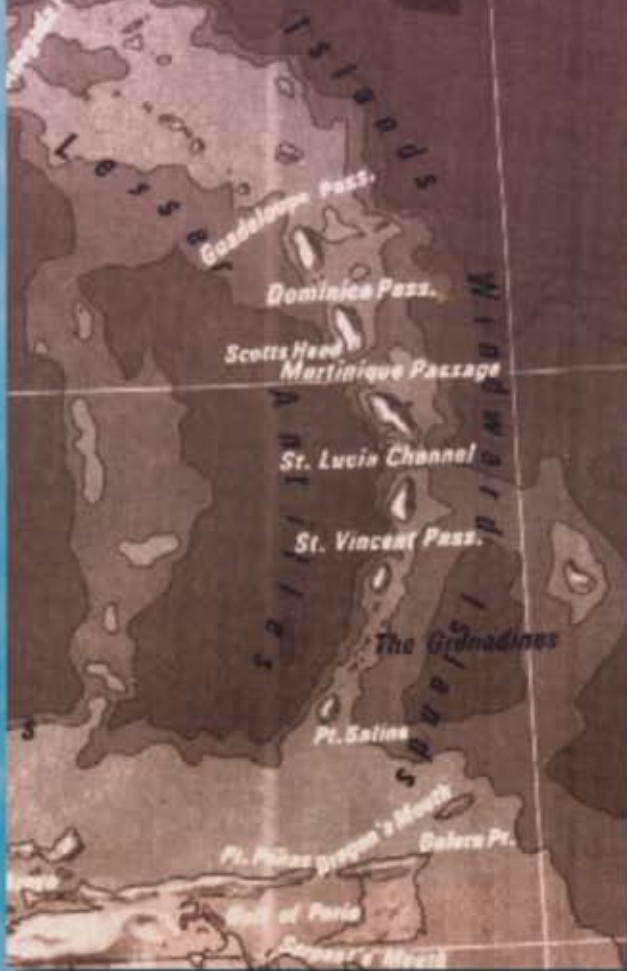


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Gender Dynamics and Approaches to Sexuality as a Key to Well-Being

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University of the West Indies, Mona Campus, JAMAICA

Abstract

This article is based on a survey that was completed by undergraduates at UWI Mona. Students explained their perceptions about sexuality and self esteem. Issues include sex education, sexual initiation and self love. Lack of sex education has impacted negatively, ranging from self worth and confidence issues to lifestyle challenges. Many still had difficulty in the key area of communicating their sexual needs to their partners. This article offers recommendations that strengthen positive attitudes towards the sexuality of Caribbean people, promoting individual sexual healing and community well-being.

Keywords: sexuality, well-being, self esteem and risk taking behaviour

Introduction

In the Caribbean, sexuality seems to be something that men have and are free to explore, while women are expected to relate to it only defensively... women's sexuality is still policed by social and gender conventions in ways that do not seem to constrain the behaviour of men. (Lewis 2004:7)

This article explores the influence of power dynamics upon diverse gender and sexual representations, identities and relationships among undergraduate students at Mona Campus, University of the West Indies (UWI), Jamaica. The majority of the respondents were black women who described the discrepancies between their sexual awareness and practices. Sexuality refers to erotic identities, feelings and pleasures that are constructed by social factors such as gender, class, race and ethnic diversity (Vance 1984; Mohammed 1992). Through questionnaire surveys, the impact of cultural, religious and moral expectations on sexual experiences is discussed. The responses consider conventional sexist attitudes about men having many female sexual partners and women's fidelity. Participants describe their vulnerability to involvement in risky sexual practices. For instance, unprotected sexual intercourse is a risk behaviour whereby instant gratification is considered rather than the danger of contracting HIV/AIDS (Bailey, Branche, Jackson and Lee 2004). Stereotypical notions about male and female sexuality often limit women's ability to negotiate safe sex.

Literature Review

Hilary Beckles (2004) examines the historical construction of black masculinity in the Caribbean within the context of chattel slavery. He explains that white slave owners denied black men the right to patriarchal status such as the roles of husband and father. Black men believed in the same patriarchal notions as their white masters who ascribed to them an inferior and dependent position. Enslaved black males were subordinated by being 'feminised' as docile, infantile, ignorant and cheerful. In Jamaica during slavery and post emancipation, 1838 et seq, relations between men and women were very casual, particularly between European men and African women (Rogers 1940).

Linden Lewis explains that in contemporary Caribbean society black masculinity is mediated by changing cultural, economic and political factors such as class, age and sexual orientation. He explores the connection between economic and social crises in hegemonic masculinity and female advancement. According to Lewis, Caribbean men are predominantly depicted as aggressive towards women, violent, sexually reckless, alcoholic, promiscuous, irresponsible fathers and neglecting their familial duties. This imagery fails to acknowledge the diversity of Caribbean masculinities (Lewis 2004). Research conducted on fatherhood in poor and marginalised urban communities in Kingston demonstrates mistrust, tension and uncertainty in gender relationships. It establishes that young men seek validation of their sexual desires to compensate for their inability to meet the criteria of breadwinner. Masculine power is defined in terms of having unprotected sex with several female partners as well as siring many children (Bailey, Branche, Jackson and Lee 2004).

Caribbean manhood is strongly influenced by community demands. It is mainly defined by promiscuous sexual activity with women. Highly heterosexualised popular imagery of black men concentrates on virility and results in hypermasculinity (Chevannes 1997). Sexual double standards portray women as demure and men as experienced. Pressure from peers and the media to engage in risky sexual practices results in inconsistent condom use with multiple sexual partners (Douglas, Reid and Reddock 2008). Chevannes argues that monogamy and fidelity are regarded as indicating male weakness. There is pride in the belief that black male heterosexual prowess is superior to that of other racial and ethnic groups. The construct of masculinity is premised on a hatred of homosexuality (Chevannes 1997). Violent homophobia reinforces young men's engagement in risky heterosexual activities to demonstrate their manhood (Douglas, Reid and Reddock 2008). There is immense peer pressure for sexual intercourse to start early and to have children to prove manliness (Chevannes 1997).

Barbara Bush maintains that during slavery, stereotypes about black female promiscuity were used to brutally gratify the sexual and economic needs of white male slave owners (Bush 1990). Angela Davis posits that the rape of black female slaves symbolised a wider system of white male domination. Sexual subordination under enslavement was an institutionalised method of terrorism that aimed to demoralise and dehumanise slave women as well as

slave men. The horrific breeding of enslaved women served to label them as 'creatures of sex' and to maintain their treatment, as less than human beings, since only animals can be bred against their will (Davis 1982). The violent history of enslavement that burdened the foreparents of the black majority has had a negative effect into the present (Tafari-Ama 2006). Tafari-Ama goes on to examine the historical impact of slavery and the woman's place as chattel whereby rape was commonplace and an everyday occurrence. Gibson postulates that behaviour and attitudes towards sexuality in Barbados were rooted in history and that in order to effect change our historical realities need to be examined to facilitate transformation (Gibson 1994). Black women's sexual relationships continue to be influenced by oppressive conditions such as the sexual double standard, early sexual activity, sexual abuse, incest, transactional sex and the HIV/AIDS pandemic.

Kamala Kempadoo and Leith Dunn (2002) demonstrate that a double standard persists whereby it is expected that boys and men have several partners but if females do so they are chastised as whores. Women are expected to adhere to traditional parental and religious dictates about the appropriate age of sex within marriage. Caribbean people's views on sexuality are in part formed by their observance to a very Christian outlook. Neilson Waithe suggests the Church Fathers' teachings on sexuality (A.D. 150-600) were restricted by the society in which they lived. Their views were based on an apparent fear of and ambivalence towards sexuality. He asserts that in terms of the 'factors necessary for the promotion of the good life, the Fathers developed a hierarchical structure wherein martyrdom was the highest order, virginity next and marriage the least important' (Waithe 1993: 8). This correlates to both men and women feeling the need to be safe and comfortable in exploring their sexuality.

The research by Kempadoo and Dunn identifies that it is common that early female sexual activity, around the age of 13 years old, is forced by an older man in their community or by a relative. Female sexual exploitation, economic and social dependency on men for support is evident in adolescent girls having transactional sex for money, food, clothes, jewellery and cell phones. Girls are increasingly rejecting the notion of femininity in terms of motherhood and pursuing their social, sexual and financial needs. Girls also have to deal with peer pressure to appear mature and popular (Kempadoo and Dunn 2002).

The prevalence of sexual-economic exchange among undergraduates is additionally shown by research conducted at the UWI, St Augustine Campus in Trinidad. Transactional sex whereby men give money, gifts and material possessions for sexual favours reinforces male authority. Men consider such exchanges as being integral to maintaining female sexual services. For such men, women's bodies are negotiating tools and trophies that legitimate their dominance (Douglas, Reid and Reddock 2008).

Marjan de Bruin debates the vulnerability of girls who have sexual relations with older men who are more likely to be HIV infected. She states that there is an immense discrepancy between adolescents' knowledge of the threat of HIV/AIDS and the risks that they take by having unprotected sex (de Bruin 2001). Kempadoo and Taitt highlight that men are the main decision-makers in condom use. Women cannot negotiate safer sex in relationships that are characterised by patriarchal power imbalance. Frequently females have misconceptions about condoms. Thinking that their partners are faithful, females are embarrassed to ask males to use condoms because men may be insulted. They often fear that men will think that they do not trust them or perceive the request as a sign of female infidelity (Kempadoo and Taitt 2006). Conventional social norms about female sexual innocence, ignorance and passivity dictate that women satisfy male sexual pleasure and reduce female autonomy.

Donna P Hope's discussion on the Wife/Matie syndrome as a parallel to the Madonna/Whore syndrome illustrates the perpetration of patriarchal attitudes in the Jamaican dancehall arena, where women compete for male attention based on the hierarchical position of whether the woman is wife, mistress or lower down the scale. She defines matie as the sweetheart or "other woman" engaged in an extra-marital affair with another woman's spouse;

'Using the opposing poles of wife versus matie, another popular route to male ascendancy and identity reinforcement in the dancehall dis/place is the pitting of woman against woman in a war for their men. In this war, the man often acts as instigator, referee and trophy. The ultimate outcome of this war is the crowning of man as king'. (Hope 2006:56)

Methodology

This article is based on a pilot study of questionnaires that were completed by 52 female and 11 male undergraduate students. The open-ended questionnaire survey asked students to provide information about their experiences of sex education, erotic fantasies and sexual satisfaction. Men and women were able to assess their problems, such as females finding it difficult to communicate their sexual needs to their partners, in a way that may have been less likely in an interview situation. The responses show similarities to research conducted on the effects of sexual beliefs and behaviour among UWI students at the St Augustine Campus (Douglas, Reid and Reddock 2008). This article examines respondents' opinions about sexuality, self value and vulnerability to involvement in risky sexual practices. The research assesses the ways that participants feel both sexually repressed and empowered.

