many organizations are church-affiliated, and those outside of that communion are excluded, while the poor, and those who are of questionable morals and character often do not participate, having fallen out of the ring of respectability. In St. Vincent, there are

people who cannot afford a pair of shoes; in a culture where style is important, you do not join a club when you cannot buy shoes.

The National Council of Women (NCW) has branches in 11 locations throughout the island and affiliates with such a broad group of professional and service organizations as the Mother's Union, Nurses' Association, Methodist Women's League, Y.W.C.A., Anglican Youth Movement, and the Salvation Army. It has made an attempt to rally women with the goals of advancing the conditions of women, a new prospective for St. Vincent. Although the first response was positive from all levels of society, the actual membership recruited was almost all young, to the age of 25. Very few middle-aged or older women joined. As one recruiter pointed out: "They work very hard in their homes and communities but they are not aware what they are accomplishing or can accomplish." She went on to note that young people, having had more education and exposure are "bolder" and more apt to participate in the NCW. The members and officers of NCW are aware of the economic and legal straits of women in St. Vincent. However, they lack the experience and expertise required to organize income generating projects that will succeed in replacing sewing circles.

Skills Training and Income Generating Programs

Training programs analogous to the national youth skills training program in Barbados and its embryonic counterpart in St. Lucia, or the extensive networks of grassroots level training and development efforts found in Dominica and St. Lucia, are totally absent in St. Vincent. Few plans exist to prepare workers for anything except immediate guaranteed positions provided by outside sources of hiring and investment.

Apart from the advanced technical education offered at the Technical College and fortuitous, personally arranged apprenticeships, there are no facilities available for young people to learn a semi- or skilled craft. Several government divisions, private groups, and public agencies have made small efforts in the direction of vocational training and income generation and are listed here.

Several tie-dying and batik cloth establishments are located in St. Vincent. Sea Island cotton is imported in bolts and cut, dyed, and sewn into garments. Four or five young people per establishment are hired and seem to be permanent staff. Women in the adjacent village sew the garments, an extension of employment opportunities beyond the business establishment. No expansion in the operation is anticipated. Ownership is foreign.

The St. Vincent Council of Churches, with funding from C.A.D.E.C., is attempting to establish a comprehensive community resettlement scheme involving the most depressed area of the impoverished village of Barrouallie on the leeward coast. The plan calls for adjacent church land to be donated or sold at low cost to the community members. Government is supposed to contribute trucks and working materials to assist in land development, the people are to supply labor, the Council

of Churches, through outside sources of funding, is to provide low cost housing. However, this has been in the planning stages since 1972, and the residents have lost interest in it. There was another attempt to establish an agricultural cooperative and a youth group to make toys and simple implements for sale in town. This project never materialized. Evidently residents want something concrete, and until they get either house or land they are unwilling to commit a great deal of energy, time, and hope. The St. Vincent Council of Churches has two highly motivated and committed fieldworkers, but problems they face are staggering.

The extra-mural campus of the University of the West Indies in St. Vincent initiated a pilot project for the manufacture of low cost footwear. Evidently there was interest by a number of young people to participate in the project. Funding, although it had reached high levels with U.S.A.I.D., was never secured because of internal Vincentian communication problems. It was claimed by several persons that government is unwilling to sponsor activities among people that would make them independent and thus reduce their reliance on government patronage, approval and bestowal of favors.

The Ministry of Home Affairs through its Community Development Division has sponsored the establishment of 16 craft centers around the island that market through the St. Vincent Craftsman Marketing Co-op in Kingstown. About 200 to 300 people, approximately 80 percent of whom are young women, fashion straw goods, pottery, woven items, trinkets, and preserved food items. The goal of this effort was to have people leave the craft centers after improving skills and establish their own craft enterprises, but such enterprises failed to develop. An advisor to this program claimed that although funding was a problem it was not the major one. He stated flatly that there was utter lack of skills--technical and managerial--and that the poorer, uneducated were simply not prepared to undertake any independent venture. He made the shrewd observation that people associated any government sponsored project with the dole and thus did not take it seriously or took it for what it was worth until the money ran dry. Other problems include the emphasis of personal ties and favoritism in a small scale society, the unavailability of raw materials and tools, and the lack of financing for small business from development organizations.

Young people will not be readily attracted to income generating programs or be willing participants in a national development effort on the promise of weaving straw bonnets and bags all their lives. Technical school is out of reach of most of them and street wisdom has it that even if you graduate from there were no jobs available anyway for such an advanced education.

The largest training program currently active in St. Vincent is the result of successful government efforts to attract off-shore industry. Baylis Brothers, an American company specializing in smocked children's wear, has expanded its operation from Barbados to St. Vincent to take advantage of the cheap and large labor pool. This industry, as in Barbados, will inadvertently employ many more women than men. The basic reason is cultural, insofar as few men are willing to sew for a living.

The training involved consists of teaching all interested people of any age how to read the various smocking designs printed on pre-cut fabric, smock and decorate the pieces, and meet the deadlines established by the company for the return of finished pieces. For the near future all of the smocking will be done by women in their homes. Baylis Brothers arranged for a trainer to come to St. Vincent. She in turn recruited others she taught personally, selecting the best students as tutors. The tutors then dispersed, recruiting and training others, who in turn teach kin, neighbors, club members and school girls. At the time of our visit, over 800 smockers were already active in St. Vincent. The company ultimately will get a large trained work force for very little financial investment.

Smockers are paid per piece completed up to standard, the price per piece varying with the complexity of the design. The most complicated piece earned a smocker US\$0.35. It was estimated that "some women can do three of those pieces in a day," yielding US\$1.06. No salaries are paid during training, which takes a maximum of three weeks. Company records are not tabulated so that minimum and maximum incomes of smockers are not known. The low pay has been and continues to be the biggest complaint of all the women involved in smocking. They are caught in a dilemma; if they refuse to work for such wages, the company may go elsewhere in the Eastern Caribbean. It has the advantage of allowing women and school girls to make some extra cash while still handling housework and child care, and in some cases, holding down other jobs. Productivity is kept down, moreover, by low wages, lack of electricity in a number of areas and houses, by the transportation problems and expenses for the women to and from the depots, and for the company which needs to deliver new fabric and collect finished pieces.

A number of women and young girls interviewed, in Kingstown and elsewhere in the state, indicated that they looked forward to the company establishing a factory in St. Vincent where the garments would be fully assembled. Many indicated that they would be interested more in factory work than in continuing the less lucrative smocking at home, even if it entailed a move to the industrial park near the capital. Beyond income was the consideration by some that factory work would constitute a "real" job out of the home.

Illustration II:1 indicates that schools will be teaching home economics students the smocking required by the company. It was noted by one observer, who was not a native of St. Vincent but came to the island after years of working in Barbados, that Vincentians are "not accustomed to production," by which was meant the putting together of speed, skill, assembly line, and quality control techniques. Teaching students to smock, it was added, may help to teach "production" at an early age and give the younger students a chance at being better and therefore more attractive workers for whatever other businesses the government may lure into the territory. It should be noted that a number of the most successful tutors who organized and taught women outside of the capital city were women who had many years of involvement in clubs and community groups. They knew, therefore, who to tap and how. They also had the reputations that allowed many women to trust them to make delivery of finished products for them, and to handle the payroll.

Illustration II:1

3,000 PLUS FOR HAND SMOCKING

Over 3000 women in St. Vincent and the Grenadines are to be trained in the art of Hand Smocking over the next two years.

This was stated on Monday June 16th by Mr. George Fox, President of Baylis Brothers in a Press Conference held in the Conference room of the Development Corporation.

Baylis Brothers which is an American Company, has subsidiaries in Barbados and St. Vincent and is renowned the world over for its high standard in the field of Hand Smocking.

The main purpose of this program is to provide meaningful employment to women and other interested persons.

Mr. Fox stated that the training has already begun and over 500 women have already been trained. However due to various problems in the co-ordination of the training program, it was necessary to re-organize the managerial aspect of the Home Smocking Industry. In keeping with this decision, Mr. Kingsley Layne has been appointed General Manager and is to be

directly responsible for the supervision of six area managers who in turn will be responsible for the functioning of twenty four training centres.

At present there are sixteen centres already established. These are situated

in Elisabeth, Colcunario, South Rivers, Mesopotamia, Barrouallie, Vermont, Frances, Georgetown, Calliequa, Fountain, Richland Park, Troumeca, Diamond, New Grounds, Oxid and Ston Hill.

The total training programme will be for a duration of 18 wks, with a 3 weeks orientation period and bonus incentives being given on the 11th week and on the completion of the training.

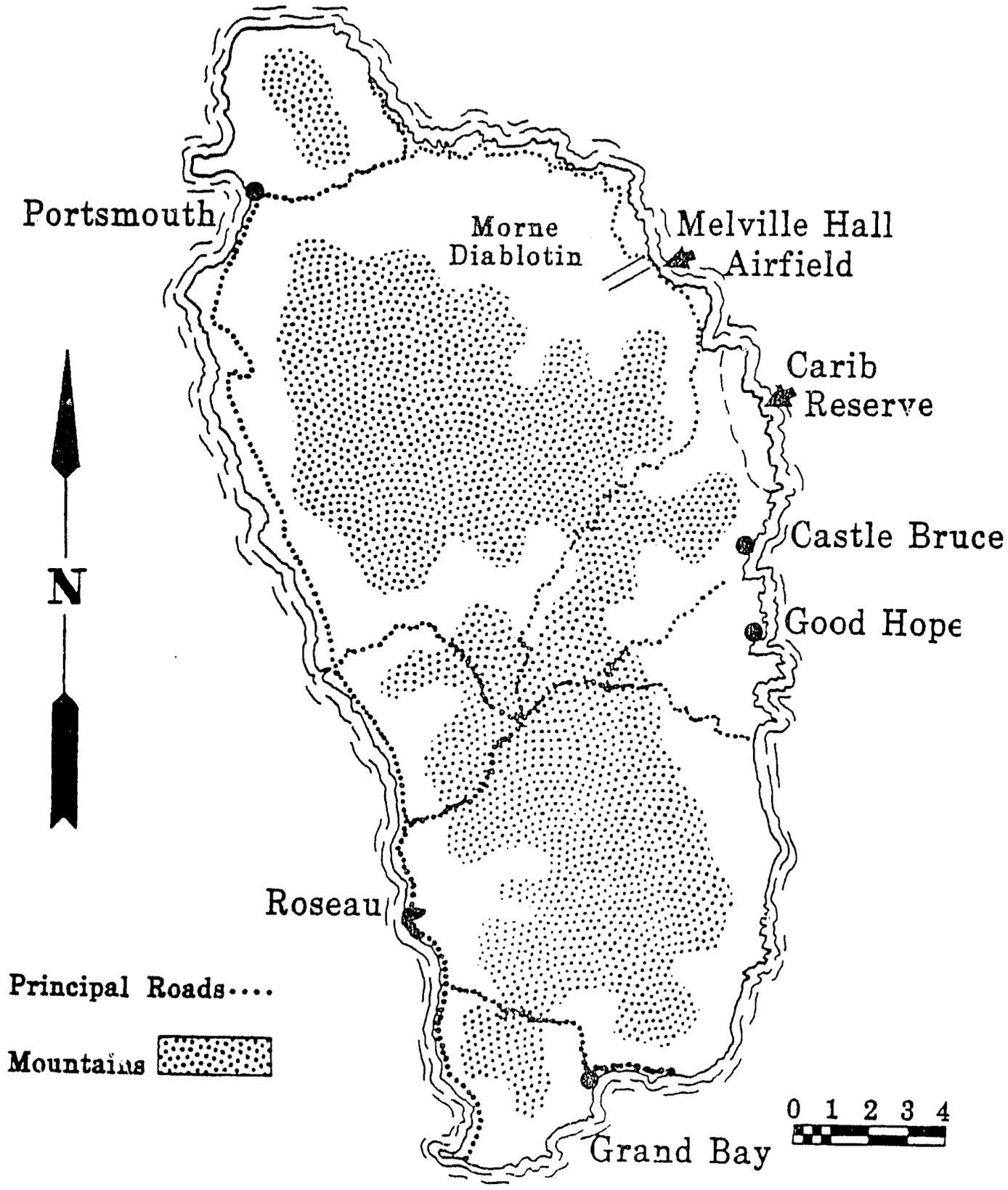
Some 18 Primary Schools are also taking part in the program and it is hoped to expand the training program to all schools in the near future.



At least 3000 women are to be trained in the art of hand smocking over the next two years.

Source: The West Indian Crusader, St. Vincent, June 20, 1980.

DOMINICA



Portsmouth

Morne Diablotin

Melville Hall
Airfield

Carib Reserve

Castle Bruce

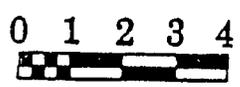
Good Hope

Roseau

Principal Roads.....

Mountains 

Grand Bay



Dominica

Unemployment

The economy of Dominica is experiencing serious and widespread economic and financial problems. The physical capital is decaying, output and exports of many products are not only below their potential but also below the levels attained a decade ago, public finances are in severe disequilibrium, unemployment is causing severe hardship and deleterious social conditions; housing, water and sewerage are much worse than those in the rest of the region.

The standard warnings about measuring and determining the extent of unemployment in Dominica must be voiced. First, the only solid, systematic data base for the country that may be compared to other CARICOM countries remains the Commonwealth Census of 1970. Problems with conceptualization and methodology aside, the census was undertaken before the world recession of the mid 1970s and does not address the serious economic consequences and dislocations caused by mismanagement of the economy in the late 1970s and the disastrous effect of the 1979 and 1980 hurricanes. For purposes of comparison, however, the 1970 figures are given in Table II:6 and are followed in Table II:7 by several later survey estimates provided by reportage from various sources. The reader is advised to bear in mind that the early figures are obsolete while the later figures are not systematic and comprehensive. In all cases there is significant variation in the figures given.

Table II:6

Percentage of Unemployment by Age Groups and Sex (Commonwealth Census, 1970)										
14 Yrs. of Age & Over		14-19 Yrs.		20-24 Yrs.		25-59 Yrs.		60 & Over		
Male & Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
7.0	6.2	8.3	28.7	29.6	4.6	9.2	1.1	1.4	0.2	1.0

A Peace Corps "fact sheet" for 1975 claims that unemployment for the whole society stands at 22 percent while underemployment (not defined) adds an additional 12 percent.

A Dominica National Planning Office report, issued in 1976 and designed to investigate incomes, employment, and migration in Dominica, states that the overall unemployment rate stands at 22.7 percent. For that same period a U.S.A.I.D. report fixes unemployment at 20 to 23 percent.

A Dominica National Structure plan, published in 1976 and undertaken with the assistance of a United Nations Development Program team, provides the most discriminating categories, though the data are from the 1970 census.

Its major discovery is that unemployment in the age group 15 to 19 amounts to over 30 percent.

Table II:7

Unemployment Rates in Percentages

<u>Age Group</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Total</u>
15-19	29	32	31
20-24	6	12	8
15 and over	8	10	8

The overall unemployment figures appear much too low; especially in light of other corroborative studies made, and the general impression that the economy is in a period of abject stagnation. A general unemployment figure of 20 to 25 percent would seem to be more accurate; while the figure for school leavers and those between 15 and 19 years of age would approach 35 to 40 percent.

A school leavers tracer study undertaken in 1978 supports these estimates, and in a comparison of a rural and an urban junior secondary school and secondary school, makes the following observations.

Reasons for unemployment

1. Willing to work but no work available.
2. Wanted work and were willing to work but either work not available or they specifically lacked the training for the job.
3. Were needed to help with domestic activities. Specifically, rural boys were needed to work on garden plots and both rural and urban girls were needed for domestic help.
4. Were pregnant or caring for their children and thus unable to work. This applied to both rural and urban young women.

The problem of youthful unemployment in the rural areas tended to overwhelmingly effect females as males could be at least marginally and part-time engaged in helping their parents in agriculture work or tending their own small gardens. In the urban area unemployment effected young males and females equally. It should be pointed out that although rural boys were "working" they were totally dependent on their parents for support and earned only "pocket change." For young rural women the

situation is more complicated. It is suggested that having children is as much a response to unemployment as it is a cause of it. Young women with children felt that this was a way of attracting financial support from the father and thus reducing the burden that they were on their parents.

Occupational Multiplicity

Occupational multiplicity in Dominica is quite similar in organization to St. Vincent. Both societies are impoverished with little capital available. Dominica, however, has had its situation exacerbated by two hurricanes that literally brought all activities on the island to a halt. Shops remain unopened, assembly plants have shut down, crops were destroyed (both cash crops and subsistence) for two years running, and business is slack. It is widely known that people are hoarding money--probably waiting for the next disaster--rather than reinvesting it in agriculture or business. Several prosperous people we met kept old mayonnaise jars stuffed full of EC\$100 notes. A well informed source also told how he simply does not understand how poor people can survive. He knows of households where there is not one single identifiable source of cash or food.

Thus, the limitations on occupational multiplicity are severe in Dominica; as there are not many extra job alternatives for any individual or household. Two adaptations to this economic marginality are made. Cash flow out of the household is reduced to an absolute minimum; that is, nothing unnecessary is purchased. Water is substituted for soft drinks, purchases at the market are items replaced by the household's own garden, people stay home and listen to the radio or tell stories rather than go to the movies, they stop drinking alcohol or substitute local raw rum for the preferred scotch. Although the figures are not available, it would not be surprising if a fair amount of people left Roseau for the countryside, to plant on family plots and possibly live more cheaply.

Occupational Preference

For young Dominicans education means upward mobility, prestige, access to wealth and the professions, a secure income, and a chance to be the someone they aspire to be. For the rural poor of Dominica, the vast majority of the island's small population, these goals are regularly unattainable. In a society still stratified by color and class, overwhelmingly rural and agricultural, possessing precious few job opportunities, and recently devastated by two hurricanes, problems are great. Dominica's salvation may lay in its ruralness; its young people have not been attracted away from agriculture on the same scale as their counterparts in other Eastern Caribbean islands. Deep feelings exist for "roots" among young people, and there is a willingness to consider own-account agriculture as an occupational possibility. Nonetheless, a young

person's occupational preferences, while still in school, are for work and careers unavailable to them.

An anthropological study undertaken in Dominica in the late 1960s by Joyce Justus revealed that primary and secondary pupils had uniformly high aspirations about their future education as well as occupations. In a sample of rural students from three villages, Justus analyzed distributions of aspirations:¹⁰ Of primary school boys 2.4 percent wanted to quit school, 20 percent wanted to graduate from secondary school, 24.2 percent wanted to go on to trade or technical school, 6.4 percent desired teacher training college, while 47 percent wanted to go to university. Among primary school girls none wanted to quit school, 16.9 percent wanted to graduate from secondary school, 5.2 percent wanted technical training, 5.9 percent desired teacher training, 23.7 percent wanted nursing school and 48.3 percent looked forward to university. For male secondary school students 5 percent wanted to quit school, 10 percent wanted to graduate and 85 percent wished to go to university. Secondary school females demonstrated more varied educational goals. None wished to quit school, 21.4 percent wished to graduate from secondary school, 4.8 percent wished to go to trade or technical training, 7.1 percent desired teacher training, 4.8 percent continued interest in nursing, and 61.9 percent wanted to go on to university. One immediate observation is that boys in secondary school lose all interest in attending a trade or technical training program. Secondary school females drop sharply their interest in nursing and replace it with university. Also, as a total, fewer primary school students aspire to secondary school than secondary school students aspire to university. It seems that the longer one is in school the higher one's aspirations.

To provide a sense of scale, Dominica's population in 1980 was estimated at about 80,000 people (with roughly 49 percent under 15 years of age). At that time there were 20,681 young people enrolled in primary and junior secondary school and 2,525 enrolled in secondary school. The drop in enrollment is stark, and does not include how many of that number will yet quit school or drop out during the academic year. The number of primary school students who will achieve their goal of advanced education is minimal, as is the number of secondary school students who will attend university. Educational aspirations are unrealistically high.

Justus next queried her sample as to their occupation preferences. It should be recognized that the young people's responses may bear little relation to the occupations they expect to obtain or will obtain. They do tell us what occupational models students have been exposed to--by parents, mass media or school--and what social factors may be

¹⁰ Joyce Justus, "The Utmost for the Highest: Adolescent Aspirations in Dominica, W.I." (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, university of California at Los Angeles, 1971), p. 58.

instrumental in blocking these goals. Primary school males overwhelmingly chose mechanical and technical trades, followed by teaching and office work. Primary school females selected nursing, teaching, and clerical work. Secondary school males preferred the professions, followed by teaching and "administrative" work. Females at that level opted for teaching, the professions, and nursing. Little mention was made of farming. However, the students were not directly asked about farming, so it is possible they exercised the liberty of giving vent to their fantasies and aspirations while ignoring certain realities. It is also conceivable, given the regional proclivity towards occupational multiplicity, that agriculture may be part of their intended future work, but not the focal point. As we discovered in face-to-face discussions with young people (i.e., not questionnaires), there was not an outright dismissal of farming and the trades, especially the latter.