Due to the sensitivity of the subject matter, questionnaires were used as the method of eliciting the appropriate responses, rather than an interview situation which might invoke feelings of reservation and/or inhibition and therefore the inability to express feelings on sexuality in an authentic manner. The confidentiality factor ensured the integrity of the research.

One shortcoming was the imbalance of the sexes; there were more women participants than men. Consequently, the women's voice is the dominant one in this article which reflects the actual gender dynamics of the UWI Mona campus.

Eleven black men aged between 20 and 58 completed the questionnaires. Ten men describe themselves as heterosexual and one man states that he is bisexual. Fifty-two women aged between 19 and 53 answered the questionnaires. Forty-eight women define their racial identity as black, 3 women are Indian and 1 is bi-racial. Fifty women assert that they are heterosexual and 2 are bisexual.

Male Perceptions of Sexual Freedom

In general, men are confident that they are in control of their sexual relationships. When asked if he is sexually fulfilled and liberated, Steve replied, 'Yes – I have great skills. I know how to delay my orgasm and make

a woman come in various sexual positions'. Alternatively, Alan disagreed with the above statement by saying, 'I do not have much control. I am usually the bitch. I love to be dominated'. It is interesting that Alan, a bisexual, sees lack of control as being a bitch. The other male respondents feel emancipated by the manner that they communicate, initiate and meet their sexual needs. Their arguments support the viewpoint of Barry Chevannes that Caribbean masculinity is characterised by hypersexuality and virility (Chevannes 1997).

Most men have a wide range of imaginative fantasies including orgies, threesomes, lesbians and having sex with women of different racial or ethnic backgrounds. Men's fantasies tend to have more explicit and visual imagery according to their sexual experiences (King 2002). Men believe that opinions about sexuality are changing in Jamaica in terms of more open-mindedness about sexual diversity except homosexuality. Philip suggests that, 'People are becoming more sexually liberal'.

Pum Pum versus Penis Power

Jamaican men complain that 'pum pum power' represents women using their vaginas to dominate them. 'Pum pum' is the Jamaican euphemism for the vagina. They argue that women utilise their sexuality as a means to get material, emotional and mental support. Men describe women abusing their 'pum pum power' as a bargaining tool to get what they want from them. They argue that women's sexual appeal dominates male behaviour. Most men agree with the following argument that women use 'pum pum power' to exploit men as Carlton says, 'Women have the power to control male behaviour by using the pleasures of the..... [vagina] as their magic wand'. However, unequal power relations between men and women circumscribe women's ability to use their sexual appeal to manipulate men. Men also think that women are victims of sexual abuse. Lincoln considers that, 'Socio-economic deprivation can lead to women's vulnerability and that puts them at risk for exploitation'.

The majority of male participants argue that women are vulnerable to having sex without using a condom depending on their education and socio-economic status. Albert states that,

‘Women are at risk when they do not take charge of their sexual relations and protect themselves (practice safe sex). A lot of women are greatly at risk because of it’.

Lincoln maintains that,

‘A lot of control can be exhibited by both men and women. Some less educated women may experience less control because they feel they cannot say anything’.

The literature review and the opinions of female respondents demonstrate that the experiences of heterosexual women from all educational and class backgrounds are influenced by patriarchal ideas and practices. It is evident that increased privilege in society does not necessarily equate to more decision making in the sexual arena.

Female Perceptions of Sexual Freedom

The majority of women state that they had not received formal sex education. The absence of sexual awareness restricts women’s ability to define and control their own bodies (Douglas, Reid and Reddock 2008). Most women did not enjoy their first sexual encounter. Research has shown that the first experience of sexual intercourse was forced for many Caribbean young women (Douglas, Reid and Reddock 2008). This influences their sense of self love and sexual fulfilment.

Most female participants yearn to be loved and cared for by an appreciative male partner. They want to be pampered and caressed by a virile man; being complimented on their appearance boosts self confidence and acceptance. Women’s fantasies tend towards pleasing their men. Women describe sexual fantasies including role play, being tied up, blindfolded and sex in forbidden and public places. Ninety percent of women have romantic and emotional fantasies that often assist arousal during sexual intercourse (King 2002). Jennifer explains that, ‘We are more tolerant of exploring sexual fantasies and variants’.

Female students describe the risks that they suffer when they attempt to initiate and control sexual encounters. Generally women do not communicate their

sexual desires to their partners because they are afraid that men may have less respect for them if they perceive them as being too knowledgeable about sex. Respondents assert that women are often at risk of sexual degradation because men see them as their property. Female students believe that male violence, dominance and sexual abuse are common aspects of gender relationships (Douglas, Reid and Reddock 2008). Sometimes as a result of feeling dependent on their mate women do not feel that they have the choice to refuse unprotected sex. Pressured by their partner to satisfy his needs many women are forced to engage in sexual intercourse against their will. When asked if they have non-consensual or coercive sex most women agree with Marie's comment, 'Yes, sometimes I'm tired or not in the mood and my boyfriend forces me'. These women assert that they do not have the agency to express freedom whereby they can choose when not to have sex.

There are major contradictions between young women's understanding of the risks of unprotected sex and the fact that they do not believe that they can contract HIV/AIDS (de Bruin 2008). Several women do not refer to themselves but assert that other women are prone to sexually transmitted diseases and violence. 'To a large extent as there are many cases of rape and male hatred towards the use of condoms', Andrea claims. Beverley concurs, 'A lot are uneducated about protection and prevention. A lot feel like they have no other choice so as to gain financial benefit'. Cecile continues, 'Their male partners are mostly unfaithful and that puts women at risk'. Female respondents' assessment of vulnerability to HIV/AIDS, STIs and violence indicates the need for more effective safe sex campaigns to improve women's ability to negotiate condom use.

Women's Sexual Empowerment

Female participants explain how they reassert control of their sexual expressions within the context of cultural expectations about passivity and chastity. Peers and the electronic media define social norms about appropriate sexual conduct. The responses assert that rigid ordering in Jamaican society prioritises male pleasure and domination. Although female sexual desire is regulated by religion, popular culture and language to satisfy men, women are articulating their needs. Margaret opines, 'In many ways I have a say in every part of the sexual relationship'.

Female respondents think that sexual views are slowly changing in Jamaica but they claim that sexism and homophobia are still rampant. Participants consider globalisation, education and the mass media to be responsible for Jamaican culture being less conservative. Nadine reasons, 'We are becoming more open to speaking about sexuality and trying new things'.

Many women state that they are taking the initiative and have fewer inhibitions about experimenting with their sexual choices in ways that can seem aggressive. For example, Suzanne stipulates,

'I have enough control to be able to determine whether or not I wish to engage in sexual acts. I am able to express my likes and dislikes. This results in improved pleasure for both myself and my partner'.

A few respondents believe that people are not more flexible about experimenting with different sexual activities that were previously regarded as taboo. Some students think that men continue to dictate the initiation of safe sex practices. Keisha describes sexual encounters and derogatory opinions as remaining the same.

'Females are still being viewed as promiscuous and 'sluts' while on the other hand, men are seen as studs and manly when they go out and sleep with many women. Therefore nothing has really changed. In the case of homosexuality it is still unacceptable for men, however lesbians are more tolerated'.

Homosexuality and lesbianism are regarded as threatening to religion, Jamaican culture, nature, the family and morality. Lesbians and gays are seen as challenging traditional gender and sexual norms, therefore, they are victims of severe discrimination and persecution (Kempadoo 2003).

Caribbean women's sexualities are generally characterised by serial monogamy, fidelity to men, procreation and financial requirements (Kempadoo 2003). The questionnaire survey indicates diverse relations whereby women discuss contradictory experiences that entail struggles for male and female ascendancy. Female respondents define 'pum pum power' as women using their sexuality for their own material benefit. Women explain that 'pum pum power' makes them sexually empowered by allowing them to

manipulate men. These women perceive ‘pum pum power’ as conquest over men. It is seen as a means of acquiring money and possessions. If men do not do what women want, women withhold sex. According to Tanisha, her ‘pum pum’ is, ‘to be used as a control measure or means of punishment’. In the same manner that women’s assessment of unsafe sex did not directly describe the personal threat to them, the debate about ‘pum pum power’ seemed more external than part of their own experiences. Their comments about the difficulties of expressing their sexual desires, instances of unprotected and forced sex suggest that most female respondents are not as sexually liberated as they would like to be.

‘Pum Pum Power’: A Holistic Perspective

It is not surprising that the majority of participants in the questionnaire held the stereotypical perspective on the vagina or ‘pum pum’ as used in the Jamaican context, as a means of control, dominance and avenue for material gain. The same participants admitted to not having received sex education. Women demonstrated a reluctance to discuss sex. Caribbean people have never had the opportunity to experience the healing required for family unity and progress as nations. Jamaica was a breeding colony and attitudes towards sexuality, relationships, family, love, honour and respect were virtually non-existent.

Jamaican women need to overcome the non-acceptance of their sexuality; also the inability to see their sexual organs and sex, as being good. This ambivalence towards sexuality often elicits apprehension and insecurity in young girls facing adulthood. The socialisation process does not prepare girls for the role of adult; they face adulthood dependent upon their mothers or the suspect and uncertain tutelage of men (Waithe 1993). Mothers in their effort to instil values and to prevent their daughters from becoming pregnant at an early age, continue strict protectiveness without communicating to their daughters the reasons why (Waithe 1993). Mothers feel uneasy discussing sex with their daughters; daughters are simply told they are not to be seen with boys; they are to avoid premature sex and procreation. Interestingly, the injunctions to avoid premature sex are not given to boys (Waithe 1993). Many Jamaican men grapple with issues of emasculation, due to their inability to meet the role of financial provider, which they cope with through

violence meted out especially upon loved ones and in the form of sexual violence against women. Our questionnaire revealed that most women did not enjoy their first sexual encounter. It of course begs the questions as to what were the circumstances of the first sexual encounter, was it consensual, was it during an act of violence or assault, or was it due to inexperience, inattentiveness or lack of caring of the partner?

Tafari-Ama argues that

‘the gun and a penis are symbolic representations of the phallus. Both are called a tool, piece and machine, and in the ghetto, both are the weapons with which males prove their manhood most effectively’. (Tafari-Ama 2006: 247)

Tafari-Ama finds that dancehall music reinforces the subordination of women and that there are clear connections between violence, gun violence and sexual violence. She states, ‘the prevalence of violence in discourses about the body de-sensitises the society to the rising incidences of sexual violence in the society’ (Tafari-Ama 2006: 247 – 248).

Sexual Education and Control

The findings of the questionnaire demonstrate that most respondents believe the appropriate age to receive sex education is twelve. Many reported not having received adequate sex education at school. Sex education describes education about human sexual anatomy, sexual reproduction, sexual intercourse and reproductive health. It is the process by which young people acquire information and form attitudes about sex, sexual identity, relationships and intimacy.

Sex education is also about developing young people’s skills in making informed choices about their behaviour and feeling confident and competent about acting on these choices. It ensures that they are able to identify and prevent abuse, exploitation, unintended pregnancies and sexually transmitted infections. With adequate information, young people are able to behave more responsibly. A study undertaken in 2002 by Youth.now Project in Jamaica indicates that 74% of youths in the 15-19 age bracket are sexually active; boys initiating sex at 13 and girls at 15 (<http://www.comminit.>

com/en/node/118430). Our sample supports these assertions as 91% of male respondents and 58% of female respondents lost their virginity before age 20.

The connection between sexuality and power is evident in the replies to the question about the extent that women are sexually at risk in Jamaica due to fears about male infidelity. Most women agree with Shirley's opinion, 'Women who are faithful are highly at risk because men are always having other affairs'. The majority of women support Donna's comment, 'Men have more control'.

The data indicate an imbalance between how sex is perceived and approached by men and women. Both sexes seem to accept male dominated negotiation and decision making in the sexual realm. There is a contradiction between accounts of male control and 'pum pum power'. This suggests the need for dialogue and strategies to enhance more equal sexual relationships whereby men and women feel safe and comfortable about rejecting patriarchal values. Interventions that enable more women to dictate their sexual preferences initiate sexual intercourse and choose safe practices are vital. Women's sexual fulfilment and liberation is frequently sacrificed for male passion. The fact that many men determine what women want suggests that several of the female respondents have low self confidence. Women seem to be more concerned about their partner's pleasure rather than enjoying sex on their own terms.

Self esteem represents feelings of satisfaction and pride in one's self. It serves as a buffer against anxiety when threatened or challenged. Self esteem constitutes security, positive identity, friendship building, goal setting and competence; this leads to positive feelings of self while accepting limitations (Liebert and Liebert 1998). Maslow, in creating his hierarchy of needs, places esteem needs at the fourth tier.¹ Individuals derive their esteem from self and others; to feel respected and valued for their accomplishments and contributions. They desire competency, mastery, achievement, confidence

¹ Maslow assumed that human needs are arranged in hierarchical form with the most powerful needs at the bottom. Thus, the needs rise from physiological, safety and security needs, belongingness and love, esteem, self-actualisation to transcendence at the top.

and independence. When these needs are met individuals feel worthwhile, capable, and necessary (Liebert and Liebert 1998).

Caribbean women's attitudes towards sexuality may appear ambivalent and puzzling to the onlooker from outside the culture. In a region where the role of the woman and mother is pre-eminent and where it appears that the woman is in control, there are signs of frustration and resignation; the woman in the Caribbean has been idolised, mistreated, scandalised, adored and sometimes exploited (Waithe 1993). Caribbean women seem to learn about sex and sexuality as a matter of course, as they usually gather information from their peers, from men who have their own secret and more often selfish agenda and as a matter of trial and error. Conflicting messages which are transmitted to a girl escalate on her reaching menarche. Mothers often say to their daughters, 'You are a woman now, stay away from those boys'. (Waithe 1993: 39).

It is important for women to feel self love to discuss their own sexuality on their own terms with their own voices so that they can develop erotic joy. The questionnaire responses indicate that additional qualitative research methods would increase knowledge about the inter-connections between self esteem, gender and sexual identities. This study illustrates the necessity for an efficient programme of sex education in primary schools. Research shows that the 10-14 age group is less aware of contraceptive use than the 13-19 age group (Youth.Now). Guidance counsellors in schools are the forum in which sex education can be imparted to young people. Our survey demonstrates that those respondents who had received sex education, were better able to communicate their sexual needs to their partners and the female respondents had no inhibitions in initiating sex.

In the questionnaire, not one response to the question relating to 'pum pum power' referenced woman's sex organ as one of beauty, respect and the regeneration of humanity. That place of honour needs to be established in Caribbean people. Research found that females were willing to commit to one male partner with the realisation that they were sharing the man with other women (Gibson 1994). Most of these women did not insist upon condom use as a form of protection from sexually transmitted diseases and HIV. Professor Zacharias Gibson found that the level of self esteem among many women was so low that they put consideration for their boyfriends' feelings above their own health. They were afraid of offending their lover

whose lifestyle was clearly exposing them to contracting AIDS (Gibson 1994).

Low self esteem is demonstrated in responses to the question regarding communicating one's sexual needs to partners. Most respondents, particularly the women, did not feel free to communicate sexual desires to their partners. This was evident in married as well as dating couples. One way of approaching the problem of low self-esteem and its relation to sexual relations is to perhaps encourage exploration and education into cultures and teachings that embrace human sexuality as a spiritual dynamic. Taoist teachings introduce guidance in sexual matters and embrace sexual energy as life force energy, encourage understanding, control and expertise in sexual functions (Reid 1989). The reason for using Taoist teachings is the respect it affords both men and women in the sexual arena. The Chinese regard sex to be natural and indispensable to human health and longevity. An in-depth examination of the sexual organs of woman is illustrated, the G-Spot, orgasms and female ejaculation (Chia and Chia 1986). Men and women are instructed how to respect, use and share sexual energy to its optimal potential. Sexuality is discussed in a detailed study of the components of healthy lovemaking that distinguishes the different needs of both sexes (Chia and Chia 1986). In the Tao philosophy, human sexuality is embraced as a key element to total well-being and a balanced and harmonious life. Sexuality is viewed and practiced as part of the total package of healthy living. Because of this approach, sexual relations are expressed with love and respect (Reid 1989).

Cycles of violence have repeated throughout successive generations which are reflected in different ways one of which being how our women and men relate to each other (Tafari-Ama 2006). Sex education ought to begin in the home where children can depend on their parents to guide and counsel them. Against the backdrop of a reality whereby few can attest to adequate, if any, sex education, there are bound to be shortcomings, reservations, ignorance and closed attitudes towards sex.

In the healing approach in this area, self esteem issues need to be addressed with a view to creating a shift from low morale based on financial inadequacy in men and historical 'hand-me-down' mentalities and material in exchange for sex tendencies that have been reinforced in women. Suzanne, who

received adequate sex education as a child also enjoyed her first sexual encounter, considers herself sexually fulfilled and is able to communicate all her sexual needs to her partner. Additionally Suzanne's family, friends and partner encourage her love of self clearly translating to high self esteem. For her, 'pum pum power' means giving good sexual pleasure to men with tightness. A vital aspect of 'pum pum power' is the knowledge and skill of the use of the female sexual organ for the extended pleasure of both partners. Whereas Suzanne considers the aspect of giving pleasure to men, she fails to acknowledge the exercise of 'pum pum power' as a key element to the sexual pleasure experienced by women, knowledge of the G-spot for example, use of the kegel muscles, as another (Chia and Chia 1986). For female participants, sexual feelings come from external devices, mainly clothes; although about 40% of them feel naturally sexy or are sexually aroused by their own nakedness.

None of the participants consider 'pum pum power' as an instrument of love or even as a channel through which lovemaking may be expressed. Love is at the foundation of the well-being of humanity. The questionnaire responses suggest that many Jamaicans find difficulty in overt expressions of affection towards their loved ones. Both sexes tend to view sexuality in terms of conquest rather than as an expression of love and togetherness. The challenge therefore lies in assisting the shift from gender power dynamics expressed in sexual prowess and control to mutually loving relationships expressed in the form of sexuality and the art of lovemaking.

One area of consensus among most participants, male and female, is the exploitation and vulnerability of women in the sexual arena. Some express specifics such as number of female partners, infidelity and promiscuity on the part of men coupled with the inability of women to successfully negotiate condom use under such circumstances, acts of sexual violence and male manipulation. Continuing education is urgently recommended, commencing at the primary level and continuing through adolescence into adulthood. It should be about healthy and balanced approaches to sexuality with emphasis upon encouraging loving expressions and sex as an expression of love. This does not necessarily mean that we should adopt Tao teachings; what we need is an opening of channels of communication via various media, age appropriate and geared towards particular audiences in different forums.

Conclusion

The questionnaire survey of male and female students at Mona Campus, University of the West Indies, reveals that many female participants feel vulnerable due to a lack of adequate sex education, enjoyment of sexual initiation and communication of their desires to their partners. The responses indicate that one's self worth influences and affects sexual behaviour in terms of risk taking, choice of partner, potential exposure to sexually transmitted infections, HIV/AIDS and unwanted pregnancies. The low self esteem of some of these women culminates in sexual exploitation because they do not feel that they can negotiate safe sex. The article also demonstrates that attitudes towards sexuality have changed in Jamaica, as there is more openness. However, further interventions are necessary to challenge male manipulation of female sexuality.

Students explain that sex is often seen more as a power tool than as a symbol of love and affection. Both men and women regard sex as a form of competition and domination. However, an imbalance is revealed between men and women regarding sexual beliefs and conduct. Men view themselves as sexually superior and women are frequently afraid to express their desires and find themselves placed in a submissive role. In addition, sex has become more of a commodity than as a natural part of what makes us human. Women report that they are often relegated to having sex against their will.

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The Emergence of a Montserratian Disaster Literature: An Introduction

(In Memory of E. Archie Markham 1939-2008)

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Abstract

In the wake of Hurricane Hugo and volcanic eruptions in the 1990s, Montserrat poet Archie Markham (now deceased) employed the term 'disaster literature'. It struck one as having special resonance for Montserrat whose spate of disasters had generated a body of creative writing. It is argued that the works are of sufficient scope, depth, insight and literary merit to justify Montserrat's claim to a genre of disaster literature. It is made evident also that the disaster literature emerges out of a significant literary tradition rooted in figures such as M. P. Shiel, Edgar White, David Edgecombe, E. A. Markham and even Alphonsus Cassell (Arrow), calypsonian of international fame.

Keywords: disaster, literature, creative, imagination, quality, Montserrat

Introduction

For a micro island, Montserrat has a long roll call of writers, especially if one includes its outstanding song writers, and it has a large volume of writings. One says writings, for writing has to satisfy some set of criteria before one tags it with the designation 'literature'. Much of this writer's early pieces for instance, will not satisfy the canons of literature however subjective and flexible these are. Literature has enduring value, satisfies aesthetic rubrics, possesses some kind of internal logic and consistency and says something of worth. Montserrat has sufficient literary works to justify the claim to a substantial literature and the special genre, 'disaster literature'. This is what this article purports to establish.