It is possible that the discrepancy in our findings with those of the Justus study may be due to three general factors. First, the methodology of our study relied on talking to people on their own territory. Rather than asking someone to abstractly rank "preferences," we queried them as to the possibilities their immediate circumstances offered. Although certain occupations were aspired to most young people realized that other occupations were to be expected. It is in the expected category that they exercised their preferences and spoke of technical work, skilled labor, the trades and agriculture, provided the latter could provide a living without undue hardship. Second, there have been certain advances made in job opportunities for Dominicans since the late 1960s. Perhaps the presence of middle range job possibilities has attracted young people to think of them, rather than more abstract, almost whimsical choices. Finally, Dominica has, in many ways, suffered through a trying decade. Many grand thoughts, promises, and visionary claims have fallen flat in the eyes of watchful youth. Their expectations may be tempered by the demanding experience of the decade in which they have grown up. Two hurricanes have done little to encourage fantasy. In fact, it was discovered that young Dominicans have a strong sense of commitment to their nation and to working at advancing its interests as well as their own through hard and diligent labor. Dominican young people were the most energetic, hard working, and enthusiastic that we observed during the field trip to the Eastern Caribbean. Devastation (followed by a renewed political order) seem to motivate young people.

Two instances stand out. First, the government announced that it was establishing a pilot project for a youth skills training program to teach skills such as carpentry, electrical work, auto mechanics and masonry, (outside of the regime of the technical college). So many young men showed up from all over the island (no mean feat) that there was not enough space for them nor staff to process them, nor application forms for them to fill out. Officials were flabbergasted. Second, self-help projects supported by government have been grafted onto local level community groups to undertake local level, small-scale development efforts. Young and old, male and female, were toiling in the noon day sun rebuilding seawalls, cleaning out brush, fashioning water catchments, and digging road beds with picks and shovels. On top of all of this, young people--rural and poor--expressed an interest in agriculture--if only they could make a living at it.

Constraints to Small-Scale Agricultural Development

In general, the problems faced by the small farmer in Dominica are similar to those discussed for St. Vincent. With a similar terrain and roughly similar history, Dominica confronts the same demographic, economic, ecological and belief and value system limitations as St. Vincent (and St. Lucia).

However, two features, one contemporary and the other very traditional, serve to distinguish small scale agriculture and the potential for small agriculture in Dominica from the situation in the other LDCs.

Hurricane David has wrought more than physical destruction. It is our contention that it has affected not only certain social features of Dominican life but also values and judgments Dominicans make about their lives, their future--and in some cases their politics (more than once we heard that the former Prime Minister was being punished for his excesses and that David was a "sign").

For small farmers, who grow banana for cash and ground provisions for staples, David and Allen devastated their production. Fields of banana were blown flat and had to be either replanted or trimmed back to small shoots. Purely agricultural wisdom states that a new crop could be harvested in nine months. This estimate, however, does not include the problems associated with the purchase of or access to new plants, the acquisition of labor to undertake the massive chore of cleaning and replacing fields, the lack of capital to replant and the fact that many people had little to eat because their food crops were destroyed as well. Priorities, for small farmers with little cash and multiple occupations and responsibilities, included such matters as replacing the roof of one's house, obtaining food and potable water, and seeking new or alternative sources of income. In some cases, income producing crops such as the nutmeg tree will take a decade to grow to fruition. Schools, churches, community centers are still in disrepair. Outside of Roseau electrical and telephone services have not been reestablished.

One of the immediate effects of hurricane David was social trauma and demoralization among large segments of the island's population. Other sections of the report point out that, apart from natural disasters, the decade of the 1970s has been a particularly trying one for Dominicans. The physical impacts of the hurricanes are already known to U.S.A.I.D.; it is of other constraints, and opportunities, which we wish to note here.

There is an extremely strong current in Dominican rural life that serves to bind people and communities together and promote work and common effort. Rural Dominicans, probably some of the most isolated populations in the Caribbean, have a long tradition of village council government and clubs and voluntary organizations at the local community level. Rural citizens still rely on one another for exchange labor and various types of communal cooperation. Various "self-help" projects sponsored jointly by local communities, national governments, and

outside sources of financing have been successfully grafted onto these local groups and will be discussed in another section. For small scale agricultural development the possibilities are great.

Young people are very close to their rural roots in Dominica and continue to work, as best they can, in agriculture. Urbanization and advanced education have not siphoned young people off into other occupations as much as elsewhere. The occupational opportunities themselves, especially since David, have been so limited that there is little other work to realistically attract one's attention. Of all the islands in the Eastern Caribbean, Dominica has the strongest commitment and interest in agriculture, and leads the region with 87 percent of its work force involved in agriculture.

Nonetheless, small farming requires more than enthusiasm to survive. Dominica lacks capital for financing and loans, equipment, tools, seeds, fertilizer, and transportation networks. Feeder roads to inaccessible villages, markets, and unexplored lands are perhaps the most serious shortcomings. Farm size and land tenure systems present problems for a viable small farm sector. Agricultural land is very unevenly distributed in Dominica. The 1961 Dominica Census of Agriculture, summarized in Table II: showed that holdings of less than 2 hectares comprise 69 percent of the farm holdings but only 11 percent of the farm land. Holdings of more than 40 hectares comprise 1 percent of the holdings and 56 percent of the farm land. The 1971 Census shows no change.

Table II:8

<u>Size in Hectares</u>	<u>Number of Holdings</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Less than 0.4 hectares	1305	20
0.4 - 2.0 hectares	3273	49
2 - 4 hectares	1244	19
4 - 10 hectares	493	7
10 - 40 hectares	293	4
Over 30 hectares	-	1

The 1979 World Bank Report on Dominica claims:

Agriculture is the hub of Dominica's economy. Arable land is not in short supply, attractive opportunities exist for increasing agricultural output and growth of the sector can take place both extensively and intensively. For the potential to be realized, additional areas of crown lands will need to be opened up and colonized, support services

will have to be greatly strengthened and additional investments in feeder roads will be required.¹¹

These special problems, coupled with the general problems confronting small scale agriculture in the LDCs have not yet stifled the interest of young Dominicans to enter farming as an occupation. That in itself is nothing short of remarkable.

Women

In early 1980 the party of Miss Eugenia Charles won an overwhelming electoral mandate to form a government and Miss Charles was appointed prime Minister. After over five years of mismanaged national government and two devastating hurricanes there was the widespread feeling that the older, conservative, unmarried, upper-class lady would "put things right." A male member of a defeated party dissented, claiming that since Miss Charles has borne no children she was incomplete as a woman and not having gone through childbirth could never "understand human suffering." This story will likely remain an often cited example of a fresh boy who talked "big" but was taught his lesson by a woman. The reality is that Dominica boasts the first freely-elected female head of state in North America. It is also true that Dominicans recognize Miss Charles as exceptional (whatever the gender). The overall objective evaluation of the position of women in Dominican society, however, gives pause for thought. Miss Charles is indeed an exception; most women in Dominica do not have such a rosy future.

Education, the vehicle up and out as perceived by most West Indians, seems to bode well for Dominican females in public schools. Characteristically boys outnumber girls in primary school but not by a great margin. In a population of roughly 75,000 to 80,000, with a primary school enrollment of 24,222, there were 12,364 boys and 11,858 girls registered in 1979. The enrollment of boys begins to decline in grade six and actually more girls attend grades seven and eight than do boys. Junior secondary school records indicate that in a total enrollment of 1,198 there are 698 girls registered to 500 boys. By the time of the 11-plus exams, girls (throughout the Caribbean) begin to outnumber boys in school enrollment.

With secondary school the figures jump. In a total enrollment of 2,524 one finds 1,465 young women and 1,029 young men. On paper it seems to stand that more women are getting educated, and getting better educations, than are men.

Employment figures in Dominica, however, do not indicate that the higher education figure for females is paying off in jobs; more women

¹¹ World Bank, Economic Memorandum for St. Dominica (World Bank: Washington, D.C., 1980), p. 11.

are unemployed than men. The 1970 Commonwealth Census shows that for the age groups 15 to 19 years, 29 percent of the males were unemployed as against 32 percent of the females. For the age groups 20 to 24 years 6 percent of the males are unemployed against 12 percent for females. Since the economic situation in Dominica has considerably worsened due to the slump of world economies in the mid 1970s and Dominica's unique disaster with two hurricanes, the unemployment situation can be assumed to have worsened. Estimates claim that the total 1970 unemployment figure of 8 percent has risen to 22 percent and more. No breakdown by age and sex are available however.

Thus, for a number of reasons young females are not employed though they express an interest to do so. Early pregnancy and child rearing responsibilities certainly limit their mobility and opportunities to gain permanent positions while placing a heavier burden on their households. Lack of appropriate skills acquired in school may limit their job choices to traditional jobs; clerking, shop attendants, nurses, teachers, farmers. However, the desperate straits of the economy have placed serious limitations on how many more of such staff can be hired. The newest nurses' class to open for the 1980 school year had places for only four new students; over 100 people applied.

In 1980 the Technical College had no women enrolled except in secretarial arts. For reasons never fully explained, costs and tuition were twice as high for females studying to be secretaries than for males in such trades as engineering, refrigeration, appliances, auto mechanics and the like. Getting work after graduation is not easy. Of the 12 women graduated as secretaries in 1975, eight of them found jobs but only one of them found a job as a secretary. Of the remaining four, two are unemployed and two have migrated.

Small scale farming is a traditional occupation for women. Female participation in the agricultural work force amounted to 36 percent in 1960. No figures are available for 1970 or later but it is assumed that this participation figure has increased. Women agriculturalists face unique problems as farmers.

The incidence of female household heads serves as an indicator of impoverishment. Virtually all female heads of household occupy the lowest occupational positions in society and are responsible for the upkeep of their households. Female heads of household as a percentage of total household heads stands at roughly 40 percent and rising.

The 1970s has not been a good one for Dominican women. In the wake of hurricane David's destruction over 300 women lost their jobs in Roseau alone. Raw materials used in making craftware (straw, fibers, flowers, plants) were destroyed. In addition, the market for souvenirs, made largely by women, was removed as tourists ceased visiting the island. Several hotels were destroyed, removing both accommodations for visitors and sources of employment for custodians, chambermaids, waitresses, clerks, receptionists, and others, most of whom were female.

Development projects have had a negative impact on the participation of female laborers in agriculture. As agriculture becomes more

technical and technological there is less need for women "weeders" (traditional work) since the machinery is run by men. The decade-long changeover from citrus fruits to banana has almost totally cancelled out the need for female "pickers"; cutting banana is men's work. Rouseau's harbor, now modernized, loads banana boats by conveyer belts and fork lifts run by men. Formerly, teams of women would carry the stalks on board atop their heads; not necessarily pleasant work but income producing. Alternative arrangements for females were never devised or considered. (The result was the same in St. Vincent.) One positive change took effect in January 1980; women's wages are to equal men's in agriculture.

Smocking and garment making in cottage industry or assembly plants had been one of the new job areas dominated by women. These plants and the outlets for goods shut down three to five years ago because of low profits and high overhead.

Several public and private organizations promote women's issues in Dominica. There is a newly created woman's desk in government, staffed by one woman who must monitor the interests of women and maintain communication with various groups around the island. The government recently moved to eliminate all forms of discrimination, and in Dominica it is, on paper, equal pay for equal work. The activities sponsored by the Woman's desk of government tries to reach women through their own local groups and organizations. One project deals with training market women to transport, preserve, display and better market their goods. Rather than hold the meeting in a government office the sessions were held at the market. Market women were forthright and active in the project and felt free to question, advise, debate and later discuss the project among themselves. In no small measure this was due to holding the workshops on "their territory."

The major and largest women's organization in Dominica is the Social League. It was originally closely associated with the Catholic Church (Dominica is 90 percent Catholic) but now carries a more ecumenical connotation. Forty-three Social League branches are spread around the island, and are involved in a number of income generating and development activities, which are briefly discussed in the following section.

Migration and Remittances

Figures and statistics on migration in Dominica are lacking. Dominica's governmental archives were not thorough to begin with and what existed was destroyed by the hurricanes of 1979 and 1980. Thus, nothing of any exactitude can be said about rates, age and sex profiles or amount of remittances. Estimates even for 1960 to 1970 are unavailable. The dimensions of migration in Dominica, however, do not seem to differ radically from the patterns of St. Lucia and St. Vincent.

One very small and selective data base is available that may give an insight into the dynamics of migration in Dominica. We were able to

obtain the particulars of a survey taken of the 1974 through 1976 graduates of the relatively advanced (for Dominica) Technical Training College. In that three-year period 184 trained masons, mechanical engineers and technicians, electricians, auto mechanics, plumbers, and carpenters were graduated. All were males. Of this number 114 replied to the survey's questionnaire. Of the 114 only 62 (54 percent) were employed and of the 62 employed only 40 (35 percent) were employed in areas for which they were trained. Further, 30 (26 percent) were unemployed and still in Dominica while 21 (18 percent) had emigrated. There was no information on female graduates from the secretarial training program. Male migrants included those trained in masonry, mechanical engineering, auto mechanics, carpenters, and plumbers. Reportedly they went to the French islands, the Dutch island of St. Maartin, the U.S. Virgin Islands, and to Florida. Evidently they could not get the jobs for which they were trained or, if they succeeded at this, they found the wages so low as to discourage their staying in Dominica.

As no other information is available, it is impossible to fit this bit of information into a larger migration figure. One could guess that the 21 were temporary migrants who, in their young years, left to accumulate a stake and subsequently return. It is possible that once underway a migrant can move through the Caribbean from site to site with the idea of somehow getting to the United States. As an example of this, one of us while in Dominica, met a young female prostitute from Guyana who was working her way up the Eastern Caribbean chain. She intended to go to Antigua next from where she could easily get into the U.S. Virgin Islands. Once there the jump to Florida, she reasoned, would be easy.

The situation in Dominica for the unskilled and skilled alike was only made worse by the destruction of the two hurricanes. Although one would suppose that such a situation would call for an army of workers to rebuild the country, this has not been the case. Schools are still demolished, electricity is unavailable in most of the countryside and several large towns, and many buildings in Roseau have had only the most basic repair done. Capital to finance rebuilding and leadership to guide a national effort was lacking. Thus, in the tradition of the Caribbean, people left to seek wage labor. Given the interest in working seen in young Dominicans it is suggested that this would not be the case if jobs and opportunities were made available to them.

Rastas

The impact of the Rasta movement in the Eastern Caribbean hit first, and most fiercely, in Dominica. Unlike its counterpart movements in St. Vincent, St. Lucia, and Barbados, the Rastafarianism of Dominica was born in the turmoil and ideological movements of the late 1960s. Things have since quieted but explicit Rastafarianism is still a controversial topic in Dominica.

The concept of "dread" emerged in Dominica in a splinter group of Rastas who espoused violent opposition to the "lackeys of Babylon."

Whites were the tools of Satan, while "coloreds" and the upper classes were their colonial acolytes. A series of murders, rapes, large-scale theft of crops and intimidation of farmers, and the famed Desmond Trotter murder trial of the mid 1970s culminated in the "Dread Act" of 1978. Dreads could be shot on sight. The law is still on the books, though it antagonized the Rasta community, who felt that they were being punished for the wrong doings of the Dread fringe. The Dreads went underground to the dense hilly interior of Dominica, and Rasta became sullen and withdrawn in their urban enclaves. A number of informants ventured that the Dreads were ultimately done in by hurricane David, which may possibly have destroyed them and their primitive settlements in the hills.

The strong reaction by government and the public outcry against the Dreads, that included Rastas by association, has resulted in a less obvious Rasta presence in Dominica than elsewhere. It seems likely that the devastation of David and Allen diverted the membership, as Rastas joined their families and neighbors in the traumas of the reconstruction efforts. The political battles that brought the party to power appears also to have diverted the attention and energies of many young people, including Rastas. They are present of course, some in the hills eeking out subsistence agriculture and reportedly marijuana, and in depressed urban locations such as Grand Bay and the "New Town" and "Goodwill" suburbs of Roseau. Generally the movement is low-key, and the public relaxed, with a general consensus that the bad times of Dreads are gone.

What has replaced specific talk of Rastafari in Dominica is a regularly used but vague concept of "roots." Specifically defined, it is largely a feeling applied to things that are essentially Dominican: folk art, music, food, history, culture. Roots is not necessarily defined in terms of itself but as an opposition to "outside" things: colonialism, exploitation, external values, high handedness, class snobbery and color consciousness. Anybody can be "roots," in principle, but because it is a concept developed by young people, it is more generally applied to young people like themselves who share common attitudes and values.

The impression is that the term was coined and is most regularly used by urban Roseau dwellers who, from their benign and comfortable positions look out at all the "roots" people struggling, planting, working and sweating in the countryside. At its worst, "roots" can be a very patronizing way of looking at folk culture.

Nonetheless, there is a profound strength among Dominicans and a deep self-awareness that is bred into the cooperative nature of their society. Although the Rasta movement is fragmented and small and the Dreads discredited, young people have an awareness of such issues as colonialism, development, imperialism, and cultural self-worth. It is the positive virtues of "roots" that claims to provide the strength to work against these problems and build the country up again. As a value system, for example, it would strongly endorse farming and agriculture.

Although Dominica earned the reputation of originating the Dread movements, Dreads and Rastas are not seen often on the streets of Roseau. Perhaps it is because the Dreads were discredited by their violent behavior of the early 1970s and the opprobrium attached to them made things difficult for the Rastas as well. In all likelihood, the damaging effect of the two hurricanes, the political chaos of the two former governments and the general economic impoverishment may have caused a reorientation of priorities and a return of people to their homes and daily domestic chores and responsibilities. A more accurate guess would be to suggest that Rastas have become less public than in St. Lucia and St. Vincent; that they exist in Dominica is a truism. That they are not obvious in their present and explicit in their behavior is accurate as well.

Identity Management

As mentioned repeatedly, the 1970s has been a trying, sometimes depressing decade for Dominicans. The hurricanes David and Allen forced virtually everyone to deal with the serious matters of putting life back together again. There was never very much material prosperity in Dominica to begin with and certainly very little now. Thus, the "show" orientation of young males is lacking in obvious form. The last two years of economic desperation have forced the bulk of the population to table many leisurely pastimes and concentrate on matters of survival. Young people, males and females, do not have the free time they once had and must devote most of their time to household tasks and the pursuit of money through piece and part time work.

Also, Dominica is essentially rural with its villages quite isolated from the tiny city of Roseau. It is possible that Dominicans, rooted in their village cultures and not in much daily contact with the stylistic notions of the world around them, or of tourists, are simply less provoked or interested in the flamboyant escapades of their more prosperous neighbors.

Crime, Punishment, and Rehabilitation

The 1970s has been a traumatic decade for Dominica. The emergence of Dreads, the Desmond Trotter murder trials involving the killing of two white tourists, ineffective and reputedly corrupt political leadership, and two devastating hurricanes have put tremendous pressure on the citizens of that country. It is to the credit of the people of Dominica that they function with the fortitude, resiliency and determination that they do.

There is no concrete information on the type or scale of criminal activity in Dominica. Either the data were never collected to begin with or what was available was destroyed by hurricane David in 1979. However, several broad patterns emerge.

Crime in Dominica, as in St. Vincent and St. Lucia, is not an obvious, explicit, or major issue. There are, however, three areas of concern that either had or are now attracting attention: Dreads, the cultivation and usage of marijuana, and a moderate level of larceny. All three involve a disproportionate number of young males.

The ideology of Dreads originated in Dominica in the late 1960s. To be Dreads is to not only decry the evils of Babylon and to remove oneself physically and spiritually from it but also to be vociferously, and sometimes violently, anti-white and against their colonial acolytes. Several unhappy incidents surrounding the Desmond Trotter murders of the mid 1970s resulted in the imposition of the "Dread Act" in 1978 which gave authorities the right to shoot on sight anyone suspected of being Dread. This, of course, infuriated the more conventional Rasta who took this to be the ultimate colonial insult. Nonetheless, such drastic measures were felt necessary by government to quell the upsurge of rapes, murders, and thefts. Though the situation has quieted, the ideology of Dread has lingered on and people claim that Dreads still raid their property for provisions and work implements and harass them on country roads. The Dread philosophy endorses the consumption of a vast amount of marijuana, communal living off the land in the mountainous interior, taking the goods of others in the name of Jah-Rastafari, and wearing costumes reminiscent of Africa. More conventional Rastas focus their beliefs on highly secularized rituals involving dietary prohibitions, the smoking of marijuana, and collective economic activities aimed at gaining a livelihood through gardening and the fabrication of crafts and leatherwork.