In identifying a Montserratian literature, one concurs generally with Dennis Gill of the British Virgin Islands (BVI) who defines his country's literature as "the sum total of folklore, popular culture and creative writings produced by the BVI Islanders about the BVI or by non-BVI about the BVI" (Gill, 2005 p.15). One would specifically include calypsonians, having among us a calypsonian like the late Arrow (Alphonsus Cassell) of international soca fame even if we will not place great emphasis on that art- form in this piece. Our caveat about quality, however, is critical to the working definition.

A subjugated people, still culturally dependent, still a colonial fiefdom, Montserratians still have need of self-definition, so the emphasis will be on local writers. Literature in a restricted sense usually refers to works of the creative imagination, but we include in passing the contribution of Montserratian scholars like Barnes, (1996, 2001) and Tuitt (1999) who have written on important aspects of the volcanic experience. Indeed their works illustrate the multifaceted nature of the disasters and the scope of response elicited.

A disaster literature did not appear in a vacuum. So it is worth observing that the 'Introduction' of Dorcas White's self-published *Songs of the Soul* was the pioneer volume in Montserratian literature. Her philosophical reflections include 'The Sugar Mill Speaks' which alludes to the racism inherent in plantation society. In that year, the edited anthology *Alliouagana Voices* (1972) by Dr. J.A. Irish, a University of the West Indies (U.W.I) lecturer, was published. This contained his own 'Hurricane' and Norman Buffonge's

‘Hurricane in Montserrat’ which actually initiated the Montserratian excursion in what I deem a disaster literature. Irish’s own *Song for Alliouagana* published in 1978 contains two hurricane poems.

A background figure who demands mention is the novelist Mathew Phipps Shiel who was born in Montserrat on 20 July 1865. Schooled at Harrison College in Barbados, he was a descendant of the powerful estate magnates Queely and William Shiel who were the largest slave owners in Montserrat and held multiple positions of authority. This gifted white Montserratian-born wrote some 24 novels, the first at age 12. He did not set any of his novels in Montserrat, but his poetic and picturesque style was very likely influenced by what he saw as the awesome beauty of the island. In fact and most relevant to our theme, Shiel described the island as

“a mountain-mass, loveliest of the lovely, but touchy, uncertain, dashing into tantrums, hurricanes, earthquakes, brooks, bubbling-hot soufrieres, floods, fit nurse for a poetic child... It has soufrieres and sometimes after one of its tantrums, passing visible ships many a mile out sea can smell that fume of it hell it sounds” (Shiel, 1901 p. 630-631).

So the reference to Shiel is more than background; in this passage he makes the nexus between natural eruption and the imaginative mind. In a sense, then, this aspect of Shiel’s work can be regarded as a nineteenth century preface to Montserrat’s disaster literature.

The term ‘disaster literature’ was first mentioned casually by Montserratian creative writer, Professor Archie Markam before I seized on it as having special resonance and reality for the island. In the twentieth century alone, the island has had more than its fair share of storms – hurricanes in successive leap years 1924 and 1928, earthquakes in 1935 and 1974, floods in 1952 and 1981 and then Hugo of horrific impact in 1989. It should not be surprising that they generated a significant body of writing that is relevant not just to Montserrat but to the region and to all countries that are vulnerable to natural disasters.

What the recent disasters did was to set on fire the Montserratian creative imagination. I contend, however, that this was possible because a writing

tradition had already existed. This is the home of playwrights of high repute—David Edgecombe, Edgar White, Vincent Browne and more recently, Eddie Donoghue. David Edgecombe (1993) has been writing since school days and White's plays have been staged on Broadway and in the United Kingdom, and his *I Marcus Garvey* was played in Barbados, Guyana, Jamaica and Trinidad in 1991. Writing from Jamaica in *The Star* (October 7, 1991) Phyllis Thomas referred to it as 'the epic on the life of Jamaica's first national hero which was penned by Edgar White'. His plays are widely published internationally. Since the 1970s, Archie Markham had been writing in the United Kingdom and elsewhere and has been described by literary critic, Paula Burnett as 'one of a clutch of memorable poets enriching English literature with a distinctively Caribbean rooted voice' (1993, p.37).

Meanwhile an emerging brigade had been cutting their writing teeth through an ongoing workshop at the UWI Centre. Some of the pieces were published in a volume, *Flowers Blooming Late* in 1984 to celebrate the hundred-and-fiftieth anniversary of emancipation (Fergus, 1984). Revisiting the publication, one finds genuine sensibility and richly earned emotion – love, metaphysical musings, nostalgia for home and controlled anger in the face of ruthless humanity for,

'is black blood that bleeds tonight
as savage faces point
their talled months
over rotten carcasses
on a trampled humanity' (Dyer 1984, p.20).

Anyone who thinks that blacks either during slavery or now accepted subjugation with equanimity should read lines like these. For

'it is freedom blood that bleeds tonight'.

Montserratians are defining themselves and their sense of history in their writings. It is of some interest that this book contains three poems on disaster. 'Ghaut Cum Dung' (p.4) is about flooding. 'Flood Light' (p.52) focuses on the 1981 flood with its tragic consequences and while 'Volcanoes' (p.47) is not about the volcano literally, it illustrates the explosive impact of that phenomenon on the imagination and its metaphoric power.

Meanwhile also, this author has been experimenting with verse and self-publishing slim volumes, some rough-hewn. So there has been a build-up to the wave of writings that broke on shore after Hugo.

Enter Hugo, 1989

‘Hugo came home carrying warheads
slinging missiles noising the night
wounding indiscriminately like terrorist’.

Written by this author, these lines are from the book *Hugo Versus Montserrat* (p.26) authored by E. A. Markham and H. Fergus (1989). It is this book, partly reportage and partly works of the imagination that consciously initiates the Montserrat disaster literature. The quoted poem captures the natural prelude to the drama and the tempestuous action; ‘roofs turned kites on invisible wings’. It was Markham who dealt sensitively with the aftermath and some of the human and social situations, like Major Browne’s library where books ‘refused to bridge’ held by the glue of the storm; and Gracelyn the archivist putting ‘paper napkins between her pages’ (p.41-42) or village preacher Abraham White, ‘this squat sculptured riot of muscle/this triumph of pork’ who preached on the morrow of the storm: ‘Just found joy, I’m happy as can be...’ with that serious humour which causes Caribbean people to survive in traumatic times. Thus Markham captures details of survival and enunciates ideological perspectives.

On the note of perspectives, Montserratian writers use disasters to philosophise in a manner which broadens the interest and appeal of their work. For instance, in “Hugo Fallout” (p.90-91) Markham (1993) intriguingly explores the ‘H’ of Hugo.

‘Now how to decide whether Hugo-corrupted-H –
Hugo & Hitler-Hiroshima & Hollywood-H – must soil
our alphabet? We argue. We fight.
But this is no brawling of an idiot kind:
the *soviet* on post-Hugo rites that lost
the vote on collective guilt of H,
is back as a village Choir of *Sandpipers*’

Not to be outdone by the Abraham Whites as prophet, Markham himself with uncanny accuracy predicted the eruption of the Soufriere Hills volcano in 'Here We Go Again. (p.89)

Was here in '24
 Was here in '28
 Will be here the day Soufriere
 vomit corruption back in we face.

So this book, *Hugo Versus Montserrat*, this substantial opening chapter in Montserrat's disaster literature, appropriately, albeit imaginatively, focused on the past, the present and the future.

The next literary release, *Horrors of a Hurricane* (1990), was an anthology published by the UWI School of Continuing Studies (Fergus, 1990). It featured 31 authors some of whom were darkening the page for the first time all of whom wrote on some aspect of the storm and its impact including 'rearrangin' de furniture widout consent/ on it's own personal interior decoratin' license' (p.75). This book is of uneven quality with some works lacking in craftsmanship, but it contains pieces of enduring value and artistic quality. A senior writer and accomplished artiste, Jamaal Jeffers sets forth 'unaccommodated man' as 'voyeur winds jeer/crouching trembling humanity' (p.70-71). In a similar vein another writer of genuine talent, Elcia Daniel sympathetically portrays men in the storm 'exposed/ Human elemental primitive/Stripped of cultivated props'. Both are deep and somewhat resonate Shakespeare in *King Lear*. And in her characteristic creole in metric pattern reminiscent of Louise Bennett of Jamaica, Ann Marie Dewar sings Montserratian resilience, a recurring theme in the literature, even though

'... Hugo come and blow hole
 Na we poor economy' (p.41).

When in 1993 Littlewood Arc (Lancashire) published Markham's *Letter from Ulster and the Hugo Poems*, the notion of a disaster literature was reinforced. The audience was enlarged and Montserratian literature was becoming for many a gateway to the island. In *A Festchrift for E. A. Markham* (1999) much attention was given to Markham's writing on Hugo. Alastair Niven,

Literature Director of the British Council, observed that the book was to ‘celebrate the stoicism of the Montserrat people and raise awareness of the scale of the catastrophe’ (p.81). Of this he was fully persuaded for he was moved to break the Arts Council’s rules which forbade disbursements for charitable fund-raising and give Markham a grant. He makes this telling comment: ‘The subject matter of the Hugo poems and *Hugo Versus Montserrat* does not lend itself to much comedy. These are writings from the umbilicus’ (Niven, 1993, p.84). It is clear that these are serious poems and they were attracting universal appeal and exposure.

Hugo’s birthday scarcely passes unnoticed either by nature or the island’s poets and Hugo anniversary poems appear in a number of poetry collections out of Montserrat. These poems also get anthologised internationally. Working out of the University of Birmingham, Stewart Brown’s *Caribbean New Voices I* (1995) contains ‘Hurricane Romance’ from Montserrat. And a special section on hurricanes in *The Caribbean Writer* (1997) a literary magazine from the University of the Virgin Islands begins with a Montserratian hurricane poem which treats with the prelude of a storm and its baneful effects:

This April is so hot. Hungry
for mischief the devil is cooking
a pot of hurricanes prematurely
to obeah this green island (Vol II, p.48).

Naturally, the calypsonians weighed in with creations on the hurricane. The late Mighty Arrow, the doyen of Montserratian calypsonians, for example, celebrated the same resilience and stoicism in his work as did Markham in his poems. A suggestive title ‘Man Mus’ Live’ with phrases like ‘disaster still follow man’ ‘yet he overcome’ and ‘man was born to survive’ make the point. One of the remarkable things is the range of writers on natural disasters. A lawyer, Kenneth Allen (now Queen’s Counsel) wrote a popular song in which he satirised the arrangements made to shelter some persons during the passage of Hurricane Cleo in 1968. They were placed in a cotton ginnyery built largely of galvanize. The chorus began ‘Not me in the ginnyery’.

The Volcanic Landscape

When the Soufriere Hills volcano erupted in 1995, it triggered a plethora of pens. The eruption is ongoing and so is the literary production. The Vincentian Soufriere erupted on Good Friday 1979 and that country's illustrious Shake Keane wrote a series of poems on that experience beginning with the explosive:

The thing split Good Friday in two
And that good new morning groaned (Keane, 1992, p.112).