The cultivation of marijuana in the dense, mountainous interior of Dominica is a thriving business and its use is widespread. Problems arise, quite naturally, because the substance is desirable and also illegal, and raids staged by police against distributors result in bad community feelings and an overcrowding of the jails. However, the most serious consequence is the effect that the lucrative marijuana trade seems to be having on the work ethic of young Dominicans. Suffice it to say that the cultivation of marijuana is a good deal easier and more financially rewarding than cropping bananas. Also, the cultivator can fancy himself an entrepreneur businessman; a reputation not provided if one were to be a cultivator of ground crops. One could argue that in the young men's circumstances the growing and sale of marijuana is a rational adaptation to their marginal economic position in society. Nevertheless, such reasoning causes great frustration and dismay for teachers, social workers, religious leaders and officialdom who argue that working at a low paying, legal job is more morally upright than the quick and dirty profits garnered through illegal activity. This is further complicated by the feeling in many quarters that in itself marijuana is not bad; and, in fact, the substance has been used in teas and brews as a folk medicine for decades. Also, a substitute mother is not liable to protest too loudly if her son occasionally bestows a radio, item of clothing or few dollars on her gained from his enterprise.

Apart from trafficking in narcotics, crime among young people involves larceny; mostly stealing unguarded property, and breaking and

entering. Crimes against the person are few. Officials pointed out that crime (larceny) tends to be an urban phenomenon (where there is more to steal) and results from a combination of urban poverty, density of population, and a high degree of unemployment where there is not enough income coming into the household to provide for even basic human needs.

There are no real rehabilitative facilities available for young people in Dominica. No "approved schools" exist nor are there training and educational facilities at the prison farm for offenders up to the age of 18. For followup care, two probation officers have charge of the entire island.

The Ministry of Home Affairs has sponsored a "streetwork" project designed to reach the very young before they are involved in crime or become involved in activities that would later diminish their chances to gain employment. It is called "Operation Youthquake" and appeals to young boys aged 8 to 15 years who represent the "lowest of the low"-- many of whom live without families and shelter as urban vagabonds. Many of the boys are emotional disaster cases who consider human relationships and the world about them in terms of hostility, resentment, distrust, suspicion and exploitation. These are not necessarily young people who have "gone astray" but are youth who require massive rehabilitation before they can be considered for any normal social interaction, much less training. The treatment is informal, open ended and community based without the intervening problems that an institution or formal staff would impose.

Youthquake is an advance in social thinking for Dominica, and, apart from its laudatory social goals will probably result in monetary savings later on. This is to say that money put into prevention and rehabilitation will be money not spent on incarceration.

Clubs, Voluntary Organizations and Informal Groups

After the economically difficult decade of the 1970s and the devastation wrought by hurricanes David and Allen the very fact that Dominica still has functioning youth groups should be a surprise. In fact, Dominica enjoys highly enthusiastic and well-grounded youth clubs and organizations. Dominica is overwhelmingly rural and over the years residents of small villages have developed cooperative ties and relationships that allow them to undertake collective tasks that would be impossible for individuals alone to mount. This cooperative tradition has been utilized by government, particularly in the Division of Youth Affairs (Ministry of Education) and the Division of Community Development (Ministry of Home Affairs) each of which have grafted development oriented, income generating and, in part, skills training programs onto the raw material of grassroots organization. Although youths in particular derive profits and useful experience, whole communities gain from joint ventures involving local talent, government backstopping, and outside sources of small scale finance.

Youth development officers provide organizational skills, act as liaison between youth groups and appropriate government offices or skill reservoirs, provide seed money for projects, and act as a clearing house for news. Although there is no specific government policy toward youth groups and the nature of their activities, the division personnel are sensitive and enthusiastic. They are also well trained through the Commonwealth Caribbean Youth Secretariat Program in Guyana. In fact, they possess one of the few functioning documentation centers left in post-hurricane Dominica and have recorded and catalogued an extensive list of youth groups by size, location, area of interest, and meeting schedule. Staff includes six persons, all of whom work "in the field," and over the past two years they have organized the following activities:

1. rotating seminars on rural development
2. health and hygiene seminars
3. cooperative bakery
4. illiteracy project
5. pre-school child care
6. vegetable growing and marketing
7. ceramics manufacture
8. cooking festival, musical entertainment, and community service
9. bookkeeping and record keeping for personal bank savings
10. management training for a cooperative
11. pottery cooperative
12. exhibitions of craftware
13. sewing for domestic use and sale
14. rabbit rearing
15. timber extraction
16. leathercraft
17. strawwork
18. agricultural project
19. roofing project
20. tour guide service
21. music, culture and dance
22. plumbing training
23. carpentry, furniture making, and woodworking
24. brick making
25. sculpting.

Rough figures indicate that officially registered youth groups are many in number and well distributed around the island, as is shown in Table II:9.

Table II:9

Number of Youth Groups by District, Villages Involved,
Youth Group Population and Number of Youth Groups, 1980

<u>District</u>	<u>Number of Villages</u>	<u>Number Youth Group Members</u>	<u>Number of Youth Groups</u>
North	13	2,151	26
South	12	2,143	18
East	12	2,227	15
West	20	3,608	15
Roseau and environs	6	5,004	35

When self-help projects are government sponsored, they are organized through the Division of Community Development which in turn works within the tradition of the labor exchange groups coup de main that still function in Dominica. In effect, village members are involved in an ongoing reciprocal labor exchange pattern set in the context of community social organizations. This is the most important feature of rural Dominican life and should be recognized as an area on which programs can and are built.

Local government in Dominica is composed of 30 elected village councils and two elected urban councils that are statutory and act as decentralized links to the national government. Within each community or grouping of villages represented by one of the councils are numerous voluntary associations, clubs, interest groups, and church organizations that monitor village activities and promote community interests. Councils respond to village or group requests and pass this information to central government. A district officer is sent to examine the problem and make an evaluation; if the request is feasible the central government responds. Most usually, if the request is for a village facility such as a feeder road, water catchment, playing field, or physical structure, the arrangement is to have villagers provide labor while government provides backstopping and arranges for initial seed money financing. Financing usually comes from the British Development Division and only under unusual circumstances exceeds US\$2,500. Regularly, projects are budgeted under US\$500. During the time we spent in rural Dominica we saw projects including the building of latrines, retaining walls, water cisterns, community clinics, storage centers for fishing gear, steps down a sharp embankment, a bakery, a craft center, a sewing cooperative, and a road building project.

The feeder road building project in Goodhope, Dominica, was devised, organized, and undertaken entirely by young people, in collaboration with local and national governments. Over 25 males and females between 15 and 25 years of age spent their days chopping, cleaning, digging,

leveling, and carrying heavy stones, all to lay a new road bed. The only shortcoming was that there were only four shovels with which to load gravel onto the government truck sent from Roseau specifically for the day to carry gravel from a quarry in the area to the road bed under construction. The truck driver was a government employee; the gravel loaders were the volunteers from the youth group. The lack of shovels left most of the young men standing around, waiting for a friend to tire and hand over his tool. The truck consequently made only one trip from the quarry to the feeder road, instead of the four to six trips that would easily have been possible, had there been the tools available for the hands willing to load the truck. The result was that the truck, committed elsewhere for another week, left for the capital; construction on the road ceased until the following week, when volunteers would reappear and look at whatever damage had been done to their work by days of rain, and wait for the truck to reappear.

There are lessons to learn about management and efficiency. There is also the conclusion to be drawn that young people's organizations are national resources with which to build projects and programs that can teach skills while raising the status, commitment, and visibility of the young in their communities. Incorporating the young into development and self-help schemes also lessens the push many feel to leave for the city or abroad.

None of these comments should leave the impression that all young people are idealistic, hard-working volunteers unconcerned with individual needs and ambitions. Nor should the impression be left that organizing the organized (much less the unorganized) young is without challenges. Enthusiasm and good will sincerely appear to be shared by youth and government officials, but do not solve the massive problems of personality conflicts, touchy adolescent egos, and the lack of experience and training and hard skills. Much of the time of officials dedicated to working with the young is spent trying to keep groups cooperating or negotiating peaceful resolutions between groups and between individuals. It was both realism and optimism that allowed officials to speak so openly about organizational problems of the young.

Government is currently spending more time and money on youth-oriented issues than on those to benefit women. This apparently is not because government is uncommitted to the advancement of women but because most of the action-oriented programs are for women working in non-governmental organizations, primarily church-affiliated clubs. Probably the most ambitious and long-running program for the betterment of women and their families in the Eastern Caribbean was begun in Dominica in 1950: The Social League. Originally begun by a missionary nun and a handful of women, the budding organization was known as the Social League of Catholic Mothers. In order to incorporate more women into improving social welfare in the state and in family life, the name was changed in 1954 to the Social League of Catholic Women. Finally, the name changed to the Social League in order not to discourage men and young people from being active members. The Social League reaches out into all the districts of the country through its 43 local branches, with over a thousand members, over 90 percent of whom are women. The Social Center in Roseau uses the Social League branches as conduits for

information and resources, while it pursues its appointed tasks of administering the Social League, running a model pre-school and one day-care center in town, and 33 pre-schools in the districts outside of the capital. They run seminars and training courses in areas of leadership, literacy, nutrition, religion, handicrafts, housing, and other areas with which the Social League is concerned. The list is long and impressive.

However, most of the members are now over 40 years of age, a sign of potentially serious trouble in a nation of many young people. The organization's officers and many members recognize it as a problem. One attempt at a solution was a head-on membership appeal for the young to join the newly created "junior groups." Although the League members feel they have gone far toward minimizing the barriers between young and old in Dominica, it is clear that the problem is unresolved. What follows is not meant as a criticism of the Social League since open and sincere discussions with members and officers offered some of these insights, and since this problem is not unique to them. It is a problem of clashing views, needs and experiences that have produced a Caribbean generation gap. Many older citizens think that the young are very different today from years ago: "We had it hard but we were taught values. We went to school--to become someone. My children are different too. I worked hard so they wouldn't have it so hard, but they don't appreciate it." Many thought that values were not only changing, but in some areas disintegrating. The Dreads made a fearful impact on the minds of a large number of older people; they saw the Dreads as a "social embarrassment" and a sign of changes they would not accept. With Rastas now moving quietly back into society some of the tension is returning in the form of strong antagonism against marijuana. Meanwhile many of the young are unemployed and frustrated. They have gone to school to be someone, and all they have is no job--and this after older people pushed them to go to school. Many smoke marijuana, tensions build, and so does intolerance of one group for the other.

Some of the problems a number of older women are willing to face in discussions were ones that embarrassed them: the increasing incidence of pregnancies among teenagers, the more advanced education kids were receiving than what their parents had enjoyed, which was upsetting the status rankings of the age hierarchy, the increasing number of females who were assuming responsibilities for households. Members saw these areas as important and worth understanding in order to be able to design a remedy to relieve the symptoms of the disorder if not the causes. They all agreed that they did not know how to attract young women who did not want to join clubs to socialize with their older relatives and neighbors and where the style of entertainment was unexciting for the young. The old tradition of the Social League composed of Catholic mothers meant that most members are legally married, making it harder to involve mothers who are not married. There is a social distance frequently separating the married from those in common-law or visiting relationships that seems to reflect in the membership; the Social League has few unmarried mothers as members.

The increasing interest of the Social Center to sponsor income-generating projects for women without work, and especially for women with dependents, is bearing fruit among women who have been members for some time, and who have already established working relationships with each other. There seem to be some very big success stories here, including wine-making, chicken and pig raising, and agricultural cooperative ventures. Whether they will be able to incorporate into their programs the young and the unmarried who may need the assistance is a challenge that is recognized, and which they are only now beginning to face head on.

Skills Training and Income Generating Programs

Most skills training and income generating programs in Dominica have been sanctioned by government--but organized and staffed by non-governmental groups. Consequently most of the general observations about the planning and creation of income-generating programs is in the previous section, "Clubs, Voluntary Organizations, and Informal Groups." Here attention is drawn to two skills training programs for which government has been chiefly responsible.

The Roseau Carpentry and Furniture Making Co-Op, sponsored by the Youth Division, funded by C.A.D.E.C., and endorsed by government, is an especially successful employment and income generating project. Approximately 25 young men between the ages of 14 and 20 years are involved in the production of furniture and the repair and refurbishing of household items.

Located in a site donated by the government in the old central market in Roseau and using tools purchased with the seed money grant, the participants receive a wage based on their productivity, while neophytes are trained in the craft by the older members (i.e., 18 to 20 year olds). Books are kept by the treasurer who received training from the Youth Division. The profits go to purchase timber. Controlled entirely by the young men, the operation is now self-sustaining and running on its own. No talk of "slave work" is heard here.

Participants run the gamut from Rastafarians to primary school leavers and secondary school graduates. Older participants talk of setting up their own shops or supplementing agricultural income with their skills after they accumulate enough capital to leave. Their concern is to save enough money to buy tools.

The most important social fact is that these young men are not really different from the other youngsters lounging on the streetcorners of Roseau except that they took advantage of a spontaneous and sensitively organized project devised by the Youth Division. They have an esprit de corps, are "in control," not "working for the man," and have developed a rigorous work ethic. Other projects such as a bakery and a pottery and brickmaking co-op share a similar experience.

The other example concerns a youth skills training pilot project designed to investigate the needs of primary school leavers and graduates who are unemployed and to fill the vacuum left by the advanced Technical College by adopting a training program currently in operation in Barbados.

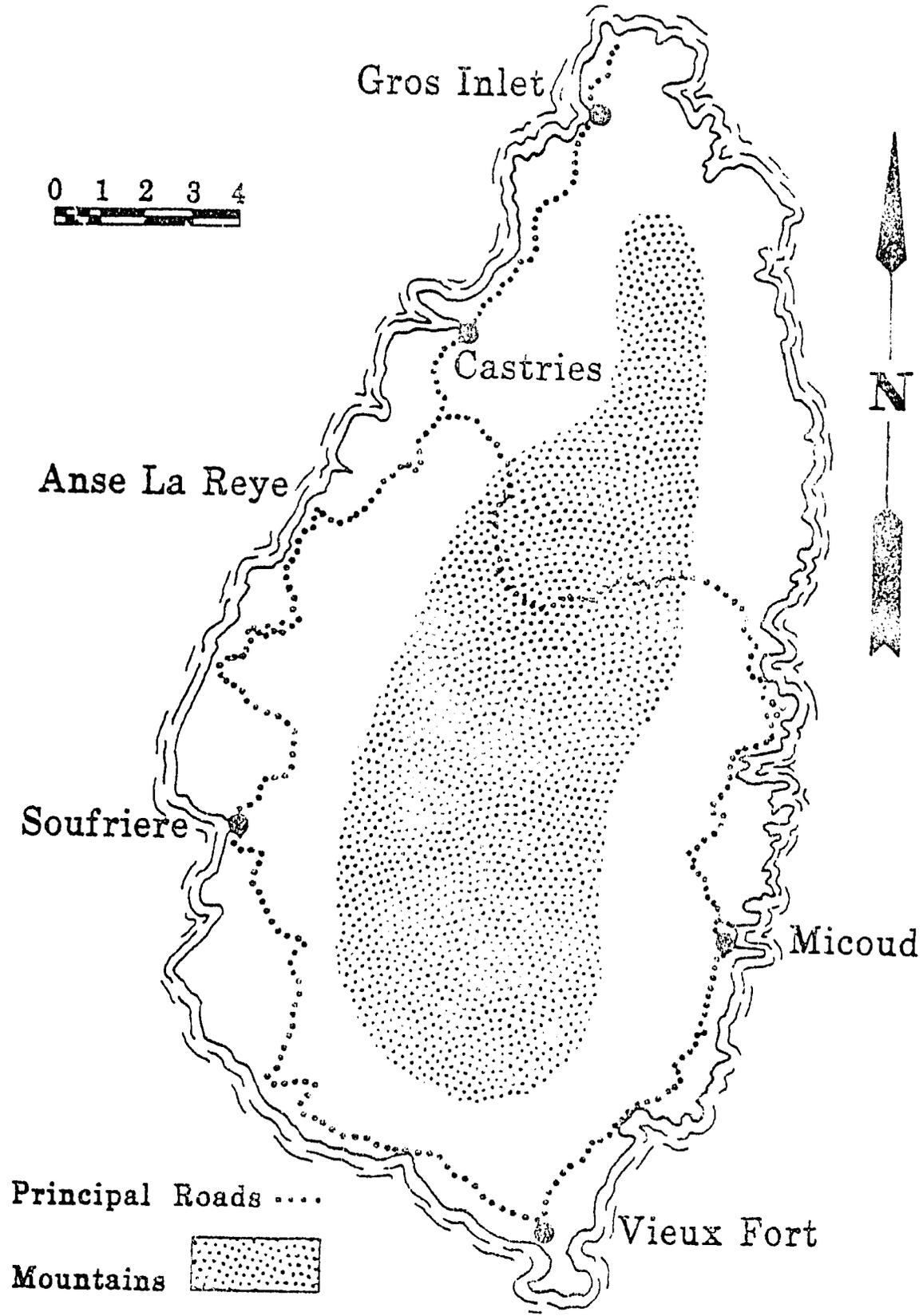
The first day of recruitment was held while we were in Dominica. Drawn by advertising on the radio, an unexpected number of young people showed up to be screened for one of the programs in auto mechanics, carpentry, masonry, or electricity. No degree requirements were established that would discourage the less advanced school leavers. Courses will last ten weeks and aim merely at providing the student with the most basic knowledge in a particular craft. No tuition is to be charged once the courses actually begin, though the expense of transportation for rural students will be a hardship. With the training center located in Roseau, built-in discrimination would favor persons who reside near or in the city. Transportation is both time-consuming and expensive, and would be a real hardship for rural students. Unless one has relatives in the city with whom to live, the possibility of finding living accommodations are almost nil. The program may therefore not effectively reach those who need it the most, the rural poor and unemployed.

The skills training program seems to be aimed at young males. Although females are not excluded from any educational or training facility, this training program made no special efforts to encourage young women to apply. It should be of no surprise that only two young women among over 300 applicants showed up for the initial screening, though young women between the ages of 15 and 25 constitute the largest percentage by far of unemployed women.

Despite such programs as these Dominica is seriously deficient in technical and basic managerial skills. A modest training program in needed skills is a necessity since there is a staggering amount of work to be done in Dominica. The ravages of the hurricanes have torn apart the sea walls that ring the islands, blown down industrial parks, interrupted telephone, electricity, and sewerage services, and left the city and villages in disarray. However, the island has no capital to invest, either private or public. So although the training program is necessary, the problem is to have jobs--temporary and permanent--available for graduates on completion of training. At this point Dominica is incapable of providing that.

Evidence of an incapacity to productively employ all trained personnel comes from an examination of the statistics collected by the Technical College to trace its 1974 to 1976 graduates (all male) in masonry, carpentry, electrical work, plumbing, and auto mechanics. To summarize the findings, presented in the "Migration and Remittances" section, of the number of graduates surveyed 54 percent were employed. Of that 54 percent only one-third was working at a job requiring the skills for which they had been trained. Furthermore, of the total number of graduates, 26 percent were unemployed; 18 percent had emigrated.

ST. LUCIA



St. LuciaUnemployment

The St. Lucia economy stagnated in 1979. Despite increases in tourist arrivals throughout the year, output in other sectors, notably small-scale manufacture and agriculture, declined. As a consequence, an already serious unemployment problem worsened. According to a 1979 manifesto issued by the Labour Party, the exact reasons for St. Lucia's staggering unemployment rate, estimated by government to stand at 35 percent for the entire population, is due to: neglect of agriculture, failure to attract capital intensive industries, an inappropriate educational system for a developing country, lack of encouragement for small businesses and failure to support industry based on locally available natural resources.

Unemployment figures based on the outdated 1970 Commonwealth Caribbean census place the unemployment figure at 9.1 percent. However, this figure must be considered totally obsolete due to the subsequent world recession, the impact of a hurricane on the island, and St. Lucia's generally waning economic fortunes. Even so, figures from this early census indicate that as early as 1970 St. Lucia was experiencing unemployment problems second only to that of St. Vincent in the Eastern Caribbean, as is seen in Table II:10.

Table II:10

Percentage of Unemployment Rates by Age Group and Sex

14 Yrs. and Older			14-19 Yrs.		20-24 Yrs.		25-59 Yrs.		60 & Over	
Male & Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
9.1	8.2	10.9	29.4	33.2	7.5	11.9	3.2	3.6	2.0	1.4

Source: Caribbean Congress of Labor, Growth, Development and Employment Opportunities (Caribbean Congress of Labor, 1977), p. 38.