It was generally a one-off event and there has been no continuing flood of writing.

The Montserrat eruption is first and foremost a scientific event which attracted scientists from many countries. For these academics, researchers and consultants, an active volcano yielded papers, articles and theses to advance reputation and facilitate promotion. This is not our focus here, but for several years to come this eruption will be a constant point of reference and discussion among volcanologists. This is especially so as this volcano behaves in a more idiosyncratic manner than most.

Closer home and on the human side, the works of Barnes, Shotte and Tuitt which have already been alluded to, play a special role. The eruption led to physical and psychological dislocation including forced migration to the United Kingdom (UK). It is the coping effects and pastoral needs that preoccupy Barnes in articles like "Stress Bussin' or Counselling in the Montserrat Volcanic Disaster" and similar works (Barnes, 2001). Tuitt is also interested in aspects of the resultant trauma and in counselling. Shotte on the other hand is concerned with the way Montserratians are coping as exiles in the motherland and their struggle to conserve their Montserratian identity. This is the theme of her "Diasporic Transnationalism: Relocated Montserratians in the UK" (Shotte, 2007). Interestingly, Shotte cited the works of a number of our avowed creative writers, integrating as it were, social science research with works of the imagination.

A volcanic eruption of stupendous proportion, as this was, is not locally contained sending as it did, ashes as far north as Puerto Rico. The big news

drew foreign journalists, and some with a creative mind showed up. A significant one was British Polly Pattullo with a publication *Fire from the Mountain* (2000). Cast in a creative mould, it is a fairly comprehensive account of a disaster which changed land and people. Unusually for an outsider, she got most of the facts correct and her critique of the British handling of the crisis is refreshingly frank. Although some of us recognise the inherently undemocratic nature of colonialism, it is insightful coming from her. In her view, 'there was no real self-determination and the colonial model was not and could not be democratic' (p.185).

Graeme Knott, another Briton wrote *Exclusion Zone* perhaps the first novel set in Montserrat. It is an adventure story with the volcano as the main antagonist. As the blurb says:

'The main trouble is that the plan entails, trekking through the nightmare landscape of the Exclusion Zone, inhabited by packs of feral dogs, mud flows and general madness, where lives have been lost and where the Soufriere volcano may strike again at any time' (2005).

The novel belongs to a series which includes the work of writers such as Michael Anthony, Jan Carew, Ian McDonald and G.C.H. Thomas. The series editor describes it as 'part thriller and part mystery novel packed with physical challenge, wild music, psychological misfits, destruction, love and memories'. The novel may not be the greatest thriller of the century but it is replete with realistic details of Montserrat in eruption and even of its better yesterdays when 'they all played here -McCartney, Sting, Elton John and Stevie Wonder' at Air Studios (p.143).

Montserrat found an indigenous voice in Yvonne Weekes whose Memoir, *Volcano* is not a conventional one as I observed in my introduction to the publication.

'It is a diary of events, imaginative narration, poetry, philosophising and editorialising withal... The memoir illustrates the centrality of the mountain to a sensitive people' (p.9).

Eddie Kamau Brathwaite underscores the significance of the book.

‘In the *Volcano* of Yvonne Selina Weeks, we have the word emotions of a daughter of the millennium mountain and impediment itself. Someone who feel it breathe: the signal plume. the ash. the spume. the sulphur bleak and blast. the detonations of the heart to heart’ (p.7).

The first general local publication of a literary nature to appear after the eruption was a 132-page volume with an introduction by the Governor, Frank J. Savage. Published by the UWI School of Continuing Studies, the book is much more important now that it seemed then. Analogous to *Hugo Versus Montserrat* of the hurricane event, *Eruption: Montserrat Versus Volcano* (Fergus, 1996) contains interviews with a range of persons on their experience with and reactions to the eruption. Some gave eye-witness accounts in their own graphic and expressive idiom, thanks to a senior local journalist:

‘If you look good, you can see how the ash get so thick on the mountain, but it’s good to look at. I take tourists right up there and the heat was so terrible... “But me nah leave Montserrat unless when me hear dat everything blow and nobody could live in a Montserrat”; “I believe that God is going to take care of us”; “it was terrible. I was right dere so sitting by the house and I was believing that the house was coming down on me”; “I will follow the instruction of the Governor and the Chief Minister and I think it not responsible for influential people to say they are telling us lies on the radio’.

Speaking from their hearts, these rural folk voiced the reflections and values that characterise the island in trouble – fear and fascination, resilience and near unconditional love of country. They also articulated the internal tensions of crisis management.

A number of outstanding local writers such as Chadd Cumberbatch, Chanelle Roach and the inevitable E. A. Markham contributed poems and short prose pieces to the volume. They mined new metaphors from the language of eruption. Cumberbatch’s hilariously serious “Magma Rising”, is a useful example, and it is good for any anthology: Checking she out/

wid me electronic distance meter/Big woman breasts heaving in de sun/ass swinging/like a broad ban tremor/... Me seismometer going crazy/a see she one more time before/ash blind me eye/... ah see de silhouette o' she ample thighs/an me feel/

'me feel
me feel me magma rising' (p.87-88).

Phrases like 'mother rage', 'charcoal snow' and 'grey rain' made vivid the language of poetic lines. Chanelle Roach uses standard English, but she too sees life through the prism of the fiery mountain.

'Slowly splitting/my mountains of dreams/burning
my hopes/to ashes/I'm smouldering/with molten
rage' (p.97).

Prose too is coloured by the volcanic lexicon. In a piece entitled "Living With It (Paradise Lost)" Simba, a leading author writes of the ubiquitous ash:

'Silently it falls, charcoal snow. It falls where it chooses, on roofs and roads, on lettuce and leaves, on children and babes it falls, wet and grey, like fragments of a London sky. When it dries she will sweep. Again'. (p.106)

These writings on the volcano are more than descriptions of experience, albeit subtle and insightful. They do more than highlight national resolve and human stoicism. They are faithful to the rubric of literature as criticism. Montserratians are not just at the mercy of nature's tumults but at the mercy of the decisions of a powerful colonial Governor. His emergency decisions may not always seem logical and the volcano uncovers limits to his power. As Skinner points out rightly or wrongly Fergus 'belittles his Government and the Governor's invocation of colonial emergency powers during natural disasters' (Skinner, 2004. p.50)

'We have come by faith just beyond Belham river
in obedience to God, Government
and the Governor's emergency powers

which do not govern earthquakes and volcanoes' (Fergus, 2003, p.16).

The volume *Lara Rains and Colonial Rites* published in 1998 focuses on cricketering hero Brian Lara but no fewer than six poems treat hurricane and volcano as their theme (Fergus, 1998). The following lines are from a poem, "Ignoring Ten".

'Dressed in flaming underwear/Soufriere
opened a new bible/in her pulpit on the hills
to teach us the arithmetic of days' (p.80).

The lines play into the hands of those who tend to link natural disasters with divine retribution – a wasteful means of getting erring man's attention.

Two succeeding poetry titles, *Volcano Song: Poems of an Island in Agony* (Fergus, 2000) and *Volcano Verses* (Fergus, 2003) major on the volcanic experience. Both were published in the UK. The former is a poetic diary of the volcano – its eruption, the trauma of evacuation and the fatal catastrophe of 1997. In the words of the blurb, 'the poems capture the awesome beauty and terror of the plumes, soiling the sky and the inferno that killed where 'death fires dance in the bosom of mountains'. The latter expresses the confidence that island life and folk will outlast volcanic tantrums, that though 'Tonight Chances pique still glows/an unholy dome still glows/but cattle low and egrets ride/in spite of fire from mountains tides' (p.35).

Lowell Lewis (1990) the island's Director of Health weighed in with a booklet *Hugo and Us* chronicling in verse his heroic efforts to keep the patients and the hospital alive during the direful 1989 night and after. As I wrote in the Foreword: 'It is chronicle, autobiographical episodes and journalistic reporting rolled in one and presented in the form of verse'. Later to be UWI lecturer in Barbados and Chief Minister of Montserrat, Dr. Lewis is perhaps a more skilled surgeon than poet, but his piece has the force of honesty and cogency of personal dramatic involvement. Besides it has compelling lessons in disaster preparedness and survival.

Every facet of life in Montserrat has been affected by the volcano; the eruption continues and so does the writing. Consequently all of one's own poetry volumes whatever the title contain disaster poems. *Christmas Festival and More Volcano Poems* (Fergus, 2007) which includes seven new eruption poems speaks for itself. Coming out in 2008, *I Believe* did not totally escape the reminder of '... an island-rock with a bad-minded/mountain which throws Vesuvian tantrums'. And *Death in the Family* (Fergus, 2008) coming months later to honour the life of Markham, the apostle of Montserrat's disaster literature, found something 'still cooking at Soufriere' (p.72).

Children wrote also. Teachers utilised an established principle of good teaching whereby they centred learning around an interesting, and in this case, a dramatic event in children's lives. Creative writing was one feature of that teaching and learning. Their writing had the added effect of being therapeutic in that it was for some a coping exercise, a way of dealing with the disturbance.

One night de mountain
Start throwing steam
Me think e just sick
Or just feel mean. (Tuitt, 1999, p.13)

So two primary schools are on creative record with their own anthologies – *Out of the Mouth of Babes* and *The Voices of our Children*, handsomely produced.

And then there is *Ash* (1996) an unpublished play authored by Chadd Cumberbatch and A-d Ziko Simba and performed principally by themselves to the applause of Caribbean audiences including at the Caribbean Festival of Arts in St. Kitts in 1998. It is about social and political situations (some bizarre) generated in volcano land. It involves self-examination and self-criticism which are still relevant in a national crisis with proper management as a premium. *Ash* is humorous but sobering and insightful. The play is a useful illustration of the ideological and political role of literature. It both expresses some collective criticism of disaster management and generates critical thinking thereon. Some of the calypsonians do this admirably and competently.

In 2004 British anthropologist, Jonathan Skinner published *Before the Volcano: Reverberations of Identity on Montserrat*. It is not about the volcano directly but in his own words, 'It is framed around the eruption' (p.xxxvii). Besides Montserratian identity is informed by its litany of disasters – the management of natural turbulence and trauma. And the word 'Before' in the title resonate landmark, watershed and even epoch and the 1995 event did indeed cut Montserrat's history into two. It is remarkable how extensive is Montserrat's disaster literature.

On the matter of comprehensiveness, the Montserratian house of disaster literature is not without a volume for the children. Thanks to *Little Island, Live Volcano* (1999) written by Carol Tuitt songwriter Randy Greenaway and illustrated by Etipou Kagbala. My own descriptive blurb bears repeating here.

'This book is the most recent in a 'disaster literature' emanating from Montserrat following successive scourges of flood, hurricane and, most stupendous of all, volcanic avalanches of fire. Co-author Randy Greenaway is among the most prolific and powerful songwriters to have erupted with this crisis. A major strength of this book lies in its pleasing potpourri of arts so tastily blended – story, music, painting and a moving imaginative drama which captures at once the awesomeness of the eruption and significant events in the attendant human tragedy. That it is suitably styled to introduce children to a turbulent aspect of the island's culture is an added triumph'.

A prime purpose of the present book is to free disaster literature from the limits of 'apostrophe' and establish its independent and viable standing.

Catherine Buffonge's series of four books – *Volcano: A Chronicle of Montserrat's Volcanic Experience* (1995-99) is by definition, not imaginative literature. It however provides a valuable backdrop and context for the new dispensation created by the eruption. In addition to the eruption *per se*, it chronicles social and economic events which were interwoven in the drama of life in the new setting. For completion of the record her account is worth citing. David Lee's DVD, *The Price of Paradise* (2009) is in its own right, a division of the disaster literature. This production more or less completes

the story of the eruption from 1995 to 2003 in photograph, the narration and drama are a fifteen-hour journal in living colour. It is literature served up differently and no less tasteful, helping to consolidate the case for a national disaster literature.

Conclusion

One is not making a monopolistic claim on ‘disaster literature’ for Montserrat. Writers from several countries have written about the aberrations and eruptions of nature – about what M. P. Shiel writing of Montserrat in his overcharged style describes as ‘turbulent epilepsies, and despondent manias, and wayward Orestian frenzies’ (1901, p.1). In 1997 when *The Caribbean Writer* (U.S. Virgin Islands) published a hurricane section it contained poems by eight authors from various countries. The contention is that no other single Caribbean country has produced such a relatively large volume of imaginative and related literature on natural disasters. None of these countries has experienced a mayhem of the scope which a volcano afflicted on Montserrat over a period of 13 years with no end in sight. With its established writing tradition, a disaster literature seems a logical and natural outcrop.

One is not vouching for the quality of all of these works either, and significantly, literary criticism is largely absent from the body of work. There may not be a Derek Walcott, Kamau Brathwaite or Martin Carter in Montserrat. It is, however, worth reminding ourselves of Paula Burnett’s critical evaluation: ‘Markham is a reminder to any non-Caribbeans, who may still believe that Derek Walcott is the only notable Caribbean poet, that they are making a serious mistake’ (Burnett, 1993, p.37). This is a remarkable tribute to this Montserratian literary luminary and apostle of disaster literature.

Markham apart, several of the other Montserratian authors have been internationally and respectably published and their works have appeared in journals like Bim (Barbados) *The New Voices* (Trinidad and Tobago) *Arts Review* (Jamaica) *Caribbean Quarterly* (UWI, Jamaica) *Sheffield Thursday* (UK) *The Hampden-Sydney Poetry Review* (Virginia, USA) *Artrage* (UK) *Ambit* (UK) *Tower Poetry* (Canada) and *Rhythm and Rhyme* (New Zealand) *Mississippi Review* (USA). Some have also been anthologised in international collections. This means that their pieces have been through

the crucible of discriminating review and have satisfied canons unstated or otherwise. I certainly regard writers like Cumberbatch, Elcia Daniel, Chanelle Roach, Jacqueline Allen and Dewar as respectable authors worthy of being anthologised anywhere.

When one sifts the sizeable body of Montserratian writings there will be much chaff. But there will be grains golden and energising and the disaster barn will be weighty. This is why we claim the existence of a veritable Montserrat disaster literature genre.

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Solid Waste Management in the Caribbean

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Abstract

Increases in population, urbanisation, and per capita incomes in the Caribbean over the past century have magnified the traditional challenge of managing household refuse. This article will discuss the historical evolution of solid waste management practices, summarise the current state of waste management in the Caribbean, consider the future growth of waste production, highlight options for future waste management, and finally consider policies available to change current household waste disposal practices. Solid waste planners might find this information useful to prepare long-term strategies for waste management in the Caribbean.

Keywords: solid waste management, refuse, solid waste policy, economic costs of waste management, recycling

Introduction

Increases in population, urbanisation, per capita incomes, and the importation of finished goods over the past century in the Caribbean have increased the variation and complexity of waste composition and thus have magnified the traditional challenge of managing household refuse. Traditional practices of reusing valuable waste materials and composting organic waste materials have been replaced by convenient and free (to households in the Caribbean) municipal collection programs. Each household's waste, increasingly comprised of plastics, cardboards, and assortments of other materials, is collected and transported for disposal at a distant dump site.

But because these remote dump sites have the potential to transmit diseases, ignite wildfires, threaten area groundwater supplies, and generate other environmental problems, many governments in the Caribbean have recently begun initiatives to improve waste disposal practices through the construction of sanitary landfills and incinerators. Some governments have also enacted policies to improve household refuse disposal through recycling, composting, source reduction, and possibly green design (Cicin-Sain, 2005). Although traditional social norms that once supported household conservation could be revived, more likely legal or economic incentives are necessary to change current household disposal practices.

This article makes several contributions to the existing literature on solid waste management in the Caribbean. First, it provides a concise summary of the evolution of solid waste management practices from agrarian to industrial economies – in evolution that has occurred throughout the Caribbean. The article then summarises the current state of waste management in the Caribbean. This summary includes estimates of the quantity and composition of solid waste generated in several Caribbean countries. These early sections provide the context for further discussions of possible future directions for Caribbean waste management. First, existing empirical estimates from other parts of the world on the effect of income growth and other variables on solid waste generation rates are summarised and used to forecast future generation rates in the Caribbean. Such forecasts are necessary to adequate planning. Second, existing global practices available to manage solid waste, such as incineration, composting, and recycling, are considered for possible use in the Caribbean. Not all practices are found to be advisable. Third, the

viability of methods to alter household disposal practices, from education and moral persuasion to behavioural mandates, are discussed for possible implementation in the Caribbean.

The Evolution of Solid Waste Management Practices

Although each country in the Caribbean has certainly experienced unique challenges with respect to the historical development of solid waste management practices, general patterns can be identified. First, virtually all Caribbean countries arose from traditional agricultural or maritime economies and were comprised largely of rural populations. These rural populations earned relatively low incomes and produced little refuse. Old clothing and household materials were repaired and reused, and household refuse consisted largely of bones, peels, and other by-products of consuming unprocessed meat, grains, fruits, and vegetables. This refuse was often composted and in some cases applied to fertilise the soil. Other forms of waste were likely organic and could be burned for warmth or cooking. In these traditional economies, most refuse was thus managed by the household.¹

As these populations grew and migrated towards urban areas, open dump sites often formed along the outskirts of newly constituted urban villages. The ideal dump site was located close enough for convenient disposal, but far enough to isolate the population from the odours and other problems associated with the open dump. These dump sites may have been located in a gully, deep valley, perhaps in the sea, or at a location downwind of the community. Most daily solid waste produced by households was still organic in nature, but many households began to produce occasional non-organic wastes such as construction materials, old appliances, automobile tires, and a wide assortment of other wastes ushered in by subsequent waves of global industrialisation. Unlike many organic wastes, post-industrial wastes collect and trap rainwater and thus provide breeding grounds for insects, rodents, and pathogens that cause and transmit disease, such as malaria, dengue, schistosomiasis, South American trypanosomiasis, and Bancroftian filariasis. The World Bank estimates the burden to developing countries from these

¹ See Thomas-Hope ed. (1998) for a detailed discussion of many aspects of solid waste management in developing countries including the Caribbean.

diseases alone is about two life-years per 1,000 persons (Beede and Bloom, 1995). These health problems can become magnified if urban expansion pushes outlying shanty neighbourhoods within closer proximity to the open dumps. Scavengers might also work the dump to extract valuable materials for sale (Beede and Bloom, 1995).

The emergence of industrial economies not only altered the composition of refuse, but the accompanying availability of centralised industrial employment increased urbanisation. Refuse management practices initially remained unchanged during these transitions. Open dumps became larger, more remote from the urban centres, and increasingly hazardous to neighbouring populations. As dumps became increasingly remote, households found transporting waste difficult and in some cases opted to dump refuse in nearby unauthorised neighbourhood dumps or even neighbourhood streets. Local governments often responded by initiating municipal collection systems where household refuse was collected from the household by the government at no added expense to the household.² Neighbourhoods became clean, but refuse quantities increased at the remote dump site, and the associated environmental costs worsened. Refuse generating households became disassociated with the disposal of their own waste as the refuse was out of sight and therefore out of mind. The once important practice of conserving or reusing materials was largely forgotten.

Local governments began to mitigate open burning and other externalities associated with refuse disposal by covering refuse with five to ten inches of soil. But covering waste reduces oxygen levels available for natural decomposition. Decomposition in an oxygen starved environment generates methane and leachate (the liquid byproduct of decomposing waste) (Kreith, 1994). Methane contributes to climate change and leachate is damaging to ground water supplies. Technologically advanced and economically costly disposal practices are necessary to manage these environmental problems associated with covered waste disposal.

² Large and condensed urban populations offer significant economies of scale in refuse collection. Stevens (1978) suggests returns to scale in collection exist up to service for 50,000 persons and then constant returns to scale.

The Current Status of Solid Waste Management in the Caribbean

Table 1 provides the average per capita quantity of household refuse generated in selected countries in the Caribbean in the year 2000 (data for Jamaica and St. Vincent and the Grenadines are from 2002). The average generation rate in the Caribbean was 18.85 pounds of refuse per week per person. Per capita generation rates varied from 8.08 pounds per week in Cuba to 43.21 pounds per week in the British Virgin Islands (BVI). Differences in per capita income and collection practices (discussed in the next section below) could be responsible for this variation. Ten percent of daily refuse in the Eastern Caribbean is generated by tourism activities, including cruise ships and yacht traffic (Caribbean Recycling Foundation).

Table 1 also provides information on how selected countries in the Caribbean manage their waste. Landfill disposal is the predominant practice, and the Dominican Republic utilises some incineration (see Table 1 for sources). The alternate methods of disposal for the remaining portion of solid waste generated by each country were not reported; these could include composting, recycling, or possibly exporting refuse.

The composition of this waste is provided in Table 2. Food waste was the most common form of waste in the Caribbean, followed by paper/cardboard and plastic. BVI generated less food waste than other Caribbean countries, but generated more plastic, glass, and wood refuse. Perhaps surprisingly, the waste composition in the BVI resembled that of developed countries with higher levels of household incomes.