As with the other islands of the Eastern Caribbean the problems of unemployment have impacted most seriously on young people (as first time job seekers) and women. Other figures, provided by a variety of sources, and all based on samples, estimates or projections, variously claim that in the late 1970s unemployment stands at 11 percent (British Development Division), 13 percent (World Bank) and 35 percent (Government of St. Lucia). All agree, however, that the continued growth in unemployment is due almost entirely to youth leaving school and entering the labor market for the first time. With migration routes effectively shut off to large numbers, a high and stable birth rate, and a deteriorating economy the situation can be expected to worsen.

The decline in St. Lucia's agricultural production combined with the inability of other employing sectors to handle the overload continues to aggravate the youth unemployment situation.

This problem in St. Lucia is considered serious enough to receive the sustained interest and concern of several government ministries and public service, private organizations. Facing the same problems (economic, infrastructural, and "cultural") as the other smaller countries of the Eastern Caribbean, St. Lucia has embarked on a youth mobilization project administered through its ministry of Community Development in conjunction with agricultural training and development projects focused specifically on youth.

Occupational Multiplicity

The techniques and strategies employed by individuals and households in securing and maintaining wealth in St. Lucia parallel in organization the general strategies outlined for St. Vincent. One would have to add, however, that St. Lucia is considerably more prosperous than St. Vincent and provides several more occupational possibilities. The tourist sector, which is expected to grow, absorbs persons in the routine staffing activities required. Tourist operations tend to be seasonal with extra staff hired during high season and laid off when travellers are not present. Outside of the hotels there are small businesses such as craft shops, bars, restaurants, boutiques, tour operations, and a fleet of taxis that cater to tourists.

Of the three LDCs St. Lucia has the largest presence of assembly plant enclave industries fashioning such tidbits as snaps, buckles, bows, and manufacturing garments such as low cost children's clothes, jerseys, and the like. However, several enclave operations have recently shut down (Milton Bradley games for example) forcing the almost totally female work force to seek another source of wages.

As with occupational multiplicity elsewhere in the Eastern Caribbean, the shrewd household entrepreneurs have at least part of their household involved in some capacity of agriculture.

Occupational Preferences

The efforts of the government of St. Lucia to match available resources and training programs with the aspirations and preferences of its young people far exceeds the activities in the other two LDC islands. Technical trades and farming are being promoted and, more importantly, assisted as viable forms of livelihood.

The aspirations and occupational preferences of young people in St. Lucia run fairly parallel to those in the islands of Dominica and St. Vincent with the exception that there is more talk of tourist trades in

St. Lucia. Although highly unrealistic career preferences are voiced by those in primary school, occupational preferences generally grow more realistic as one is out of school and grows older. Thus the educational system fails insofar as it cultivates unrealistic ambitions while students are in school but cannot reach young people when they are out of school, willing to explore more modest career choices and ready to work. The numbers of young people in this predicament is vast. School enrollment figures are given in Table II:11.

Table II:11

School Enrollment 1979-80

Primary School Enrollment			Secondary School Enrollment		
Males	Females	Total	Total	Males	Females
15,535	15,075	30,610	4,879	2,114	2,765

Source: St. Lucia Ministry of Trade, Department of Statistics, St. Lucia Annual Statistical Digest (Government of St. Lucia, 1979), p. 8.

Within primary school itself enrollment steadily declines from Standard I through Standard VI. The same is true of Secondary School, where, for example, in 1974-1975 enrollment dropped from 1,216 in Form I to 304 in Form V and 89 in Form VI.

Based on these figures, the Ministry of Education concluded that 95 percent of the age group 5 to 11 years was enrolled in school while only 30 percent of the 12 to 14 age group and 12 percent of the 15 to 18 age groups respectively were receiving formal education. To further complicate these figures, it emerged that over 60 percent of the 12 to 14 age group in school were receiving only primary education.

To remedy these problems, the Ministry concluded that the curricula in both primary and secondary schools had a bias to strong academic bias and served only to prepare students for the next higher stage in education not for the world of work. Of the students leaving school annually, roughly 15 percent emigrate, 29 percent would appear to have unknown or own-account employment, while 36 percent would be unemployed. Of the 19 percent employed, 32 percent of them would be in the service sector.

Young St. Lucians are not adverse to agriculture as such, but can quickly identify its shortcomings and limitations. They nonetheless do own-account farming and help out their parents on family plots. Youth clubs throughout the island run agriculture and animal husbandry projects while several government ministries provide technical and financial backstopping to these local efforts. An agricultural college

exists to train specialists, extension works, teachers and agrobusiness people, while the newly established youth skills training program has a short term "skills level" residential center for preparing young farmers. Roughly the same opportunities obtain for the semi-skilled and skilled trainees. A "skills level" youth training program based on the Barbados prototype is embryonic while a technical college teaches courses on a more advanced level.

Sensitive to these occupational preferences, the Ministry of Education has established a work study program designed to attract last year primary students into projects that will have direct bearing on the world they will enter. Agriculturally based projects will be emphasized, including growing, storage, preparation, marketing, retailing, and bookkeeping. The goal for the project is to teach the young people to become entrepreneurs.

Serious problems remain for St. Lucia because of the economic slump of the past two years. And large numbers of young people don't want to work or prefer to reap profits from the cultivation and sale of marijuana. Others, males and females, are attracted by migration, working in some capacity in the tourist sector, or in the conventionally high and middle status occupations aspired to elsewhere in the Caribbean. However, when all is said and done, young St. Lucians are willing to consider work in own-account farming and the semi-skilled trades. This includes females as well who traditionally have always been involved in agricultural production. If the technical school is any measure, its records show that 40 percent of the enrollment in motor vehicle mechanics was female, 85 percent of the hotel and services, 30 percent of carpentry, 40 percent of building technicians, and 30 percent of mechanical engineering classes were female in composition.

Constraints to Small-Scale Agricultural Development

Although St. Lucia faces the same general agricultural problems as does St. Vincent and Dominica, young people in St. Lucia surprisingly express an interest and, indeed in some circles, a commitment to agriculture as a livelihood and a basis for national advancement. The interest and commitment are surprising because in contrast to Dominica and St. Vincent, St. Lucia has opportunities in other sectors of the economy that attract young people. For example, of the four islands St. Lucia's tourist sector is second only to Barbados. Cruise ships regularly stop for one or two days with "shopping bag" tourists. Several luxury hotels and a variety of more modest establishments cater to the longer staying visitor. Plans have been made for an expansion of this trade and the training of appropriate staff.

The tourist sector growth coupled with the traditional role of Castries, the capital city, as the economic and social epicenter of the island has acted like a magnet, attracting young people to the city and its slums or, at least, influencing their aspirations about what constitutes a satisfactory occupation.

By LDCs standards Castries is huge and outstrips in geographical size, population density, and available activities anything the tinier capitals of Roseau and Kingstown have to offer. Although the country is experiencing growth and development in conventional terms, these very benchmarks of success may dissuade young people from participating in small farming and making their homesteads in the rural areas. The growing presence of enclave industries and assembly plants also serves as an alternative employment attraction. Marijuana cultivation in the heavily forested interior of St. Lucia is a lucrative business providing ready and abundant wealth. In the words of one young man "cutting marijuana is sure easier than chopping bananas." Reputedly the large number of motorbikes on the streets of Castries attest to the profit one can make through such endeavors. Thus agricultural development in St. Lucia is faced with the problems of St. Vincent and Dominica, while at the same time its economy presents a growing number of alternatives.

Nevertheless, several positive signs in St. Lucia signal a deep and continued interest on the part of young people in agriculture. Youth clubs and informal community level organizations, comprised of both males and females, are widespread throughout the island. They have recently become the object of attention for government (particularly the Ministry of Community Development) and have been assisted in organization, leadership training programs and project development. Several villages visited had clubs which engaged young members in craft work, dance, sports, music, animal husbandry (rabbit rearing), and agriculture (both kitchen gardens and plots). The youths are "close knit" because of kinship and friendship ties and common residence in the neighborhood communities. They are not strangers to each other and collaborate through informal networks of their own creation. Government assists them through self-help projects and runs leadership training seminars for club officers. At one of these sessions, held on a Saturday morning in a ministry office, young people came from all over the island to participate in a workshop designed to meet their requests for self-help aid. The group of about 25 young men and women between 16 and 22 years old spoke with impressive enthusiasm and interest about advancing agriculture in St. Lucia and participating in it as an occupation. Although many of them did not want to be full-time small farmers, they all wanted to be involved in some fashion that would include farming in their mix of occupations.

The government is also promoting a U.S.A.I.D.-sponsored youth skills training program. This project, outlined in a National Office for Social Responsibility Report¹² calls for the establishment of five training centers at which agricultural, craft, mechanical, garment making and a job/business skills will be taught. The agricultural center, the only one to be residential, has the following goals: 1. to prepare 100 youths per year to become specialists and leaders in the farming

¹²National Office for Social Responsibility, Youth Development Plan for St. Lucia (Alexandria, Virginia: National Office of Social Responsibility, 1979).

community, 2. to instill in youths the concept that farming is a worthwhile and valuable career, and 3. to demonstrate that agriculture is a profitable livelihood. The facilities include: 1. a plant propagation center for food crops, vegetables, tree crops and exotic plants, 2. animal rearing facilities for cattle, pigs, sheep, goats, rabbits and poultry and 3. two dormitories, classrooms and workshops.

Thus far little progress has been made in the implementation of the program. Youths are housed in poorly situated tents, many of the students have left to return home and little work has been done on the preparation of plots. It is claimed that administrative delays and hurricane Allen have interrupted progress.

This ambitious plan faces the problem of organizing and administering a residential center for young men and women away from home, who not only have responsibilities to their families and households but must learn to cooperate with strangers in an artificial (i.e., not community) environment. Thus, the project is not community development as such--with the intent of strengthening traditional community modes of production and cooperative ties--but rather emphasizes the training of individuals.

Private organizations in St. Lucia are also active in agricultural development with a focus on youth. The Castries Jaycees are planning a project to work at the community level involving networks of young people through their clubs and organizations. Emphasis will be on rabbit, poultry, and egg production with the idea that the young people will be able to work at these tasks part-time while they also go to school, work at their jobs or on the farm plots. It is also intended for the project to help the entire community, and it is expected that the project will enjoy the endorsement of the entire population. Small scale and low budgeted, the project emphasizes free labor to be donated by villagers. Backstopping in such areas as bookkeeping and record keeping will be provided by Jaycees and taught to the project participants. Private clubs and organizations such as the St. Lucia Save the Children Association are very active in development and income-gathering activities in St. Lucia and serve as a strong spring board for project development.

Land distribution in St. Lucia, as in the other two LDCs, is severely imbalanced, as shown in Table II:12. Although the economy is dependent on small farm production (mainly banana), farmers with 0 to 2 hectares, who account for 82 percent of all holdings, occupy only 14.2 percent of the total farm land. At the same time, farmers in the 80 plus hectares range, who represent only 0.6 percent of the farming population, hold 52.7 percent of the total acreage in holdings.

Table II:12

<u>Size of Holding</u>	<u>Percentage Distribution of Holders</u>
Less than 2 hectares	77.9
2 - 10 hectares	18.3
More than 10 hectares	3.9

Source: Weir's Agricultural Consulting Services Ltd., Small Farming in The Less Developed Countries of the Commonwealth Caribbean (Barbados: Caribbean Development Bank, 1980).

In conclusion, the continued low returns of St. Lucia's diminishing agricultural production, the decline in the labor force working the land and the problems associated with attracting young people to a full or part time career in farming are generally those enumerated in the section on St. Vincent and exacerbated by the particular "modernizing" trends that St. Lucia is now experiencing. Within all this however one finds an interested, aggressive young population who, it seems, are willing to consider agriculture as a livelihood. It is important to emphasize that some real success can be anticipated by programs that work with individuals in their communities, such as youth groups and can plan training that will allow more people to learn and continue some agricultural or animal husbandry activities while also doing other kinds of work.

Women

St. Lucia is an enigma in the discussion of women and women's issues. One gets the immediate impression that women are vocal, prominent, forthright, and obtain the support and backing of government more than in the other LDCs. Women's clubs and clubs promoting the interests of women are well represented on the national roster of registered civic organizations. Admittedly, however, prominent women and national club members are usually urban women of the middle and upper classes who enjoy modest wealth, excellent education, and high social position. Also, the issues that women's groups espouse tend to be the traditional ones of "concerned" women: charitable causes for the destitute, handicapped, children, elderly, and so forth. Not all work, however, is traditional social welfare; other women's groups or groups in the hands of women do concrete skills training and income generating work, especially with other women. Although women fill traditional gender-related roles in the society, there seems to be no explicit oppression or insensitivity towards women. Legalized discrimination against women in terms of wages does not exist, as it does in St. Vincent. Younger males in government talk about women's issues without self-consciousness or

sarcasm. Women in similar capacities talk of the need to address the problems of female-headed households, unwanted teenage pregnancies, and female unemployment rather than the issues of "equality" involved in discussions of feminism in industrialized societies, though the issue does exist at the poorer levels of society.

The enigma deepens when certain statistics are evaluated. Figures from the labour placement service of the Ministry of Labor show that females between 15 and 21 years of age routinely seek jobs more frequently than males of the same age yet are placed less frequently. For female primary school leavers and graduates, the normal jobs available include shop attendant, lower ranks of the civil service, toiling work in tourist enterprises, farming, and work in assembly plants. In several garment and small item assembly plants we visited (one small private one, four foreign-owned, large businesses) all the workers, sometimes numbering 80 or more, were females; the majority were teenagers and in their early twenties. Sewing and unskilled assembly is simply not considered a male job. Recent estimates of female participation in agriculture suggest that from 1960 to 1979 the number of women participating in the agricultural labor force rose from 29 percent to 47 percent. All other countries in the Eastern Caribbean except Montserrat and Antigua registered a decline.

In every age grade category over ten years of age females outnumber males. The discrepancy balloons at age 20 and continues until about age 40 when females number one and one-half to two times as many as males. In 1979 in a total population estimated to be roughly 118,000 there were 62,500 females to 55,500 males.

School enrollment figures disclose interesting trends. Since 1971-1972 the number of boys and girls enrolled in primary school has shown a consistent majority of boys enrolled. In 1971/1972, out of a total primary school population of 26,112, boys numbered 13,189 to 12,923 girls. For 1979-1980, boys enrolled amounted to 15,535 to a female enrollment of 15,075 in a primary school population of 30,610.

Secondary school figures show the reverse with young women consistently outnumbering young men. In 1971-1972, 3,386 students were enrolled in St. Lucia's ten secondary schools. Of this number, 1,824 were female and 1,562 were male. For 1979/1980 the 11 secondary schools listed a total enrollment of 4,879. Of this total 2,765 were female while 2,114 were male. No data are available on choice and enrollment by curriculum and course of study but several officials corroborated that females tended to limit themselves, and were coached to limit themselves, to traditional female areas of study and preparation.

Females are more often unemployed than males. There are no unemployment rates by sex available for the general unemployment figure of 35 percent estimated by the government in 1979. However, the 1970 Commonwealth census figures are shown in Table II:13.

Table II:13

Unemployment by Age and Sex in St. Lucia, 1970

14 Years and Older	14 to 19		20 to 24		25 to 59		60 and over			
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female		
9.1%	8.2%	10.9%	24.8%	33.2%	7.5%	11.9%	3.2%	3.6%	2.0%	1.4%

Source: Caribbean Congress of Labor, Growth, Development and Unemployment (Barbados: Caribbean Congress of Labor), p. 36.

Vital statistics add another dismaying piece of information. The life expectancy for females (and males also) in St. Lucia is the lowest of the three LDCs examined: St. Lucia registers 61.9 years, Dominica 62.6 years, and St. Vincent 63.2 years. By way of comparison, life expectancy for a female in Barbados is over 70 years. This is all the more curious when it is pointed out that in the LDCs described here St. Lucia has more physicians per unit of population as well as more hospital beds.

The incidence of female-headed households in a society may serve as an indicator of severe impoverishment and, perhaps, social inequality. As Angela Cropper noted of

...some of the characteristics of female heads of households: the bulk of them have attained only primary school education, as a result of which they tend to be concentrated in occupations such as sales and service, agricultural work, production (i.e., manufacturing) operations in which wages on average are quite low. We can expect that, given relatively low educational standing, they occupy the lowest positions in these occupational categories. Yet being classified as heads of households indicates that they are solely responsible or mainly responsible for the economic support of their offsprings.¹³

Approximately 40 percent of the households in St. Lucia were headed by women in 1970, according to the 1970 Commonwealth census. It is estimated that the figure in St. Lucia may have now risen to 50 percent. Of the total female heads of household in 1970, 37 percent of these women were between the ages of 25 and 44 year, not only childbearing years but peak work years as well. Income levels varied. Of the female

¹³ Angela Cropper, The Integration of Women in Development for Windward and Leeward Island of the Caribbean (Barbados: Women and Development Unit, U.W.I., 1980), p. 49.

heads of household, 18 percent claimed a yearly income of less than US\$225, 15 percent of between US\$225 and US\$450, and 8 percent of over US\$450 per annum. For 59 percent of the women "not stated or no income" was given as the response.

With St. Lucia's economy deteriorating in the late 1970s and early 1980s there will be a diminution of jobs in the service and assembly plant sector, exactly the areas where most women are now employed. More women may continue to turn to agriculture, not as a profitable career but as a last resort. Efforts are being made by women's groups and some government programs to provide self-employment for women through income generating programs. This will be only a holding action at best until the needs of women and their potential as national resources is addressed more strenuously and effectively.

Migration and Remittances

In 1970 the population of St. Lucia stood at 100,000. In the previous decade 17,000 emigrated from that country. Although no studies or figures were available to the consultants for the 1970s, several broad patterns emerged. St. Lucians seemed to have engaged in roughly the same migratory flow--in numbers and destination--as their counterparts in St. Vincent. Seasonal migration, usually to exploit wage labor provided by agrobusiness elsewhere tends to substitute to French islands to the north for Barbados. Accessibility is one reason, while the commonality of the French patois spoken in the three territories overcomes the problems that would be initially expected with migrants from English-speaking St. Lucia going to French-speaking Martinique and Guadeloupe. Even though planters in the French island pay St. Lucians less than the resident French workers, St. Lucians still declare that this is more than they would make at home.

Temporary, non-seasonal recurrent migration figured prominently in the ideas and strategies of many young people interviewed. Again, the French West Indies appears as a regular choice. Young men went there to work in small businesses and practice trades (carpentry, auto mechanics) they claimed they knew. The large tourist enterprise in the French West Indies attracted them also. Young women sought out work mostly in the tourist trade as custodians and waitresses. Several prostitutes reported that their business improved significantly. Stays varied from several months to a few years.

An interesting study on the development of small business in St. Lucia points out that many small entrepreneurs got their initial capital stake through temporary migrant wage labor.¹⁴ Without personal funds or

¹⁴Patrick Sylvester, "Small Scale Entrepreneurship in The Commonwealth Caribbean" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Bryn Mawr College, 1972).

commercial or low interest loans several, now successful, small businessmen worked in such capacities as the forestry industry in French Guiana, tourist operations in the French island and the U.S. Virgin Islands, and the oil refineries of Curacao. They returned with enough saved (one returned with US\$5,000) to purchase a home and establish the basis for his business. A 42-year-old man purchased a truck in the U.S. Virgin Islands with his money, shipped it back to St. Lucia and now prospers as a market intermediary. He buys crops from rural farmers, brings them to town in his truck and sells them to market vendors for a handsome profit. Other returning migrants set up radio repair shops, furniture making shops and small street front groceries.

There is also an overseas workers scheme sponsored by government. St. Lucian males travel overseas (including the U.S.A.) to do wage labor on agricultural estates. The motivation for migration remains the same. Without access to capital or wages sufficient to undertake life plans the St. Lucian often decides to migrate; either short term, long term or recurrently.

Permanent migration closely follows the pattern for the rest of the old British West Indies. The vast migration in the 1950s and 1960s tapered off by the mid 1960s. Permanent migrants now seem to select Canada as their main target with the United States a distant second choice.

The consequences of migration for the sending society appear to be roughly analogous to the situation in St. Vincent and Dominica. However, demographic imbalances are not as pronounced as in St. Vincent. Although women outnumber men in all age categories over 14, the differences are not as great as in St. Vincent. Also, there does not, on first impression, seem to be constant and vociferous "migration orientation." St. Lucians seem to recognize both the hardships and possibilities involved in migration and do not seem to have the "let me out of here" attitude of St. Vincentians.