Why the difference in waste composition across developing and developed nations? Households in developing countries are more likely to consume unprocessed vegetables, fruits, and meats than households in developed countries. In addition, the lack of refrigeration and storage facilities make food preservation difficult. As incomes rise and cultures change, the demands for prepared and packaged foods, office paper, newspapers, and magazines increase. The high wage rates that often accompany large incomes increase the opportunity cost of traditional meal preparation practices and the reuse of household waste materials. Therefore, instead of preparing meals at home, these households purchase processed and packaged food with the associated paper, plastic, and glass.

On the policy front, regional cooperation through the Organisation of East Caribbean States (OECS) has been important to regional planning for solid waste management (Cicin-Sain, 2005). Many individual countries in the Caribbean have also engaged in long-term planning for household and ship-generated refuse disposal (Dragan, 2002). Roughly 62 percent of 16 countries in the Caribbean have developed a comprehensive national waste management plan. Barbados and Jamaica have been most successful implementing their plans, and St. Lucia most recently modernised its landfill. In addition, Jamaica has initiated biodigestors to reduce the need for landfill space and St. Kitts and Nevis has initiated an intensive recycling program.

Table 1: Per capita Generation of Refuse in Selected Caribbean Countries (2000)

Country	Generation (pounds/week)	Percentage Landfilled	Percentage Incinerated
Caribbean ¹	18.85	83	2
Bahamas ¹	36.54	70	
Barbados ²	13.89		
BVI ²	43.21		
Cuba ¹	8.08	90	
Dominican Republic ¹	9.62	90	6
Jamaica ^{2*}	15.43		
St. Lucia ¹	21.15	83	
St. Vincent and the Grenadines ^{2*}	11.27		

Sources: 1: IPCC (2006); 2: Treasure (2004)

*Data from 2002.

Explaining Increases in Solid Waste Generation Rates

The quantity of household refuse disposed of in open dumps or sanitary landfills increases with (1) population growth, (2) per capita incomes, and (3) improvements in the efficiency of municipal refuse collection systems.

This section discusses each of these three factors. Meaningful planning is important to the proper management of household refuse, and understanding the magnitude of these sources of growth in waste could be beneficial to planners interested in preparing for future waste disposal needs. The lack of planning can lead to the spontaneous development of unauthorised open dumps as households and businesses become frustrated with the lack of convenient disposal facilities. Countries as developed as Italy and Ireland have recently experienced this unfortunate phenomenon.

Table 2: Composition of Household Refuse in Selected Caribbean Countries

Material	Caribbean ^{1**}	St. Vincent and the Grenadines ^{2***}	Jamaica ^{2***}	Barbados ^{2**}	BVI ^{2**}	Trinidad ^{2*}
Food Waste	46.9%	49.6%	53.96%	59%	6.5%	46%
Paper /Cardboard	17.0%	22.1%	17.34%	20%	33.5%	13%
Wood	2.4%	1.34%			22.2%	
Textiles	5.1%	4.0%	2.88%		4.8%	4%
Rubber /Leather	1.9%					
Plastic	9.9%	8.4%	11.77%	9%	6.3%	12%
Metal	5.0%	3.8%	5.29%		8.6%	7%
Glass	5.7%	5.6%	4.27%		18.1%	6%
C&D Materials		5.8%				7%
Other	3.5%	0.3%	3.15%	12%		5%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Sources: 1: IPCC (2006); **2:** Treasure (2004)

*Data from 1999.

**Data from 2000.

***Data from 2002.

Using a cross-sectional data set of 36 nations compiled by the World Resource Institute (1993), Beede and Bloom (1995) estimated that a 1 percent increase

in population is associated with a 1.04 percent increase in municipal solid waste. Comparing population statistics gathered for the eight Caribbean countries listed in Table 1 suggests solid waste increased an estimated 0.91 percent with a 1 percent increase in population, an estimate slightly less than the Beede and Bloom estimate.³ Total refuse generation rates increase with population for fairly obvious reasons. Perhaps less obvious is the notion that per capita generation rates decrease with increases in the average number of members in the household (Jenkins, 1993; Kinnaman, 1994; and Podolsky and Spiegel, 1998). Large families tend to share meals and other consumer waste-generating products. Thus, waste levels can increase unexpectedly if population rises are matched with reductions in average household size.

Beede and Bloom (1995) also estimated that, controlling for changes in population, a 1 percent increase in per capita income is associated with a 0.34 percent increase in solid waste. Individuals with average per capita incomes of \$8,000 (2006 US dollars) per year are estimated to each generate 11 pounds of refuse per week. Generation rates increase to nearly 19 pounds of refuse per week for households earning per capita incomes of \$18,500 per year. Waste generation increases by an estimated 0.46 with a 1 percent increase in incomes in the eight Caribbean countries depicted in Table 1, a bit higher than the estimate provided by Beede and Bloom (1995). Several economic studies in the United States have also estimated a positive link between income and refuse generation rates (Kinnaman and Fullerton, 2000b; Hong, Adams and Love, 1993; Richardson and Havlicek, 1978).

Combining the estimated results for population and income implies a nation that experiences a 3 percent annual increase in population and a 3 percent annual increase in per capita income can be expected to experience roughly a 4 percent annual growth rate in refuse totals. If population and per capita incomes rise at these rates in the long run, then garbage totals are estimated to double every 18 years over the levels reported in Table 1, unless steps discussed below are taken to deter garbage generation.

³ This estimate was obtained by regressing the waste quantities of the eight countries in Table 1 on population and income.

Such steps have been taken in some developed countries, and data from these developed countries suggest per capita income and refuse generation rates become decoupled in high ranges of per capita income. Despite large rates of income growth between 1990 and 2000, per capita refuse generation increased from 21.49 pounds per week to just 22.82 pounds per week (a 6 percent increase) in Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries (de Tilly, 2004). Per capita generation rates increase by only 4 percent in the US over this same timeframe. Developed nations are more likely to engage in recycling, and households in these countries expend a larger portion of their incomes on services.

A third source for increases in refuse disposal quantities is the efficiency of the refuse collection and disposal system. Refuse quantities increase as government leaders and perhaps private waste industries make refuse collection more convenient to households by, for example, regularising collection frequencies or constructing landfills in areas more convenient to waste haulers. As described above, traditional households faced with the task of managing their own refuse might reuse waste around the household, bury waste, compost waste, or utilise local dumping areas. Convenient and free weekly collection services cause households to cease these practices and simply discard their waste materials. Local dump sites disappear, but the quantity of refuse collected for disposal increases, and planners should be aware of this.

Planners in Barbados experienced this issue when the Mangrove Pond Landfill was placed into operation in 1986. Planners expected 190 tons of refuse each day (the quantity at the retired landfill), but the convenient central location of the Mangrove Pond landfill made delivering waste easier, and waste totals to increase to 200 tons per day. The site filled one year earlier than planners anticipated. By the mid 1990s expansions to the Mangrove Pond Landfill received 400 to 425 tons of refuse per day (Headly, 1998). Frequent waste collection reduces improper household disposal, while increasing total waste collection.

A potential fourth determinant of refuse generation rates is the educational status attained by adult members of the household. Educated households might be aware of recycling opportunities and understand the environmental impacts of their refuse. Studies linking recycling behaviour and education

are unavailable in the Caribbean. Economic studies in the United States such as Hong, Adams, and Love (1993), Callan and Thomas (1997), Judge and Becker (1993), Reschovsky and Stone (1994), and Duggal, Saltzman, and Williams (1991) estimate recycling levels increase with education. Waste is thus reduced to the extent that education increases recycling.

Current Options for Solid Waste Management in the Caribbean

Once serious planning for solid management in the Caribbean is initiated, the options facing each nation are outlined below.

Green Design

Household refuse generation rates could decrease if products consumed in the economy generated less waste. The idea behind green design is to manufacture goods that either generate less waste or are less costly to recycle. For example, the cardboard boxes used to package many goods could be produced without the waxy surface that makes recycling the cardboard problematic. Small economies in the Caribbean that import a substantial portion of their goods may be unable to influence the design and manufacture of products made in different parts of the world, but the concept of green design is gaining momentum in many parts of the developed world, and Caribbean countries that import these goods could benefit as a result.

Composting

Roughly 50 percent of disposed household refuse in the Caribbean is organic in nature and is therefore available for composting (Richards, 2002). The organic matter component of solid waste can simply decompose naturally. This decomposition process can be accelerated by manipulating the moisture content, temperature, and oxygen levels within the composting materials. The oxygen allows the decomposition to occur without creating methane. The decomposed waste can then be used to enrich the nutrient content of farm lands and thus improve agriculture.

Composting is not new to inhabitants of the Caribbean, as it was once common for residents in rural parts of many countries to dispose of organic waste in gardens or around fruit trees before weekly door-to-door

waste collection became popular. Such practices are less likely today, but centralised composting facilities can be constructed on lands adjacent to landfills to increase efficiency. Households could be expected to separate organic material for separate collection. This process is quite common for garden waste in countries such as Barbados, Jamaica, and Cuba among other Caribbean nations, but it has not been initiated for other organic materials including household food waste.

Recycling

Many forms of refuse generated by households in the Caribbean are recyclable. Paper, cardboard, plastic, glass, and metal can be removed from the waste stream, processed, and taken to manufacturers that specialise in converting these materials into materials useful to the economy.

One drawback of recycling in both developed and developing countries is its cost. In the United States, for example, the per ton cost to collect, process, and transport recyclable materials roughly double the cost of disposing the same waste in a sanitary landfill (Kinnaman, 2006). The costs of recycling might be quite different in the Caribbean. The unskilled labour supply is relatively abundant in many Caribbean nations, and labour-intensive recycling practices might therefore be less costly. However, recycling firms are often located within close proximity to manufacturing regions. Because few centralised manufacturing regions exist in the Caribbean, the costs of shipping recycled materials could be substantially higher in the Caribbean than in the United States. Despite this second obstacle, several countries in the Caribbean, most notably Barbados, have established a recycling infrastructure for glass, aluminum, and plastic drink containers. Consumers in these countries pay a deposit with the purchase of beverages, and receive a refund when the containers are returned to designated collection areas. These programs not only reduce household refuse designated for landfill disposal, but also reduce the likelihood of littered beverage containers.

As Caribbean countries continue to develop, they could consider less labour intensive recycling process that utilises compartmentalised trucks to collect refuse directly from households. Households would then separate all recyclable materials into a single recycling bin, and refuse collectors would deposit the materials into separate compartments of a truck for transport to

a transfer station for additional processing and eventual transfer to recycling markets.

The current experience of developing countries today could provide a glimpse of recycling practices in the future Caribbean once incomes rise. Despite the high cost, there is a broad trend towards recycling in OECD countries where 80 percent of metals, 35-40 percent of glass, and 40-55 percent of paper and cardboard are recycled (de Tilly, 2004). As a total of all solid waste generated, the United States recycles 30 percent of its waste, and OECD countries recycle 16 percent (de Tilly, 2004). Recycling in some developed countries can be capital intensive. Rather than requiring households to separate materials for recycling, all refuse is delivered to a facility that uses highly automated systems with magnets to extract ferrous metals. Air classifiers with blowers separate light materials (plastics), and eddy-current separators with magnets above a conveyor belt repel aluminum to special bins (Beede and Bloom, 1995). A less capital intensive recycling process involves the use of conveyor belts that slowly transport refuse as workers pick and sort through the materials.