Substantial capital flows back to St. Vincent from its laborers and migrants overseas. Temporary laborers on the government workers scheme set aside a portion of their salary which they bring back with them. Remittances from overseas residents of course vary with the individual and his/her household and come in form of money and postal orders. Table II:14 gives some idea of how important it is to St. Lucians to seek wages from outside their immediate environment.

Table II:14

Value of Remittances from Abroad and from Special Workers Programs
1970 - 1979 in US\$ thousands

Year	Total	Money Orders				Postal Orders	Special Workers Scheme		
		Total	U.K.	Carib.	Other		Total	U.S.A.	Other
1970	519.6	143.8	75.0	3.8	65.0	326.1	49.6	37.3	12.3
1971	555.4	153.5	77.7	3.0	72.7	347.3	54.6	48.8	5.8
1972	676.2	138.8	89.2	3.8	45.8	469.2	68.1	64.2	3.8
1973	804.6	122.3	82.7	4.2	35.4	628.8	53.5	49.2	4.2
1974	970.0	51.2	18.5	5.4	26.9	871.2	47.7	41.2	6.2
1975	1275.4	43.8	14.2	5.8	23.8	1137.8	95.8	90.4	6.4
1976	1242.7	43.8	13.8	5.8	24.2	1021.2	177.7	168.1	9.6
1977	1190.0	47.3	12.3	6.9	28.1	968.1	174.6	169.6	5.0
1978	1191.5	42.7	1.5	7.3	33.8	1010.0	138.8	131.2	7.7
1979	1156.9	42.3	3.0	5.4	33.8	957.3	157.3	145.4	11.9

Source: St Lucia Ministry of Trade, Department of Statistics, St. Lucia Annual Statistical Digest (Government of St. Lucia, 1979), p. 9.

Several interesting observations about migration and remittances can be made. Although the total amount of capital from outside sources has declined somewhat since 1975, the amount received in 1979 is two and one half times more than what was received in 1970: US\$1,156,923 compared with US\$519,615. The value contribution of overseas money orders has plummeted; those specifically from the United Kingdom have dropped from US\$75,000 to US\$3,077 only nine years later. Remittances from Caribbean countries have stayed fairly steady. The United Kingdom data is interesting. Either migrants are returning, which is extremely unlikely or, the kinship/family connections on which the remittance was based has been broken or weakened. This would support the suggestion made earlier that one should not expect migrants of 10 to 20 years ago to continue the same pace and extent of remittances as they did when they first migrated. Kin die off, the migrant develops new responsibilities, and relationships are altered over two decades.

The Special Workers Scheme, whereby laborers return with portions of their salaries, has consistently risen except for two lulls in 1977 and 1978. In nine years the amount of money earned in the United States has increased from US\$37,308 to US\$145,385. This figure of US\$145,385 for 1979 totals more than all the remittance money forwarded by St. Lucian residents outside their country and Workers Scheme moneys in all other countries which host St. Lucians in 1979 (US\$42,308 and US\$11,923 respectively).

Although St. Lucia is considerably more prosperous and diversified than both St. Vincent and Dominica, certain individuals and groups in the society perceive the need to migrate so as to gain access to (increased) wage labor. As with every other country in the Caribbean, St. Lucians entertain and act on the possibility of migration and assemble strategies--short term, intermediate, or long term--which they think promote their economic interests.

Rastas

The short amount of time we spent in St. Lucia--and the fact that only one of the consultants had the opportunity to go there--seriously limited the investigation of the Rastas. Also, several other development efforts, unique to St. Lucia, took a disproportionate amount of our time and consideration. Consequently, the St. Lucia portion of this report will have an expanded section on youth skills training programs and the use of local level grass roots clubs in the development effort.

Although people claimed that there were "many" Rastas in St. Lucia, the movement was never specifically or explicitly addressed as an issue. The use of marijuana is widespread among many young people, Rasta and not, and is claimed to provide wisdom, knowledge, and understanding.

Rastas are not obvious by their numbers. A short trip through the capital city could easily convey the impression that there were very few Rastas indeed. This view would be erroneous as most Rastas have taken to the hills where they plant and cultivate or live in the two huge slum areas that flank Castries. One is an established lower-class/ working class neighborhood or ward. A target for rural migrants to town, it is fairly settled with paved streets, lighting, running water, and yards fenced off one from the other. The second area enjoys none of the amenities of a settled neighborhood and is a bona fide squatle slum occupied mostly by young Rastas. The more immediate problems of these young men would seem to be their unemployment, lack of education and skill training.

Crime, Punishment and Rehabilitation

The situation in St. Lucia is quite similar to that of Dominica with the exception that the feature of Dread is not present. A more exact determination of crime in St. Lucia cannot be made for several reasons. First, we spent a good deal of time on other issues, particularly the positive activities of the Ministry of Community Development, Youth and Social Affairs. Also, figures requested from the police were not forthcoming. Thus, there is no data base to analyze.

Crime in St. Lucia, as with St. Vincent and Dominica, is not an explicit, obvious, daily issue of concern. The cultivation of marijuana in the mountainous interior of the island is booming business for young

males. Numbers of motorcycles on the streets of Castries were purchased, the police say, by profits garnered from illicit sales. However, there seems to be an irony here. Up until several years ago larceny was a crime that attracted some attention. With the advent of the market for marijuana many young people turned to that enterprise as a source of income. According to one highly placed police official, the crime rate in St. Lucia has actually dropped because young people who would formally steal to acquire what they wanted are now diligent and hard working cultivators of marijuana.

As mentioned in other sections, St. Lucia, among the LDCs of St. Vincent and Dominica, has the most advanced youth organizations administered out of its Ministry of Community Development. This applies to their juvenile detention center as well, which offers educational and skills training programs to its boys. A center for young women is now being built. The implications of this program will be examined more closely in the section on "Youth Skills Training Programs."

Clubs, Voluntary Organizations and Informal Groups

Community level clubs and informal groups, of which there are many, enjoy the support and endorsement of both government agencies and national civic organizations in St. Lucia. The network of community level projects utilizing the energies and perceptions of rural people is more advanced than in any other of the LDCs. Local level rural youth groups undertake a variety of interrelated functions. We examined one community, approximately ten miles from Castries (but several hours distant by public transport), fairly carefully. Basically agricultural with a sprinkling of shopkeepers, primary school teachers, manual laborers, and lower level civil servants, the village itself is a line settlement strung along a secondary road with planting grounds distributed on the valley floor and mountain slopes on either roadside. A loosely organized youth group of about 40 to 60 males and females aged 14 to 21 years old participate in a number of activities. A community development officer is regularly present and lends government backstopping to some activities while a Castries-based civic association provides organizational assistance to other projects.

Young people, although all belonging to the club, tend to cluster in different groups around different activities. There are sports groups which organize soccer and care for the playing field. A drama and cultural group secures the school house for dances and plays with the assistance of a school teacher who comes weekly from the capital city. Young women do needlecraft and handicrafts, marketing their goods through the assistance of community development officers. Workshops on topics such as personal hygiene, pregnancy, and work opportunities are supported by government agents and civic organization members. Agricultural projects, including kitchen gardens and small-scale farming projects are encouraged. Animal husbandry projects for raising rabbits and hens are supported by civic organizations and government workers.

Community work, such as caring for older people, cleaning roadsides, and repairing and maintaining public buildings is done by the youth group. Government recognizes their enthusiasm and organizes "self-help" projects whereby local young people provide labor, government secures technological backstopping and trained specialists, and financing from such sources as the British Development Division is directed to them. These efforts are coordinated from the Ministry of Community Development, which hosts a regular Saturday morning youth club leaders forum in the capital city. These workshops serve as a communication channel by which young people can share their experiences with each other, voice their interests and problems to government, and stay in touch with national level programs. Youth leadership seminars for club officers are run by government agents who employ the program set up by the Commonwealth Youth Council Secretariat located in Guyana. Many of the Community Development officials were themselves trained at the 16-week diploma course given for social workers through the Commonwealth Youth Secretariat program. It is a residential course and invites participants from throughout the Commonwealth Caribbean and several from other Commonwealth Third World countries.

National civic organizations work with local level youth groups as well. One such project, sponsored by the Castries Jaycees, hopes to secure financing for an animal husbandry project. Land has been donated by government while youth themselves have committed free labor for construction of buildings, clearing ground, and initiating the first phases of the income generating project. Funding is being sought to purchase the building materials and to acquire laying hens and rabbits. Managerial skills will be taught by the Jaycees, who will also train local youth in bookkeeping, sales, management and purchasing. Profits will be used for salaries and reinvestment.

Although a national youth skills training program is embryonic, government sponsors smaller scale training ventures through local youth groups, and teaches craft work, home repairs skills, community development work schemes, and promotion of agriculture. Of the four islands in the Eastern Caribbean St. Lucia is undertaking the most extensive program to mobilize and include youth in a national development effort designed to decrease unemployment, organize income generating projects, reinvigorate agriculture and attract youth as participating members in a national development effort.

Private organizations, such as the St. Lucia Save the Children Association (an affiliate of the Canadian Save the Children Association), carry the burden of income generating projects for adult women. Run by a group of St. Lucian women with Canadian and some U.S. support and government endorsement, the local Save the Children organization is sensitive to the issues that limit women's full participation in income earning endeavors. Creches and child care centers take up a good deal of funding and staff time so as to free women (many of whom are single household heads) from time consuming duties. Babies and children are cared for during the day and are fed, clothed, given naps, and taught pre-school games and skills. The Save the Children project in Anse La Reye, a depressed fishing village on the leeward coast of St. Lucia, serves as an instructive example of what is being done.

Prior to the involvement of the Save the Children Association women in Anse La Reye were unemployed or had to seek cash earning jobs in Castries. Typical jobs available were shop attendants or domestics with monthly salaries of US\$12.30 to US\$15.40 per month. Approximately three hours a day were spent commuting to a cost of US\$6.90 per month. Net spendable wages for household maintenance thus amounted to US\$4.40 to US\$8.50 per month with which some women had to support up to six children.

Save the Children began first by making contact with the Anse La Reye Mother's Club and the name was later changed to the Anse La Reye Women's Club so as not to discourage young women who were not mothers from joining. A total of 60 members were recruited and coined the motto "Self-reliance in National Development." The women received basic information on child care, nutrition, family planning, preserving food-stuffs, home repairs, and clothing repair and recycling. With a seed money grant from C.A.D.E.C. and later financing by C.I.D.A., a skill training and income generating project was established in 1978 that involved women in crochet, knitting, smocking, soft toy manufacture, plant potting, prepared food sales, twining and plaiting of bags, souvenir and craft manufacture. The three Save the Children staff were engaged in teaching, supervising, bookkeeping, finding outlets and markets, and securing funding for expansion. The latter involves the construction of a multipurpose community center that the Anse La Reye Women's Club requested.

Forty-four of the 60 members are involved in part- and full-time employment in the project. They range in age from 16 to 41 years. Over half are female heads of households and support an average of two children each. The majority of the women work on the project six to eight hours per day, while the remaining contribute their time two to four hours a day. Women reported that not only did they garner income that was formerly unavailable to them, but that they learned valuable skills that could be transferred to their households. A frequent dividend mentioned was that they learned to cooperate with one another and felt a new measure of self-confidence. Several women reported earnings of over US\$23.00 per month (with no transportation costs), with the majority gaining US\$5.75 to US\$9.60 a month. And, indeed, many of these women would not have been employed at all were it not for this project.

Problems for project expansion, apart from financing, include the securing of a steady marketing outlet, keeping retail prices competitive with imported goods, adequate storage space for raw materials, a work-meeting place (they now meet in the village court house when it is not in session), and reserve capital to purchase raw materials so as to maintain a steady production. Personal problems, of course, vary. One woman wanted desperately to make craft ware, particularly straw market bags which everyone on the island uses. She was unable to because her eyesight was poor and without glasses (which are imported and expensive) she could not see well enough to do the fine brading work.

Another Save the Children project deals with women in Castries. Throughout the Caribbean women work as street vendors selling various

snacks, tidbits, and drinks. Children buy them before and after school, while adults regularly patronize vendors rather than enter a shop or restaurant. In order to maintain quality control, insure that children eat nutritious food, and to create work opportunities for women, the Save the Children Association has established a production center for ice pops, milk-based snacks, and baked goods. The products are then retailed by vendors in sanitary carts which were regularly checked for cleanliness. Coupled with this was a campaign designed to reach children and parents to encourage them to eat nutritious food rather than the fried fatty or sugar products regularly consumed. Women vendors with children would then turn over a portion of their salaries to a nursery center which cared for their children while they worked.

A variety of such projects are sponsored by other national "women's" clubs to work in conjunction with and further the interests of local, informal female groups. The generation of cash income is not the sole goal but is set in the context of development in its broadest terms; child care, nutrition, responsible parenthood, and the development of self-confidence.

Such development efforts in St. Lucia, whether sponsored by government, civic organizations, or the private sector, promote skills training, income generation, and private enterprise. St. Lucians seem to have realized that the abilities and strengths of individuals collaborating in their community group forums cannot be overlooked. Although the government is implementing a national skills training superstructure along the lines of the Barbados-O.A.S.-sponsored model, they are not neglecting the potential of development efforts linked into and drawing on the social organization of collaboration and cooperation devised by people themselves.

Skills Training and Income Generating Programs

Skills training and income generating projects work closely with informal community level groups in St. Lucia and are strongly endorsed by government, private sector, and national civic organizations. To compliment these development activities, the government, through the Ministry of Community Development, Youth and Social Affairs, and the Ministry of Education, have embarked on two skills training programs administered through national level institutions. Both programs are aimed at primary school leavers and graduates who, at roughly 14 to 18 years of age, find themselves unemployed and ill-prepared for productive work. The skills training programs are in effect, retooling devices designed to overcome problems inherent in the educational system. An official in the Ministry of Community Development made the following observation during a conversation:

Our education system, a relic inherited from the colonial period, is still geared to producing third rate clerks who are in no way committed to the development of the country, for the education received does not adequately prepare them for the task of community involvement, participation, and development.

A National Youth Skills Training Program, funded by U.S.A.I.D., is in the early stages of implementation and is geared to training young people in agricultural and semi- and skilled trades. At this point, young people seeking employment are not only confronted with limited jobs for which to compete but are ill-equipped to take advantage of jobs available. According to 1979 records of St. Lucia's Labour Office, only a small number of youth seeking jobs are presently being placed as is shown in Table II:15.

Table II:15
Youth Seeking and Finding Work Through Labour Office
1979

<u>Age</u>	<u>Number Registered</u>		<u>Number Placed</u>
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	
16	13	26	11
17	18	23	20
18	10	24	11
19	11	30	12
20	11	22	7
21	2	21	8
Total by sex	65 (30%)	146 (70%)	69 (33%)
Total	211 (100%)		69 (33%)

Source: National Office for Social Responsibility, Youth Development Plan for St. Lucia (Alexandria, Virginia: National Office for Social Responsibility, 1979), p. 6.

Training centers will teach agriculture, agro-processing, handi-crafts, garment making, and mechanical skills. The agricultural center will be residential, for 100 youths, while the others will require daily attendance of 40 to 80 participants. A detailed report has been made available through the National Office for Social Responsibility in the U.S.A. describing project structure, recruitment policies, staffing and funding.

Reports received while in St. Lucia indicate that the project is experiencing operational problems. Only one center, the agricultural training center, is in operation, and it is not functioning well. Other centers are awaiting funding before their operations begin. This is an ambitious project and contains seeds of merit. However, based on observations in St. Lucia and one other LDCs, several caveats should be pointed out.

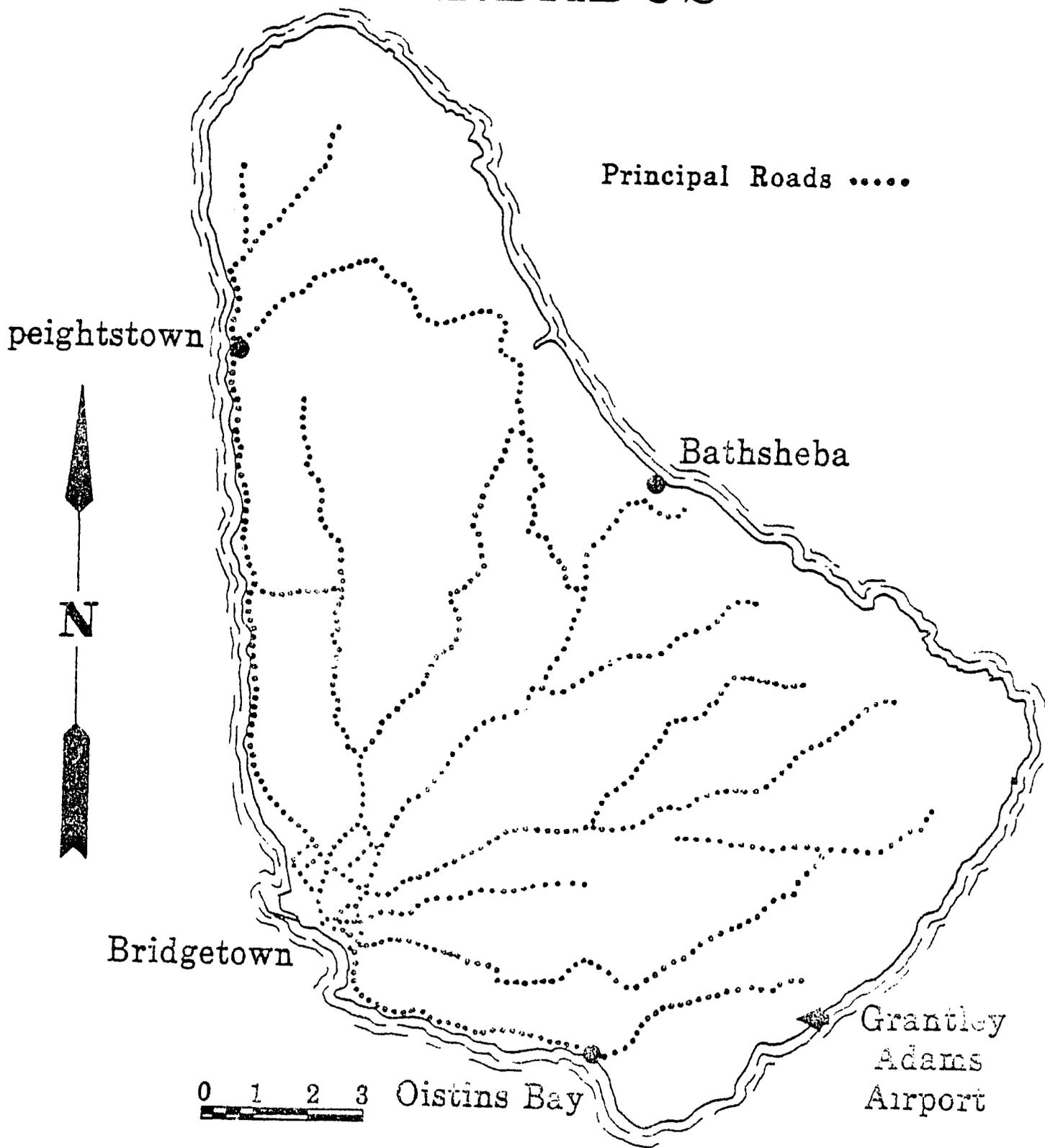
The project itself is aimed at producing individual specialists. This may not be in the best interest of a basically rural, underdeveloped

society where communities have to be reached and shored up before the emphasis on individuals. Given the rural-urban nature of St. Lucia and difficulties in travel, transportation, and communication, the program may inadvertently assist urban and town dwellers more than the vast majority of the rural unemployed and unskilled. Also, with formal recruitment policies the project may absorb only the "best and the brightest" of the primary school leavers and graduates and not touch the poorly educated who are in more serious need of rehabilitation. Such a program, relying on a national superstructure of administration might be better suited for a country like Barbados which has initially a well educated population with basic needs already met. Also, the transportation system in Barbados allows ease of commuting and a more equitable island-wide participation in national programs.

Another formal, institutionalized effort of the St. Lucia government is the agricultural training program designed to be grafted onto the final year of primary school study. It aims to prepare students for the realities of the job market by training them in agriculture but emphasizing the entrepreneurial aspects of purchasing supplies, efficient planting techniques, introducing them to government agencies capable of lending assistance, basic bookkeeping, marketing, retailing, and agrobusiness. This project is in the planning stages and proposals are available through the Ministry of Education outlining its structure and operation.

In summary, these government-sponsored national efforts stand to complement the grass roots projects undertaken through more informal means throughout the countryside and in urban neighborhoods.

BARBADOS



Barbados

Unemployment

Between 1960 and 1963 unemployment represented an average 12 percent of the labor force; this rate dropped as low as 8.7 percent in 1970. However, by 1975 the unemployment rate soared to nearly 23 percent; a dramatic increase attributed to the general recession in world economies which resulted from the oil crisis.

It is noteworthy to point out, for Caribbean planners, that in time of recession there is an increase in the number of people actively seeking work. This is due in large measure to the Barbadian (and, indeed, Caribbean) concept of household as the operational economic unit. Under conditions of relative (household) prosperity it is not necessary for members to "work"--at jobs they find distasteful--if their households can support them. This applies especially to young people and, in part, to adult women. For example, if the only wage earner in a household of six older teenagers and adults loses his job, then all six may be forced to go actively seek employment until one or a combination secure incomes that bring the household budget to parity again. Thus, there is some evidence to suggest that the dramatic increase in unemployment after the recessionary mid 1970s was partly a result of persons seeking work for the first time. As the recession eased and a number of people, who would not have sought work in "normal" times, left the labor market, the unemployment rate fell again to the official 1978 government figure of 12.6 percent. A recent World Bank report places the overall figure at 15.2 percent.¹⁵

What is significant in the present unemployment situation is the very high proportion of unemployed who are seeking their first jobs. This leads to a tentative conclusion that one of the major problems of unemployment is largely one of absorbing young school leavers and, to a lesser extent, adult women.

Among males 16 to 19 years old unemployment is at the alarming level of 40 percent; this percentage falls to 14 percent for males aged 20 to 24. Among females, the problems becomes even more acute, with unemployment as high as 60 to 80 percent among the 16 to 19 age group and around 20 percent for those between 20 and 24.

This depressing statistical background is further aggravated by educational, sociological and attitudinal problems and constraints facing young people and adult women. The simple provision of "more jobs" is not a solution to the problem and the reasons for why this is so will be explored below.

¹⁵As quoted in Barbados Economics Report 1979 (Barbados: Minister of Finance and Planning, April 1980), P. 17.

Occupational Preferences

Barbadians are a singularly proud people. However, this spirit often leads to difficulties in a neo-colonial, developing society. It is a widely held stereotype in the Caribbean, and one aggressively fostered by many Barbadians, that they are the most "British" of West Indians. In many parts of the West Indies this distinction would bring forth reactions ranging from jeers and catcalls to tendentious discussions of Caribbean culture--what it is, was, or should be. For Barbadians, however, this label is a cultural plus and fuels their self-concept of being no mean peasant, cane cutter, shuffling, illiterate "go-fer" or obsequious servant toiling in the noon day sun.

In the Caribbean context Barbados is an extremely prosperous country and this prosperity feeds aspirations and expectations. One's place in the world is measured by a concept of dignity coupled with the possession of a cornucopia of material goods, consumer items, and foreign imports. Now, the contradiction lies in the fact that since one aspires to procure these items and maintain the aura of prestige attached to them, one does not (and, indeed, should not) resort to the depths of manual labor to make these acquisitions. Prosperity and the very cosmopolitan nature of Barbadian society reinforce and perpetuate a very picky, almost cavalier attitude toward work.

The academic bias of Barbados' primary and secondary educational system is widely known. The training it provides young people begins at an early age to prepare them for white collar, if not prestigious, "clean" jobs. Technical jobs are only recently beginning to appeal to young Barbadians.

A story was told us by a man who worked himself up from a street vendor to owner of a string of small restaurants. He dismisses people who are unwilling to "work themselves up" in life and declares for his fellow Barbadians that "pride stops advancement." He tells the story of a mother and her small girl who sought financial help from him. He offered a loan of US\$40 for the girl to buy, bag and sell peanuts on the street. He pointed out that after paying expenses she would begin to net US\$25 per week. Conceivably the 15 year old could make about US\$50 per week once she learned the routine. The mother was aghast and said "I don' want me little girl goin' that because she be laughed at." However she was willing to have her daughter work as a barkeep in a pub owned by this man; he refused saying she was too young and would make less money than vending peanuts. He pointed out to us after that the girl will probably remain unemployed or will take a low paying office job. (As a shop attendant she would earn US\$37.50 per week.)

It has been pointed out elsewhere in this report that the level of household prosperity in Barbados allows dependent children to wait for the job they want to come along. In the meantime they are provided for by their parents. An educational system that treats manual labor as insufficiently dignified and a society which is still class and color conscious reinforces the picture. Although there is social mobility and the ethos of a meritocracy present, attention must always be paid to good form, appearance, and the subtle rules of the game.

Own-account agriculture faces serious problems in Barbados--not the least of which is its almost total dismissal as an occupation by young people. Professional positions requiring university education are aspired to first and foremost, followed by managerial posts, administrative and government work, teaching, nursing and, more recently, the skilled trades. The numerous shops, stores, large concerns, hotels, restaurants, and public service sector offices provide, at least, "white shirt and tie" work. With the security provided by such work self-employment is not popular.

The list could go on. However, the situation in Barbados is in many ways different than the rest of the Eastern Caribbean. In the LDCs a young person aspires to prestigious occupations but does not expect them. In fact, this becomes very clear by the late teens when one is forced to work at anything (if available) because of financial contingencies. Barbadians both aspire to and expect if not clean then prestigious occupations. They can afford to cultivate these aspirations until much later in life than young people in the LDCs and build up a life style that supports their ambitions. Living well, in fact or fantasy, is not an easy habit to break.

A notable shift in attitudes is taking place among young people who are entering the semi-skilled trades. Although auto mechanics, electrical work and carpentry are preferred over plumbing and masonry, young people males and females, between 14 and 18 years of age (primary school and secondary school leavers) are participating in small scale, somewhat informalized skills training programs designed to teach them the basics of a craft. They will presumably be the tradesmen and technicians, unlike their countrymen and women who are trained in the more advanced and theoretical curriculum of the Technical College. This is in all the more noteworthy trend because it reaches the school leaver, probably poorer and unemployed, who is willing to shelve the classical ambitions of Barbadian youth and explore new forms of occupational possibilities. This is especially the case as people become aware of the higher pay available in skilled manual work. Such a trend, however, requires jobs to absorb a new group of trained young people with their new set of aspirations.

Constraints to Small-Scale Agricultural Development

Of the 106,200 acres of land that comprise Barbados, approximately 66,000 acres are arable and sugarcane is grown on 37,000 of these. Sugar, grown on plantation-estates has been the mainstay of the Barbadian economy for over 400 years. Small farms--up to 10 acres in size--occupy the remaining areas (see Table II:16). In the mid 1970s there were approximately 25,800 small farms producing sugarcane, vegetables and ground provisions. In addition, several hundreds specialized in poultry, pig, and vegetables for the hotel trade. The major criticism leveled against agriculture of this sort in Barbados is its comparatively low level of technology and the low incomes produced. Neither of these two comments is surprising when one considers the size of small agricultural holdings.

Table II:16

<u>Size</u>	<u>Total Number of Holding in 1971</u>
Holding without land*	13,157
0-1 acre	9,301
1-5 acres	3,170
5-10 acres	161

*These are holding with houseplots or kitchen gardens. Also included are yards where poultry and livestock are reared.

Source: Haynsley Benn, "Education for the Future of Agriculture in Barbados," Erdiston College, Barbados, 1972-1974, p. 9. (Stencil)

Compared with plantations which must set aside 12.5 percent of their estate area for the cultivation of food crops, small farms are not dominant in food production. In 1970 small farms accounted for 15 percent of the yams produced, 19 percent of the eddoes, 28 percent of the sweet potatoes and 59 percent of the corn. The remainder was produced by large estates. In vegetable production, small farms accounted for over 80 percent of all vegetables grown on the island. Total plantation and small farm production of food crops amounted to 37 percent of the total food consumed in the country.

Problems of Small Farming. Although there are serious material problems that the farmer faces, such as soil depletion, lack of irrigation, land fragmentation, availability of credit, need for marketing outlets and the like, the major feature inhibiting the growth or replenishment of this sector is the attitudes of young people. Not only are young people trained in an educational system that emphasizes non-farming occupations but there are also non-farming occupations available to the young Barbadian who has the requisite education and skills. The future of small scale agriculture is not bright in Barbados. Young people are genuinely uninterested and scornful of the occupation. Whereas the section on limitations to small agricultural development in St. Vincent emphasized the concrete negative features of agriculture that influenced young people not to enter the occupation, in Barbados one must consider the overwhelming presence of other attractive occupations open to young people.

In addition, there are numerous factors that make farming difficult and risky as a career. One, first off, cannot dismiss the overwhelming presence of the large plantation. Labor on such estates is the lowest rung in the West Indian occupation hierarchy. With low wages and back

breaking work, this is the arch "field-nigger" job of the West Indies. Barbados must regularly import Vincentians to cut cane because the job is too shameful for Barbadians. However, scores of Barbadians migrate to cut cane in Florida during season. No one in Florida is apt to recognize them.

Obtaining credit is difficult for although several institutions make loans (commercial banks, Sugar Industry Agricultural Bank, Agricultural Development Bank, and the Barbados Development Bank), they are not suited nor do they cater specifically to the small farmer. The hesitation to make loans for the cultivation of vegetables and root crops is based on the difficulty of ensuring that the loan will be repaid. This problem is, of course, tied into limitations that affect profitable agriculture.

Most small farmers either sell their produce in the Bridgetown market, or other city markets or employ "hawkers" to sell or re-sell their goods. Other outlets are hotels, supermarkets, wholesalers and the Barbados Marketing Board. As with farming throughout the West Indies, the Barbadian farmers lack sufficient storage facilities to keep their crops safe from theft and spoilage, and must often contend with gluts and shortages in the market. Presumably the Barbados Marketing Corporation monitors supply and demand and keeps the farmer and public informed. This is not always the case. An example involves a certain Mr. Kinch, a farmer, who claims that he agreed to deliver 9,000 pounds of tomatoes to the Barbadian Market Corporation (BMC). After harvesting his eight acres of tomatoes he was told the the BMC had already imported several thousands of pounds of tomatoes and would not require his. Mr. Kinch was in a pinch because the imported tomatoes were being sold by BMC at a price lower than he could sell his (see Illustration II:2).

Irrigation and soil maintenance is a problem, especially for vegetable producers. Also, as with the rest of the Caribbean, small plots were always on the leanest, most marginal lands while plantations dominated the most fertile accessible areas.

These are some of the reasons for the lack of interest and outright rejection of agriculture as a way of life in Barbados. Young people especially, even when unskilled and unemployed, dismissed agriculture as a viable occupational alternative. In the entire time spent in Barbados only one person (a young man) was met who looked forward to small farming as an occupation. He was enrolled in the agricultural program at the Technical College and would soon inherit his parent's plot. He was an enthusiastic young farmer; though it is interesting to note that while working in his test plot at the College he wore yellow rubber dishwashing gloves so as not to dirty his hands.

Cooperatives for farmers are almost absent in Barbados as are any clubs and organizations designed to bring together farmers or future farmers for discussions and workshops. The Barbados Agricultural Society is understaffed and underfunded. Even the 4-H club is unsuccessful in mounting any programs of substance and attraction. It was interesting to note however that at the annual 4-H club leaders meeting

Illustration II:2

BMC, farmers must work together

The marketing problems facing Mr. David Kinch, a local farmer, who has thousands of pounds of tomatoes on his hands, once more focuses attention on one of the frustrating aspects of our agriculture. Mr. Kinch, it is reported, has some 9 000 pounds of tomatoes on cold storage at the Barbados Agricultural Society (BAS); and still has an estimated 20 000 pounds to be reaped. The fear is that that a large portion of the unreaped tomatoes will rot in the fields.

It is being maintained that Mr. Kinch's difficulty in having his crop sold locally stems from the importation of tomatoes by the Barbados Marketing Corporation and FMR Management Services, at the time Mr. Kinch was harvesting his crop. To add to the consternation surrounding the whole issue, it is claimed that the BMC was informed as early as July 1 about what the local output would be like.

In the circumstances where our bill for food imports keeps rising it is hard to understand why we are allowing these situations to develop. It does not make sense when we are encouraging our farmers to grow more food to have them confronted with marketing difficulties that are far from herculean. It would seem that all is required is a better understanding on the part of the BMC about what crops will be available and when. But if it can still be claimed after such information is made available to the BMC that the farmers are still running into trouble because of BMC imports we are then not really getting anywhere.

We are not in a position to take surplus crops off the hands of our farmers. In countries like the United States when production levels far outstrip demand there are ways and means of buying unsold crops from farmers and stockpiling them. Tomatoes, a highly perishable crop, does not lend itself to this type of treatment, but the point is made to show that where there are certain miscalculations as regards certain crops, a country like the United States because of its resources is better able to avoid the frustration that farmers would have experienced in different circumstances.

In Barbados we have to be a lot more accurate in what we expect to harvest and what we have coming on the market at any particular time. The BMC is not in a position to pay the local farmers for crops which it cannot sell. So it must be able to ensure that when the farmers produce the crops it is able to sell them. It is not encouraging for farmers to find on top of this that the BMC is also misreading the market potential of various crops.

It can also be appreciated that the BMC as a Government agency will see itself as having a responsibility not only to the farmer but also to the Barbadian consumer. This is as it should be. But the efficiency of the Corporation will be measured by the ease with which it is able to reconcile these two roles.

Be that as it may, one of the charges made against the BMC in the recent mix-up over the tomatoes is that it is offering its imported tomatoes at a lower price than what the farmers are asking for theirs. The farmers are apparently of the opinion that this is being done to further compound their problems. It is when we move into areas of suspicion such as this that the image of the Corporation suffers and it becomes that much harder to ensure co-operation later from the farmers. At the root of this marketing problem is a communication breakdown. Until the farmers and the BMC manage to overcome this, the frustrations will continue and with each incident it will magnify only to do even greater harm to our farming in the months ahead.

this year, Mr. Ronald Baynes, Agricultural Development Officer of the Barkley's Bank, opened their conference. Thus, there is interest in continuing their efforts though unfortunately for Barbados, strong grass roots level clubs for young people do not exist as in the other islands.

Although the failure of agriculture in the LDCs of the Eastern Caribbean can be traced to the staggering problems facing farmers and the inability of government to help its potential farmers, there is great interest among the peoples there to engage in own-account agricultural work. The situation is virtually the opposite in Barbados. There are skilled extension workers in what is a rational and relatively efficient government and there are some sources of financing available. However, Barbadians would rather do other work.

Women

Unlike the LDCs, and most other countries in the Caribbean, Barbados has undertaken a national survey of the position of women. The National Commission of the Status of Women was established at the end of 1976 by the government of Barbados, which empowered it to investigate and report on a wide range of areas that effect women: law, health facilities, tax, employment, education, the media, and others. The Commission, composed of a number of individuals from different walks of life and ages, began its work in 1977. The final report, with extensive recommendations, appeared in two volumes in May 1978. A number of the recommendations have already been acted upon by government. What should be noted here is that the Report of the National Commission on Women in Barbados concerned itself not only with blatant inequities, but with attitudes. This evidences a sensitivity to those patterns of behavior and perception, by men and women, embedded in the society and culture that perpetuate the inferior status of women, and which are harder to change than clear legal discrimination.

As this study and many others are readily available, and cited in the bibliography that concludes this report, there is no need to review their findings. This section will concentrate therefore on noting the current statistical picture of women and unemployment, and certain aspects of a recent study of low-income women in Barbados.

Although over half of the population of Barbados is female, in the first quarter of 1980 only 56.5 percent of the women, including the unemployed were in the labor force. The highest number of working women are between the ages of 25 and 34; most of the unemployed females are 15 to 19 years old. In 1979 the Barbados Chamber of Commerce estimated that the overall unemployment rate for Barbados was 12.5 percent, an increase of over 60 percent since 1970. The unemployment rate for females, however, was and is much higher than for males. In the 16-19 age range, males register an unemployment rate of 40 percent, while 60 to 80 percent of the females in that age group are unemployed. Among adults between the ages of 20 and 24, 14 percent of the men were unemployed, while 20 percent of the women were. According to the government, the overall unemployment rate for females in the labor force was 18.5 percent in 1979, almost twice that for males (8.6 percent).

There is a Department of Women's Affairs within the Ministry of Labour and Community Affairs. It attempts to function as an information center, a lobby, advisor to government, and the initiator of income-generating programs for women--all with three staff members in small quarters. There is no question but that they do not have the staff, the space, or the money to do the many jobs they are there to do. This is a good example of a fine intent frustrated by lack of adequate and appropriate support.

A recent study of low-income women in Barbados was completed by a small non-profit organization whose intent is to "provide training and loans to encourage the development and growth of women's businesses."¹⁶ Rather than begin with the method of making an income (e.g., sewing), the process began with the design and completion of a survey of 395 low-income women who were unemployed or only seasonally or part-time employed. The proportionate stratified cluster sample included women from all the parishes of the island. Although not all of the findings, or their implications, can be dealt with here, it would be appropriate to emphasize some that either supported our own findings, or threw light on the complexity involved in establishing skills training programs.

The survey wanted to learn about the specific needs and skills these women would bring to an income generating program. One of the conclusions was that the vast majority wanted to work, as opposed to the supposition that most women who do not now work choose to remain home. The women surveyed ranged in age from 16 to 44 years; 75 percent were not married although they had responsibility for the care of an average of two and a half children each, the younger women having even more. Income was dependent largely on remittances from abroad and from "visiting" friends (male). According to the report, the younger woman's dependence is greater than just the reliance on contributions would indicate as she probably also lives in her mother's or grandmother's house and thus somewhat under their control. "When we couple these facts with the lack of opportunity for wage earning employment, her lack of either technical skills or job getting 'know-how,' and a quality of individual reticence that discourages aggressive 'getting ahead' behavior the forces for stasis are powerful."¹⁷

The report, while indicating some of the non-economic results of unemployment, further weakens any argument that having an adult male in the house will automatically increase the income of the household:

¹⁶Women in Development, Inc. [WID, Inc.], A Study of Low-Income Women in Barbados (BARBADOS: Women in Development, Inc., 1980), p. 2.

¹⁷WID, Inc., Low-Income Women in Barbados, p. 44.

While approximately five out of ten households may be headed by men, only one of these men will contribute income. With only one of ten women in a household being employed, the young woman has actually had very little vicarious participation in income-generating work through those closest to her. In her life, there is often no identifiable role model who works. An important source of information about work is thereby pre-empted, further alienating her from learning attitudes, values, and habits conducive to further employment.¹⁸

Surprisingly the survey revealed that 40 percent of the women had had some kind of training after leaving school, even if it was only for cake decoration classes. About half of the respondents also cited some previous experience with job-holding. "If the respondent had the opportunity to work and to be trained, as she sees it, then why didn't she fully exploit her opportunity? The mere presence of the opportunity is patently insufficient."¹⁹

Part of the answer to this question lies in examples and conditions cited above and elsewhere in the report. What makes these figures and conclusions so striking is that one might have expected this to occur less in Barbados where the literacy rate is estimated to be nearly 100 percent, where probably everyone goes at least through primary schools, and where there is no over-riding concern with basic needs, as they are already met, even for the group surveyed. The report cites a number of converging conditions that may help to answer the question. Poor nutrition and health care, in large part the result of ignorance of bodily needs, correct food habits, and under-utilization of health care facilities, is part of the answer. So is the very low level of literacy and numeracy that these women actually left school with, making it difficult if not impossible for them to handle reading materials like newspapers, manuals, contracts, and in some cases written directions. Mathematical skills were poorer than reading skills. Their responsibilities at home, caring for children, also precluded free use of time and mobility outside of the home. The low level of income in the household makes child-care services too expensive, even at US\$7.50 a week.

Perhaps most important, however, was the particular configuration of experience and attitudes that would need to be addressed in any further skills training:

...It is also a question of the overwhelming need of the participants to develop new attitudes regarding themselves as effective and productive people, as learners,

¹⁸WID, Inc., Low-Income Women in Barbados, p. 44.

¹⁹WID, Inc., Low-Income Women in Barbados, p. 44.

as women who can make something good happen for themselves. Given the importance the society attaches to Level O's and A's, we can anticipate that these young women, virtually none of whom have O's and A's, have internalised over their lifetime an image of themselves as failures and misfits. Unless the imagery can be fundamentally transmuted into a positive belief in their personal effectiveness, no amount of technical training will 'take'. Where they have been taught to obey, they must learn to question. Where they have been taught to listen, they must learn to speak. Where their posture to life has been basically passive and reactive, they must learn to actively assert. Where they have been taught to learn answers, they must learn to define problems. For these are some of the attitudes necessary for successful entrepreneurship which requires an inquiring mind and a spirit of lively independence.²⁰

Helping people to develop these new attitudes of independence is the biggest challenge facing those who wish to develop programs for people to help themselves.

Migration and Remittances

Between 1950 and 1972 over 62,000 people migrated to the United Kingdom, the United States, and Canada. This phenomenon has not only had demographic consequences for Barbados but has also provided an outside source of remittance income for the island territory. This population movement has been largely one of permanent removal though there is the recent suggestion that Barbadians are now returning to their homelands. No information was gathered that dealt with who these returnees are, how long they have been away, or if this return flow is a general pattern or simply an incident in the general process of population movement.

Barbadians have also moved to other countries. Before World War II the migratory time frame tended to temporary, non-seasonal removal with workers laboring on the Panama Canal, on the banana estates of Central America and in the sugar fields of Cuba and the Dominican Republic. Large numbers went to the United States during the 1920s and many stayed there. The largest migrations took place during the 1950s and early 1960s with a massive migration to the United Kingdom followed by a renewal movement to Canada and the United States. Because of their high education most Barbadians were welcomed overseas and filled positions in nursing, business, and, to some extent, teaching.

²⁰WID, Inc. Low-Income Women in Barbados, p. 13.

A more recent, and considerably smaller trend, has been the export of seasonal labor. Although proportionally fewer than the emigrating workers from the LDCs, Barbadians can be found cutting sugarcane in south Florida and harvesting vegetables in Canada. Comprised mostly of males, many of them in their 40s and 50s, these sugarcane cutters usually return to their home society with their savings. Women also participate in this new migration by leaving for the United States and Canada in hopes of securing work as domestics or factory laborers. The nature of this sort of work means that their stays are considerably longer than the seasonal migrants.

Within this process exists the utility of temporary migration as a screen covering longer term interests. Many Barbadians have, for example, relatives overseas who are nationals of other countries. With this "chain" connection, many migrants hope to secure permanent work visas with better chances to stay put in the host society.

The talk of Barbadian brain drain is widespread and Barbados certainly exports more brains than the less well educated islands of the Eastern Caribbean. Certainly such professions as nursing are in high demand in the developed receiving societies. Barbados probably will continue to train skilled people whether they migrate or not; the entire educational system is geared for such training. A high official in the Ministry of Labor went so far as to suggest that Barbados should continue training highly skilled people and "exporting" them so that healthy remittances can be assured. Early observers from the 1960s have pointed out that Barbados enjoys the prosperity it does due in no small part to the stupendous remittances it receives. A recent study of low-income women in Barbados found that about 40 percent of their income is received from remittances sent from overseas.²¹

Such reasoning has certain sociological consequences. Often, for example, upwardly mobile young people leave their children behind claiming either that they will send for them or send regular support payments to the person, usually an older woman, who cares for the children. One of the consultants was in a poolroom-bar on the rather seamy Nelson Street strip in Bridgetown late one weeknight and had a conversation with a 14-year-old boy who reported that he climbs out of his bedroom almost every night to go on the town. He lives with his grandmother who is elderly and has no trouble "fooling her." His mother has been in the United Kingdom since he was four years old. Several government officials claimed that this was a fairly widespread occurrence and suggested that it indicated a decline in the jural and authoritative control adults have over children.

Emigration in Barbados does not seem to have a imbalancing effect on the agricultural division of labor, as it often does in the LDCs. Since own-account farming (which relies on males and females) is so

²¹WID, Inc., Low-Income Women in Barbados, Appendix V, p. 74.

small and on the decline, the consequences of migration for small farming seem minimal. Also, for the small LDCs the migration of one trained statistician could conceivably bring the recording machinery of a ministry to a halt. In Barbados, however, such trained personnel are widely available.

For Barbados, therefore, emigration may be highly adaptive behavior. People move because of overcrowding and because of a glut in the professions produced by the educational system. The motives for the majority of Barbadian migrants may be different from those of the migrant from St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and Dominica. For migrants from the LDCs migration is seen as gaining access to desperately needed supplementary wage labor. The movement is seasonal and the migrant returns. For Barbadians the departure seems permanent or, at least, of long duration. Barbadians overseas regularly get better jobs than their Eastern Caribbean counterparts and often follow advanced education (if that was not their motive for migrating in the first place). If they secure a good position there is reluctance to go back to a less well paying position in what at times can be the hum-drum and tedium of a small-scale island society where an employer is more apt to ask about your family connections than your performance at university.

A subtle but difficult distinction can be attempted for Barbados and the LDCs. Migrants from St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and Dominica leave their homes, usually temporarily, under the mandate of absolute and excruciating financial necessity. Cash money is needed to supplement incomes or the simple production of subsistence goods. Barbadians may leave because their aspirations take them past the shores of their country to greater horizons beyond.

Rastas

Although one can talk about an "Eastern Caribbean Rasta movement," it would be more accurate to suggest that the Rasta movement most closely reflects the society of which it is a part. Thus, for a variety of economic, cultural and demographic reasons, Rastafari in Barbados is somewhat different from that of St. Vincent or Dominica.

For example, there is a great sense of respectability and propriety in Barbados; reserve in public manners, rules of deference and formality, and a sense of "a place for everything and everything in its place." Barbadian Rastas were raised in this system and now must try to learn to live in the atmosphere of Barbados while undertaking different enterprises and developing different life styles and ideas.

Foremost, the Barbadian Rasta must decide just how "public" he wants to go in the movement; a primary consideration is whether one should grow locks or, if they are grown, whether one should display them publicly or cover them with a tam. The sight of long locks displayed in public on a young man dressed in a tee-shirt, sneakers, cut-offs, and

sporting a pointed beard annoys many Barbadians. (This would not necessarily be the case in the less formal societies of the Eastern Caribbean.) Also, the relatively high level of prosperity in Barbados takes the edge off many protest movements and makes citizens less sympathetic to the ideology and protests of Rastafari. (This is not the case in the Eastern Caribbean where people may not agree with the style and methods of Rastas but admit that young people have some legitimate gripes.) Thus, it is a harder fight to maintain the Rasta style in Barbados.

Rastas in Barbados have become the object of some concern and attention. The suggestion has been raised that many of the young people involved in crime in Barbados are Rastas. A more judicious Minister of Communications and Works observed that "We must look seriously at those people who masquerade as Rastas to give the true Rasta a bad name and image in our society."²² Marijuana appears to be the major point of contention between Rastas and "respectable" Barbadians, the latter apparently finding marijuana the source and fuel of greater evils to come. The anti-marijuana feeling was clearly more intense in Barbados than in the LDC, and adds to the reason why police keep a close if suspicious eye on anyone who looks Rasta.

Although there is a strong ambivalence about Rastas in Barbados one of the largest public clusters of Rastas sits squarely on the elegant, tourist oriented main shopping street at Bridgetown. It is a small alley way, between luxury department stores and connects to bustling streets. Not wider than ten feet it contains at any one time during the day over 25 young Rasta men making and selling shoes, leather goods, craft items, jewelry, souvenirs, and art work. Tourists, and some locals, wander in and out. Several of the young men sleep there at night under their display tables. Although the young men neither own nor rent the property, and it is in fact a public thoroughfare, everyone knows that it is their "turf." Evidently this suits both the Rastas and officialdom as neither seems to bother the other in the course of day-to-day affairs.

Young Rasta men also peddle trinkets and wares on the tourist thronged beaches outside the luxury hotels. Unlike the Rastas of Roker's Alley whose costuming is full and evident, the Rastas who work the beach usually tuck their locks up under their tans and caps. Some, in a calculated though casual way leave one small lock exposed, decorated with red, yellow and green beads. One can presume this is a tradeoff; hotel management would not want Rastas under full sail walking the beach and simply by their appearance scaring visiting white tourists. With locks covered everyone has compromised enough to get along--and keep those tourists who are in the dark, in the dark and those in the know, in the know.

²² Advocate News, Barbados, October 9, 1980, p. 2. Our emphases.

Other Barbadian Rastas possess skills and work in jobs that require day-to-day contact with management and the public. They adapt also and mute their feelings and their style to fit into the flow of Barbadian life. In most cases they cut or hide their locks, often in attempts to cut the proper figure when looking for a job. Rastas appeared convinced that they would not be hired by most employers without these compromises. Some, in fact, choose not to compromise, although it is not clear how much this is evidence of prejudicial employers or their lack of job-hunting skills. As with the rest of the Caribbean, the ranks of the Rastafari in Barbados tend to be overwhelmingly poorer, blacker, and less well-educated young men. That some university graduates are Rastas is often noted as evidence of the movement's wide appeal, although these recruits remain a very small minority. Although Barbados is more of a meritocracy than many other places in the Caribbean, it is still a very class conscious society where good form, rearing, and education are considered essential. There is also the colonial legacy of affixing a negative valance to dark pigmentation and it does not need a sociologist to recognize that in Barbados the bulk of the upper classes are white or colored while the working class and lower class is black.

Of these many young people from poorer families who leave school with few marketable skills and experiences, there are few obvious choices by their lights. Being Rasta is one. For the teenagers, being Rasta can be a source of alternative status acquisition. It can remain a rationalization and excuse for one's low position--but it can also support some interesting, though short term, economic activities. Some of the independent entrepreneur's spirit can find support in Rastafari; whether the specific areas of endeavor, crafts particularly, will develop as sound economic options is too early to tell.

In any case, Barbados appears to be an inhospitable home for Rastafari. There are too many social pressures and alternatives--educational, vocational, economic, and political--to divert the attention of the young. Lacking a strong, independent farmer tradition there isn't even easy access for young Barbadians to seek out an agricultural bond with Nature.

Identity Management

As limitations have been instrumental in forming the perceptions of Vincentian youth, so have opportunities and prosperity influenced many young Barbadians. To "make show" and put on the style is widely appreciated entertainment in the Caribbean. The story teller, dancer, singer, and sharp dresser always has had a position of high esteem in the community. Simply watching people is a source of amusement, as well as a means of gathering what may be useful bits of information on someone. Thus, to walk the streets of more prosperous Caribbean cities--of which Bridgetown is certainly one--is to be absorbed into flashes of color,

sights, sounds, smells, high pitched laughter, and quadraphonic conversation levels. Broad Street looks as though it supports the most prosperous, well-dressed population in the Caribbean. And, for that short span of time on a Saturday afternoon perhaps it does. The young men who gather there, perhaps without the financial resources to buy a bottle of rum, are somebodies, in charge and in control. They are men among men, just as good as anybody else.

This style permeates other areas of life as well, particularly strategies designed to procure wealth. What in some circles would be considered low and demeaning work is, if cast and interpreted in another light, a job requiring consummate skill, personal savvy, and intellectual agility.

It is widely known that the beaches of Barbados, especially around Bridgetown, are crowded with all manner of tourists each with certain tastes, pastimes, pleasures, and interests. Apart from that they possess money. Thus they present a ready market for sales and services. Two general types of male entrepreneur can be roughly identified.

One is athletic, dressed in a bathing suit or street wear tailored to display his physical endowments. Some will keep a visiting lady company for expenses, sexual favors, and on occasion, a fee. Others may play volleyball with tourists, perhaps take them around on the town and procure prostitutes, drugs, etc. They engage in banter and live the fast-paced high-life. They could talk the ears off a visitor from New York, London, Ottawa, or Heidelberg. They also possess a savvy and are not regularly found with the hotel staff who grind out their days working "for somebody else." These young men are, in their own opinions, self-confident, articulate, very cool international hipsters who deal with life on their own terms. No pandering servants these.

The second group is salesmen, gifted recanteurs, who dart from sunbather to sunbather, offering for sale a bewildering variety of coral necklaces, broaches, pendants, rings, badges, and key chains. They too are in control and their symbol is the velvet-lined attache case. They are "living free," a term expressing the desire not to be responsible to anybody but yourself. The general perception they hold is that working for someone else amounts to nothing more than enriching that person at your own expense. However, this is also self-employment at its very best and requires for survival a string of activities which include diving for the coral, fashioning the item, sales, and distribution. Each entrepreneur may do one or all of the production activities. Thus, we see that under certain circumstances there is dignity perceived in labor. However, we should not assume that this sense of dignity for these young men could be transferred to other areas of economic endeavor--least of all assembly line work or agriculture.

We should note there are also women who work the beaches and who are not prostitutes. Usually they are middle-aged and sell beach wraps for females. The bulk of the merchandise is such that they must erect kiosks under large umbrellas to display their wares in one place. Their mobility is limited, and as a result the women vendors are now licensed

and taxed, unlike the young men who can simply take up their stock cases and move on.

Reports are unclear as to whether or not these people are considered employed or unemployed officially, or whether they make up a proportion of the large numbers of the documented unemployed. They have found chinks in the tourist industry they can fill, and try to make a living.

Crime, Punishment, and Rehabilitation

Barbados enjoys a reputation for nonviolence; however, there is concern that growing crime committed by young people is signaling serious problems in a society that presents itself as the most orderly and tranquil in the Caribbean. Barbados' deep involvement in tourism has had an impact on virtually every aspect of life. The availability of luxury commodities in the shops and stores of downtown Bridgetown, the "bright lights-fast life" aura of entertainment hype presented to the temporary visitor, the seemingly carefree relaxation where visitors tend to abandon even elementary cautions and modesty present a ready environment for the growth of criminal activity. Pilfering, purse snatching, picking pockets, burgling shops, "smash and grab," retailing marijuana, and confidence schemes are common offenses. More frightening, and on the increase, are assaults with the use of firearms. These robberies, directed in the main against tourists, usually take place outside the city on country roads while visitors are touring.

Although police statistics do not enumerate or record a person's education, socioeconomic, and employment background, it is the widespread feeling of police and magistrates that the young offenders, who commit the majority of these crimes, are from poorer families, not educated much beyond primary school, unskilled, and unemployed. Basic data about age, sex and offense do exist. Larceny was the preferred offense for persons between the ages of seven and 21. Of the persons arrested in 1978-1979 for larceny, Table II:17 shows the age/sex distributions.

Table II:17

Offenses Involving Larceny

<u>Age/Sex</u>	<u>Housebreaking, Building Break-ins, Burglary, Praedial Larceny, from a Vehicle, of a Vehicle, from the Person, from Shops</u>	
Males, 7-15	43.5%	
Males, 16-21	43.5%	all males, 7-21: 87%
Females, 7-15	3.5%	
Females, 16-21	9.5%	all females, 7-21: 13%
	100.0%	

For males the most popular offense was housebreaking and larceny, larceny from shops and larceny from motor vehicles. For females, larceny from shops was far and away the leading offense. It is interesting to point out that in the course of a year larceny from the person increased 100 percent with all such offenses committed by males between the ages of 16 and 21.

A form of income generating activity that straddles the definitions of legal, illegal, and "immoral" behavior, and which attracts the physically handsome or smooth talker, is the "underground" service industry for the tourist. A fairly standard array of male and female prostitutes, studs, gigolos, escorts, drug retainers, and purveyors of entertainment are available. At best, the tourist may be gently fleeced or the victim of the old shell game. However, documented cases exist of robbery and rape.

Perhaps the most controversial group in Barbados are the Rastafarians. The membership is generally comprised of young males between the ages of 14 to the early twenties who voice their opposition to (Babylon) society through a religion and lifestyle of protest. Although there are no studies nor figures available, the Rastas are increasingly accused of committing a disproportionate share of criminal offenses. Intuition and corroborative evidence from other Caribbean countries would suggest that the Rasta movement can attract marginals who masquerade as "true believers" and who use the anonymity of the lifestyle as a convenient excuse for the execution of crimes or as a cover for their activities. Nonetheless, very few of the citizenry make such careful distinctions and condemn the Rastafari for not only their costume and demeanor but accuse them of being at the root of the increasing crime rate. Consequently, the police have been giving a great deal of attention to the Rastas with growing cries in some circles that there is police harassment and brutalization of basically peaceable people.

In the context of the Eastern Caribbean Barbados has the most advanced rehabilitation facilities for young people; however, much serious work remains to be done. The "Boy's Industrial School" is the detention and training center for young boys between ten and 18 years. Although the center was beset by numerous organizational problems in 1978-1979, the dismissal of the former director and several of his staff seemed to quell what was an extremely tense and sometimes violent situation. Approximately 40 boys and young men, ranging in age from ten to 18 were held in detention. Their offenses ranged from murder to vagabondage and truancy. Although there are attempts to keep the older boys separated from younger boys, and serious offenders from minor offenders, such a goal is virtually impossible to achieve. Classroom education is provided as well as skill training in carpentry, tailoring, agriculture, animal husbandry, basic cooking, and personal hygiene. The staff is sensitive and provides emotional therapy to youngsters with massive inferiority complexes whose basic world view is one of suspicion and cynicism. Although the philosophy and commitment of the staff is noteworthy, the center itself is lacking in resources, space, specialized training staff and social workers who can execute follow-up care after the release of detainees. To assume that after their incarceration the young men will become productively employed and committed to the socio-economic well-being of their community is rather naive.

Clubs, Voluntary Organizations and Informal Groups

Literally hundreds of youth groups and clubs are active in Barbados; most of them focus on sports and cultural entertainment, many are associated with churches, while some are organized around socioeconomic development activities. These groups flourish locally and are not coordinated by any national level agency. The Division of Community Development of the government provides, primarily responding at the requests of youth clubs, speakers, workshop leaders, technical assistance, and advice on procedure. Clubs vary in membership size and espoused purpose, but generally include both males and females ranging in age from early teens to early twenties.

Unlike Dominica where youth groups are affiliated with village councils, on St. Lucia where youth activities are supported by a central government coordinating body, with both being involved in "self-help" development efforts, youth groups in Barbados lack both the structure and ideology to undertake such tasks. This is no discredit to Barbadian youth; the society they live in and its demands upon them mitigate against such collective and intense activities.

Barbados is highly urbanized, commercialized, capitalized, and industrialized. Transportation facilities allow for easy and cheap movement around the island and the population is highly mobile, both geographically and socially. There are no isolated pockets of closed communities where residents are forced to fall back on communal work groups and organization to undertake necessary village chores. Barbadians are linked to many formal institutions that fulfill social, education, and financial needs. Thus, the Barbadians are highly individualized and tend to distribute social, financial, educational, and entertainment needs over a variety of groups, cliques, clubs, and institutions. Each individual club performs one function: sports, dance, charity, or whatever. Few are meant to carry many functions as the members are not interrelated or interdependent as they are in villages and towns in the LDCs. To add extensive activities to the club from the outside may well tax the uni-purpose, single-stranded ties that brought the members together in the first place.

The best way to utilize this rich resource base would be to consider the youth groups as nodes in a communication network designed to advance social and personal development through the communication of ideas and programs in young peoples' own frame of reference. Programs, employing lectures, group discussions, audio-visual aids, and documentaries could address everything from personal hygiene to world affairs.

The Division of Community Development provides some of these services or liaises with other appropriate government departments. The Division is usually approached by a group, and if the request is reasonable in terms of financial and physical limitation, support is given. However, there is no over-all coordination of youth programs designed to reach young people. The youth organize themselves, and then look outward for assistance.

At present, community development officers, in addition to their other tasks, are supposed to monitor and contact youth groups. The Division maintains a file of all registered youth groups in the country. Meeting places (usually community centers) are arranged for free and occasional craft courses are organized. Such projects last ten to 12 weeks, touch small groups of 12 to 15 persons--most of whom are women--and involve straw work, coral jewelry making, bamboo work, souvenir manufacture, and short courses in such topics as cake decoration. Contact is also provided with the National Sports Council so as to promote athletic activity. The Division does not directly finance club activities but can put them in touch with organizations that provide funding or material support.

However, to go beyond this level of expectation and commitment could be risky. Youth clubs tend to be solitary in purpose while the society places multiple demand on the members. However, most young people are gregarious and enjoy discussion and learning. Sensitive government (with the distinction drawn between government and particular political parties) could use these fora as communication and teaching conduits.

Skills Training and Income Generating Programs

Individuals and groups in Barbados can acquire knowledge, skills, and access to income gathering projects through several routes. The national educational system includes a range of services from nursery and pre-school centers through primary, junior secondary, and secondary schools, as well as a variety of vocational training centers, a community college, teachers college, nurses college, and technical college, including the University of the West Indies, which offers Ph.D. level work. A variety of church, public and private organizations, agencies, institutes, and clubs offer courses in everything from cake icing to administrative level management skills. Citizens can obtain these services in their own homes, club meeting halls, church basements, and formal educational establishments. Poorer people in Barbados do have the opportunity to enlarge their contributions to the national economic and social development. One example of these opportunities is the O.A.S.-sponsored National Youth Skills Training Program administered through the Department of Labor. A comprehensive vocational training operation that can serve as the prototype for, the Eastern Caribbean, the program is aimed at young primary school leavers and graduates who, between 15 and 20 years of age, are unemployed and unskilled. The program attracts more males than females since the courses taught in its curriculum modules involve traditionally male dominated crafts. Skill training sessions, most usually held in community centers (not schools), are run as "work" rather than "school." Punctuality, care and storage of tools, cleaning up work areas at the end of the day, discipline, and learning to follow instructions are skills and attitudes instructors convey along with specific techniques of a craft.

The program has no formal entry standards based on academic performance (as the technical college does). Applicants are interviewed and screened by instructors who select students on the basis of enthusiasm and seriousness. So as not to discriminate against poorer young people a small stipend covers lunch and transportation costs to one of the nine centers around the island. No tuition or expenses are charged for training, which is offered in the following areas: 1. steelbending and welding, 2. electricity, 3. masonry, 4. carpentry, 5. horticulture, 6. plumbing, 7. automobile mechanics, 8. needlecraft and sewing, and 9. upholstery.

Instructors are master craftsman and emphasize the practical aspects of production and sale rather than the more theoretical issues dealt with by the technical college. Recruitment of trainees is done through advertising in the mass media, distributing application forms to community centers and giving lectures in primary and junior secondary schools. The message is clear; if you are between 15 and 25 years old, unemployed, and want to learn a skill, see us.

The program has been in operation since August 1978 and to date has trained about 400 graduates. The drop-out rate is very low, and although director claimed that none of the graduates ever had to be sent to the labor exchange to seek work, no figures are available on the employment successes of the graduates.

Students work an eight-hour day, five days a week for ten weeks. The courses are taught in modules on the assumption that any profession can be broken down into its component parts and each part presented as a unit in itself. After the completion of the ten-week course the student may leave to look for work or enroll in another, different ten-week module focusing on new aspects of the craft. The Ministry of Labor assists students in locating jobs. The assumption underlying the program is that it has no intention of producing "skilled craftsmen." The goal is to expose young people to a craft and provide them with enough exposure and basic practical knowledge that they will be attractive to employers. Thereafter, with a foot in the door, they learn and expand their skills on the job.

We visited several centers and tabulated the student enrollment by course of study and sex, as is shown in Table II:18.

Table II:18

Enrollment in Courses by Sex of Student
Summer 1980

<u>Course</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Total</u>
Upholstry	12	5	17
Carpentry	11	1	12
Auto Mechanics	4	0	4
Plumbing	11	1	12
Electricity	8	4	12

Although there is no program designed to attract females into traditionally male crafts, neither was there any effort to dissuade them. However, young women wishing to enter these programs would have to take the initiative to challenge role stereotypes, and they would have to do it independently without the assistance of guidance counsellors; there is but one guidance counsellor for the whole island.

The figures in Table II:18 show that, of the total enrollment in the courses sampled, only 11 people or 19 percent of the total 57 students were female, and of these women almost half were involved in upholstery work. Since the project's inception several women have graduated from carpentry training and have attracted the attention of the news media who reported that two women have turned from the conventional jobs open to them and have found satisfying and profitable work as skilled carpenters. The article, reproduced as Illustration II:3, claims that these two women have "given lie" to the criticism that women struggling for equality were only seeking "self-aggrandisement and high salaried desk jobs."

All the student participants, including young Rastas, young people from poor families, students with poor education, and several secondary school graduates, were uniformly enthusiastic and claimed that the new training was exciting and potentially much more profitable than the clerking and office jobs sought by others. Instructors worked along with students on their own projects and had an easy rapport with their charges.

About 200 trainees are enrolled at any one time, though enrollment per course varies. Masonry is the least frequently selected program. There seems to be a need for a basic skill program in hotel services. Plans for expansion, however, are being tabled as the project directors wish to make a manpower study of their trainees and assess the current and projected market needs of the Barbadian economy. It is important that they guard against overproducing skills in one area to the neglect of another.

One issue often raised was "do these programs reach the poorest of the poor?" If by that phrase is meant the streetcorner limer on Broad Street, the young Rasta on his reggae inspired odyssey, or the 15-year-old mother, then the answer is no. What the skills training program does do is to reach the ambitious young person who is poorly educated and unemployed, who hears of the program, and chooses to apply.

As another example of Barbadian services, the Division of Community Development sponsors programs aimed generally at promoting income generating projects. Elementary skill training is provided but is oriented more to improving skills one already possesses rather than instruction in new ones. Although youth groups are involved, women's groups and clubs receive most of the attention. Short lessons are given in food preservation, cookery, sewing and garment making, souvenir manufacture and handcrafts. Basically the intention is to establish cottage level production with the added by-product that these skills will be integrated into the household routine and taught to children. Field officers provide instruction and lend organizational assistance.

Girls and hammer

IN their struggle for equality, women have been venturing into fields of employment, for long considered the preserves of men.

In Barbados, such women have been criticised by many who claim they were seeking self-aggrandisement and high-salaried desk jobs.

However, two young Barbadian girls have given lie to this. The girls are now apprentice carpenters working with Miller Buckley at the 82-room extension of Merriotts Resort Sam Lord's Castle.

Sandra Hurley, of Clifton Hall, St. John, and Shernel Maughn, of Gall Hill, St. John, both 16-years, made their entry into that career by undertaking a three-month course run by Government under the skills workshop programme at the St. John's Community Centre.

The two former St. John Mixed School scholars, said that they felt it was necessary to acquire a skill which could be used for their own benefit and which would be in demand, therefore making it easier for them to get a job.

When they started training, it was discovered that they possessed a keenness, agility, dexterity and interest necessary for success.

Four weeks ago, along with 11 other members of the skills



SHERNEL Maughn...with hammer in hand, waiting to fit a trimming piece while a colleague cuts it to size.

programme (six girls and seven boys) they went to the construction site at Merriotts and were among the batch which was finally selected to work independently from Monday.

Yesterday, when the NATION team visited the site, the girls were busy at work building a door, and seemed quite at home with chisel, saw and plane.

With pencil stuck in her hair, Miss Maughn paused from

hammering on a trimming piece and said that she got much encouragement from her mother who was quite pleased to see her acquire a skill.

Miss Hurley, who was busy smoothing a piece of wood with a plane, added that the hope for her success, expressed by her family, helped her to do better while on the course.

They both promised to be successful in their new venture.



Source: The Nation, Barbados, August 27, 1980.

Funding is not directly provided but the Division often places people in contact with organizations that finance small business. The Division also works to promote social activities, sports, cultural presentations and various topical workshops and seminars. They perform a comprehensive function by acting as a communication network liaising between community level groups and organizations such as church groups, the Y.W.C.A., government and private enterprises that have interest in the promotion of economic development and income generation at the grass roots level.

PART III: RECOMMENDATIONS

We have included material in this report that is appropriate for planners to consider when dealing with the complex issue of unemployment in the Eastern Caribbean. Not only were we selective with the data presented, but we also caution the reader to realize that in fact the problems facing the Caribbean are at once subtle, complex and deeply embedded. Creating jobs and establishing skills training centers will not solve the problems of persistent unemployment and dependency. Such issues could not be explored with sensitivity in the time allotted this survey.

We fully realize that for every recommendation we make there will be numerous caveats or objections raised, emphasizing different data bases, methods, priorities, and ideologies. Our intent, within the scope of work assigned, is to offer an examination of certain facets of social organization and value systems operative in the Eastern Caribbean. We assumed a holistic view of human behavior--ecological, demographic, technological, social, and attitudinal--and kept in mind the overarching significance and constraints of the prevailing political systems.

Having said this, we offer the following recommendations:

1. The need for a broadened statistical and qualitative data base is mandatory, especially in the LDCs. Dominica could not even undertake its 1980 census because of lack of funds and more pressing needs. St. Lucia and St. Vincent, apart from several highly specific sample studies, still operate in terms of the information provided by the 1970 census--data that does not accurately reflect a decade of change to the present conditions. Not only are macro-level statistics required to examine the national picture but, more importantly, micro-level data are needed in order to understand the complexities of the lives of people whose productivity is to be raised. It would not be a waste of money to commission, for the benefit of all concerned, studies on household income and expenditure; of fishermen in the context of their communities, not just their technology; the needs, social as well as economic, of women in agriculture; of the actual levels of proficiency with which the young leave school, regardless of what their diplomas say; of the social and economic causes of the rise in teenage pregnancies, and the needs of these mothers thereafter. Because gender is a crucial social marker, it should always be included as a variable.

Except for Barbados, which is building a macro-level data base that is recognized as important in planning, planners are forced to devise programs and projects with old data, impressions, and without a clear idea of the strengths and weaknesses of the group of people

they are trying to help. Many projects fail to deliver, not because funding was insufficient but because they were not grounded in the realities of the situation they wanted to change. A study should be completed before the specific details of a project are determined. Comprehensive "team" projects employing researchers of different but complementary areas of expertise would be efficient. Perhaps most importantly, the target population should be involved in the planning and decision-making at every stage. No one will feel that a program is "theirs" when it is dropped on them, mandated from above and from the outside of their community.

2. The recommendation we most strongly make is to emphasize programs that will reinforce community ties and strengthen the economic bases of rural life. There is no hope, that we can see, that the young will stay in rural areas where the living standards are lower, entertainment less varied and frequent, and employment options more limited, than the city of a foreign country. What are needed are electricity, community centers, skills training in smaller towns rather than urban areas, an increase in services, storage facilities, and small scale, agriculturally related industry in rural areas: in summary, a general reversal of the pattern whereby the newest and the best and the most is located in the city. It will be more expensive initially to de-centralize and multiply facilities outside of the capital, but necessary if the priority of agricultural development is to be realized.

There is a lesson to be learned from the approach used by U.S.A.I.D. in Dominica in distributing galvanized sheet roofing after hurricane David. The "galvanize" was made available to communities, not a centralized source. Payments were made by those who wished to buy it at a subsidized price. The money paid for the galvanize then went into an account for the community. To use the money in the account, the community had to determine its own needs, set its priorities, provide the labor, and think through what it wanted. The circulation of money, the use of contributed labor, the fact that people paid for and were not given the service, the experience learned in the responsible management of local affairs had more positive effects than just reroofing houses.

3. Viewed from the outside, the Caribbean may appear relatively homogenous. This is not the case. We strongly urge that Barbados be evaluated in terms distinct from the LDCs. It is further recommended that, before projects are implemented in the LDCs, careful case by case evaluations be made to identify the distinctive characteristics, strengths and problems of each state. There are enough differences between the territories to threaten the viability of any one program indiscriminately applied to all.

4. Occupational multiplicity is a widespread feature of Caribbean life, and a pattern of behavior not likely to disappear soon. Rather than devise programs to convert the unemployed into "full-time" workers, each dependent on one source of income, it may be more auspicious to develop employment programs and projects that work in terms of the social organization of occupational multiplicity. Income generating

projects and part-time work could be integrated into Caribbean work schedules with greater ease, acceptability, and effect than programs that require a radical change in life style, values, and behavior. The tradition of combining small-scale, own-account farming with periodic or part-time wage labor is widespread, especially among rural people. This approach may also help to bring into the labor force as productive and more self-sufficient citizens those who currently can't or won't work because of home and child care duties.

5. Primary, secondary, and vocational schools in the Eastern Caribbean face serious structural and curriculum problems. These questions have been debated for almost three decades and only now is some progress being made. Informal skills training centers are being added to the mix of educational opportunities available; agricultural projects are being grafted onto primary school curriculums; post-primary school alternatives are being broadened; and new curriculum materials aimed at promoting agricultural and technical work over office work are being developed. These efforts should be supported and expanded.

However, a deeper and more subtle problem remains. Schools are open to both boys and girls, but these institutions reinforce the sex-stereotyping of preferred courses of study and job training. While boys can choose between a wide number of courses from technical to university preparation, girls often leave school with no marketable skill or only the traditional gender-related skills that their societies can no longer absorb, or which are marginal. Providing guidance and opportunities for females in the school and training system is just a beginning, for prevailing views of society expect women to conform to traditional roles and resist female efforts to enter male associated crafts and trades. Many women themselves support the view that they are either inferior or suited only for certain work. Efforts by national, regional, and international bodies to foster a greater awareness of and by women of their important contributions and responsibilities should be supported. Without an awareness by government of the social and economic costs of maintaining half of the population in dependency, and without a change in self-perception by women of their own potentials, much less will be done than could be, for everyone. U.S.A.I.D. should consider strongly supporting private and public regional efforts to redesign textbooks, create audio-visuals and radio programming aimed specifically at these attitudinal problems.

6. More confidence should be placed in income generating projects that will directly affect the general improvement of the living standards of the entire household. Programs designed to make women, particularly those responsible for the economic well-being of others, productive, self-confident, and skilled could have a large positive effect on other members of the household that may not be originally recognized. Other household members may also take up the same means of gaining employment, learning from kin rather than from a costly formal institution. Part of the difficulty of correcting attitudinal problems towards oneself and toward work is that they are learned at home at an early age and by mimicking elders. What will you learn about work discipline, money, budgeting of time and resources if no one in your family has had the opportunity to hold a regular job or learn these skills?

7. It remains important not to perceive of women as one homogenous constituency. Although women as a group defined by gender suffer from constraints posed by attitudes and stereotypes, which they often accept as much as do men, they remain divided by class, status, age, and educational differences. Consequently, their needs, skills, and attitudes will also vary. Programs should be designed that recognize the variations, and their implications.

8. For most women who want to work outside of the home, and yet have small and dependent children, child-care facilities are a necessity, not a luxury.

9. Because gender roles, spheres of social activity, and modes of communication separate men and women, it seems wise to consider using women to work with women. Women move more easily at the local, household, and personal levels of society than do men. For example, women would be highly effective as social workers, extension agents, probation officers, and police officials. Even dealing with men, women prove more effective in certain areas, as has been widely known by Caribbean politicians for some time. It is an unwise and usually unsuccessful party that does not mobilize cadres of women as foot soldiers. When feelings run high, it is the women, not the men--and certainly not the male leaders--who will enter the enemy camp, in houses, yards, rum shops, and neighborhoods to spread competing points of view or to quell high tempers. Only after women pacify the situation, often through other women, will the male dominated political hierarchy venture in. It is absolutely necessary, however, in order to avoid another trap, that women be in decision-making positions as well as in the ranks. In situations where the clientele for a program are women, the suspicion is present that a woman will understand another woman's needs better, and feel freer to speak, than with a man. This is especially true the more sensitive or intimate the subject, e.g., family planning, breast examinations, sources of income.

10. Skill and vocational training programs must be coordinated with jobs. In the LDCs employment possibilities are severely limited, and there are young people with marketable skills who are forced to emigrate, remain idle, or take lower paying jobs for which they were not trained.

11. Skill training facilities are undeniably important. However, care must be taken that their implementation does not result in building frustration. In the LDCs there are, quite simply, not enough jobs for semi- or skilled graduates. There are opportunities for those willing to build their own businesses. Courses teaching a craft must include strong components of skills needed to market finished goods and services. Learning how to manage your skill is at least as important as the craft knowledge itself. Many young people are in need of learning how to identify opportunities, and how to make the best of them. An opportunity unrecognized is no opportunity at all--how to recognize and use one is a skill that can be taught.

12. Credit facilities and loan arrangements through commercial and development banks do not work for everyone. It is a widespread feeling that these loan organizations are not reaching the people who

need their services most. On the other hand, new entrepreneurs often need to be taught not only how to get a loan, but how to keep a business solvent so that the loan can be repaid, a service most banking institutions do not have the time or money to offer. Some consideration should be given to filling this need.

13. Rich human resources should be cultivated through social rather than technological programs. Large scale projects have the unhappy by-product of concentrating wealth and power in urban centers or in the hands of small groups. The "trickle down" theory of development serves regularly to make the rich richer, and to concentrate interests, leverage, and power in the hands of those who already have it. A way of decentralizing this consequence is to distribute support more widely through private voluntary organizations (PVO) and local groups. The possibilities of such ventures varies with the political nature of the recipient country. In some Eastern Caribbean countries funding of PVOs would be welcomed. Others might look upon it with deep suspicion, and the feeling that they were losing control of a dependent population and that their patronage and crony-networks were in jeopardy. In one particular country the independent activities of PVOs are not evaluated in terms of "what are they doing" but rather "what are they up to?"

14. We would urge that large-scale funding agencies be more receptive to working with PVOs such as Save the Children associations, Jaycees, and religious and sports groups. They not only operate with smaller budgets on a smaller scale but also are more able to target areas of need and enthusiasm, monitor the progress and problems involved in their efforts, and intervene quickly enough to handle contingencies that jeopardize projects. PVOs are more apt to limit their activities to community development projects rather than to national plans and thus maintain closer control of budgeting, staff hiring, and cash flow.

15. Although many government bureaucracies in the Eastern Caribbean are bloated with unnecessary appointees, positions that require work in the field and away from a desk are under-supported and understaffed. Particularly needed are more and better prepared agricultural extension agents, community development agents, youth and social workers, probation officers, education field officers, and the like. These workers have regular, face-to-face contact with the recipients of services and can act as agents of change and disseminators of information. They can also return information to agencies regarding needs and hitches in projects. Good field officers should be paid more than paper pushers, as an added incentive for them to get added training as needed for the field, not as a promotion to a ministry desk. Skill training should be provided for them, on the order of the Commonwealth Caribbean Youth Secretariat training program for Community Development officers and youth workers. More women should be actively recruited to fill these posts.

16. Rastafarianism will be around in some form for some time to come. Although the movement is highly diversified ideologically, it

shows potential in various areas, particularly own-account farming, small-scale business development, and individual entrepreneurship. The Rastas face the same problems as others in the Eastern Caribbean when it comes to work, but they carry the additional stigma of being "malcontents." The label should not be indiscriminately applied, and planners should be aware that Rastas are often the victims of scapegoatism. Although their movement is shrouded in millennial expressions of salvation, many want to work and should be encouraged to participate in any programs designed to teach skills.

17. Criminologists have long pointed out that policy makers and planners in developing societies should consciously and explicitly build contingency plans for a higher criminal offense rate. In addition to better trained police and other agents of public order, more advanced rehabilitation facilities are necessary. In the LDCs prisons resemble colonial dungeons and offer the incarcerated little more than a taste of societies revenge. Female offenders currently receive virtually no treatment other than threats and detention. Young people from high crime areas and those who have minor offense records should be dealt with in "streetwork" programs that establish centers where youths can freely meet and mingle under the guidance of trained and sensitive social workers. We are not talking about elaborate community centers; we have seen cases where a small shed in a back yard has worked with great effectiveness--thanks to the persons involved. Rehabilitation facilities and a training component must be included in prison and detention center facilities.

18. More than once, especially in the LDCs, young people reminded us that they would like the same pleasures and satisfactions "as any other young person." Facilities for leisure time--community centers, movie houses, playing fields, club houses, and so forth--are lacking in most of the rural areas of the LDCs. Young people will not want to stay in rural areas if they have nothing to do when the day's farming is done.

19. Young people in the LDCs have a sincere, though cautious, interest in own-account agriculture, but no amount of funding is going to produce anything more than making a few prosperous farmers more prosperous until certain basic issues are addressed: land tenure, feeder roads, market outlets, credit facilities, storage space, and the biases of the educational system. Of all the unemployment-related problems in the Eastern Caribbean, the reinvigoration of agriculture is the thorniest. Several directions suggest themselves:

A. Land Reform. Most small holders currently have between one and five acres. If subsistence crops are grown, there is no room to plant enough cash crops to support a household. If a commitment to cash crops is made, not enough revenue is earned to purchase necessities. Lands presently idle because of zoning restrictions, their allocation to real estate development, crown or state lands, and lands laying fallow for want of capital investment could be converted to producing food. In some countries there is still the question of very large private estates which divide residents from their plots of land, and limit expansion of subsistence crops.

B. Tenure. Security of tenure must be built into any efforts to attract people back to the land. Short-term rented land and share-cropping will not attract a permanent farming interest.

C. Cooperatives. This suggestion does not imply collective ownership of land as a feature of the system. However, efforts should be made to encourage group farming where cooperation is made in the purchase of bulk items all farmers would need to undertake their own work. Cooperatives have a checkered history in the Caribbean. However, there are many kinds of coops: for purchasing, labor, and marketing. It is the first of these, for purchasing in quantity, that has the best record.

D. Infrastructure. It is difficult to imagine how anything can get down without a system of feeder roads connecting farming settlements with markets and outlets. In the LDCs some lands remain inaccessible and therefore unproductive.

E. Credit. Provisions of loans for the purchase of land, implements, seeds and plants, housing materials, and occasional hiring of labor, is instrumental in creating a landed group of commodity producers.

The section on small-scale agriculture in St. Vincent in Part II of this report elaborates on the problems the small scale farmer faces. Each of these problems is deserving in itself of a lengthy series of recommendations and proposed solutions.

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1. Social
2. Population and Migration
3. Economics, Labor and Unemployment
(subdivided by general studies and national studies)
4. Agriculture
5. Youth and Education
6. Women
7. Rastafarians

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