Incineration

Incineration involves the burning of generated household and commercial refuse at very high temperatures. The heat produced by the burn can be useful for the generation of energy. Incineration is an expensive waste disposal option. Incineration represents an economical solution to high refuse generation rates where land is scarce, as is the case in many Caribbean countries. There is a broad and growing trend towards incineration in OECD countries, especially in parts of Europe, Japan, and the northeastern of the United States.

But incineration may not currently be appropriate for many Caribbean countries for several reasons. First, the content of household refuse in developing countries is comprised of large proportions of organic food waste. Such waste contains a lower level of energy content and a higher level of moisture content than other forms of waste such as paper and plastic. Refuse in developing countries is therefore not as combustible, and fossil fuel must be added to keep burning temperatures sufficiently high.

Second, there are economies of scale in incineration. Kreith (1994) examined the costs of several incineration plants, and estimated the per-ton cost of operating an incinerator decreases with waste quantities for plants that take up to 1,100 metric tons of waste per day. Per-ton costs are constant for plants that burn an excess of 1,100 tons per day. One reason for the scale economies in incineration is the reduction in the per-ton cost of emission control, which declines sharply as daily capacity increases from 500 to 1,000 metric tons (Kreith, 1994). Thus, average costs of incineration are minimised for populations of 700,000, assuming again that individuals generate an average of roughly 20 pounds per week. Trinidad and Tobago has a sufficient population to capture these scale economies, but Barbados falls short.

Pollution control is quite necessary with incineration. Incinerators generate particulate matter and incomplete-combustion products such as CO, NO_x, chlorinated hydrocarbons, acid gases, mercury, and lead (US Congress, 1989). To remove these wastes from the final air stream, the heat of the burn must reach 1,800 degrees Fahrenheit for complete combustion. The plant also needs electrostatic precipitators or fabric filters to remove particulates and metals and scrubbers to remove acid gases. Highly efficient technologies for incinerator emission were developed in the 1990s. The incinerator in Tortola, BVI, for example, includes a ceilcote-designed scrubber packed with polypropylene to control air pollution. This scrubber removes 98 percent of all hydrogen chloride, 80 percent of all sulphur dioxide and 98 percent of all particles greater than ten microns. Although the BVI government does not have its own air quality standards, the emissions from the incinerator fall well within acceptable limits of most air pollution standards in the developed world (Lettsome, 1998).

A Highly Capitalised Sanitary Disposal Facility

A sanitary landfill may seem a bit of an oxymoron to any individual not acquainted with advances in the technology of garbage disposal experienced over the past 40 years. Sanitary disposal facilities are constructed over thick and impermeable clay or plastic bases. Plumbing systems are imbedded to collect methane gas and leachate (the liquid byproduct of decomposing garbage). Reverse-osmosis systems are constructed to treat the collected leachate, and the treated leachate can be returned to the area water supply.

Wells are dug on all sides of the facility to monitor the quality of area ground water, and disposed solid waste is covered continuously with several feet of clean fill to virtually eliminate odour and the spread of disease. Captured methane can be burned to generate electricity. A moderately sized sanitary disposal facility can generate methane sufficient to provide energy to 3,200 homes.

One drawback of this solid waste management option is the economic cost. A large site must be selected; the ground needs to be prepared; the clay or plastic base must be laid; and the plumbing systems must be installed. A new facility resembles a massive construction site where engineers are on the site and land-moving machinery is fully employed. Depending upon the cost of the land and local economic conditions, the per-ton tipping fees levied on the disposal of solid waste could exceed US \$30 to recover the construction and operation cost (Stevens, 1978). Individuals would then pay about US \$0.30 per week on average to pay for such proper disposal. Thus, a household of four individuals would pay an average of US \$1.20 per week.

But per-household disposal costs are this low only for sufficiently large populations. Because the fixed costs associated with the initial construction of the facility are substantial, economies of scale are of great importance. According to DeLong (1994), the average per-ton cost of operating a sanitary landfill declines by a minimum of 70 percent as their capacity increases from 227 to 2700 metric tons per day. Thus, for a country whose residents generate an average of 20 pounds of refuse per week, average disposal costs are minimised with a population of nearly 2 million people. Among nations of the Caribbean only Cuba, Dominican Republic, Haiti, Puerto Rico, and Jamaica have populations in excess of this threshold. Many smaller nations do not generate sufficient quantities of solid waste to spread the high fixed costs of initial landfill construction. Each resident of Barbados, for example, where the population is only 280,000, could pay almost US \$2.00 per week (or US \$8.00 per family of four). Countries with populations smaller than those of Barbados would face even higher, potentially prohibitive, per capita costs of disposal. Perhaps neighbouring countries in the Caribbean can cooperate and share solid waste disposal sites. This strategy would of course involve shipping solid waste to countries in order to help spread the costs to larger populations, which could have both political and ethical ramifications.

Two environmental problems remain with sanitary disposal facilities. First, because such facilities are often large in order to capture the economies of scale, the facility needs to be centrally located, and the number of waste hauling trucks visiting the site each day could be large. These trucks damage local access roads, produce congestion, increase the threat of roadway accidents, and produce a disamenity to those living along access roads. To minimise these problems, disposal facilities are best developed on sites along major roadways engineered to handle high truck traffic.

Second, even sanitary disposal facilities release greenhouse gases. The decomposition of organic waste in an environment void of oxygen generates methane and other gases. The release of these climate gases can be minimised with the collection of methane for power generation, but currently 6 percent (U.S. Department of Energy, 1993) to 16 percent (Gandy, 1994) of estimated global annual methane emissions are emitted by the decomposition of organic waste at landfills.

The Status Quo

Many developing countries, including many in the Caribbean, rely upon open and controlled dumps to manage solid waste. Refuse may be covered on a daily basis to minimise pests, disease, and the threat of open fires, but only minimal effort is extended to ensure water supplies are protected. The clear advantage of this management option is the low economic costs involved, especially in comparison to the costs of other options described below. The obvious disadvantage of continued reliance upon the open dump is the threat to the area environment and to human health. Not only can open and controlled dumps foster the spread of disease, but dumps also threaten area groundwater supplies. This problem is particularly worrisome in areas where untreated groundwater is consumed by urban and rural populations. The rainwater runoff from open dumps can also impact surface water supplies and the ecosystems that rely upon clean water. Finally, the open and controlled dumps can affect the local tourism industry as many vacationers may seek a safe and environmentally friendly destination.

Strategies to Change Household Disposal Practices

If a reduction in solid waste disposal through recycling, composting, or other related practices is desirable to any particular government, then all but the most capital intensive separation processes will then require some effort on the part of households. Households might be expected to separate waste by categories for separate recycling collections; households might also be required to transport certain forms of waste materials to collection centres, and in some cases households might engage in composting or possibly reducing the quantity of waste they generate. To encourage these behaviours, solid waste managers can consider changing the moral, legal, and/or economic incentives of households. Education can also play an important role. Most countries in the Caribbean have only attempted the first two of the five options described below.

Moral Persuasion

Reestablishing old social norms that once supported the traditional practices of reusing, recycling, and composting behaviour might prove difficult in those countries with relatively high per capita incomes and therefore high opportunity costs of time. But these households could be persuaded to, for example, separate recyclable materials for curbside collection. The resource cost to separate recycled materials is relatively low to many households, and social norms have been established in many developed countries that make such recycling efforts common. Callan and Thomas (1997) find that an extra dollar spent per household to encourage recycling increases the recycling rate by 2.55 percent in the United States. But Judge and Becker (1993) find no impact from publicity efforts in the United States to increase awareness of municipal recycling opportunities.

Education

Roughly 56 percent of countries in the Caribbean have implemented educational programs to raise the issue of the environment and waste management in school systems (Cicin-Sain, 2005). Environmental education has been integrated into the general curriculum at all levels of schooling in Jamaica. A survey of 12 waste management professionals in Jamaica determined that 15 concepts related to waste management should be

included in the school curriculum at both the primary and secondary levels. But only four of these concepts were addressed at the primary level and nine at the secondary level. These disappointing results suggest much room for improvement (Collins-Figueroa, 1998).

Ideally, education would go beyond providing students with the simple awareness of issues and testing their recollection of concepts to incorporate environmental responsibility, action, and citizenship. To link knowledge with action, Jamaica has initiated the Issue Investigation and Action project in the late primary or lower secondary schools state (Collins-Figueroa, 1998). This project expects students to identify and investigate an environmental issue and then take effective action. A study of a seventh grade life science unit on waste management showed statistically significant gains in the understanding of content and actions taken for students who participated in this project relative to students taking a traditional course. Unfortunately, the lack of educational resources, the time demands of the traditional curriculum, and poor horizontal links across subjects have impeded the success of this program in other countries (Collins-Figueroa, 1998). But, with inspirational administrators and encouraging teachers, the Issue Investigation and Action strategy could help students in the Caribbean become responsible, knowledgeable, and active citizens.

Legal Mandates

Household disposal behaviour can be mandated by law. Households could for example be required to remove certain recyclable materials from their refuse and either place them in special recycling containers for separate collection, or households could be required to transport those materials to collection centres. Households ignoring the legal mandate could be fined or potentially imprisoned if offenses are repeated. The legal mandates also help to define new social norms; blatant throw-away behaviour will be no longer acceptable by the community. To prevent social backlash from what could be perceived by households as a heavy-handed legal requirement, officers could initially issue written reminders and warnings to those households that blatantly disregard the new legal expectations.

Effort should be expended to enforce such recycling laws. Experience in the United States suggests such legal measures without enforcement do little to alter household disposal behaviour (Kinnaman and Fullerton, 2000b).

Pay As You Throw

Economic incentives can be developed to encourage households to change disposal practices. Pay as you throw programs require households to affix a special tag or sticker on each bag of refuse they generate for collection. The special tags or stickers can be obtained at local grocers or gas stations for a designated price, maybe US \$1-\$2.00 each. Households facing such fees can economise on their own disposal costs by recycling, composting, or otherwise reducing the quantity of waste they generate.

Such programs have been implemented in many developed countries. Over 2,000 municipalities in the United States charged households a fee for each bag of refuse collected, and the nation of South Korea required this pricing scheme for all of its cities. Economists have studied the success of these programs at reducing refuse quantities. Results suggest households facing a fee of US \$1.00 reduce refuse generation by 12 pounds per week, roughly a 30 percent reduction in waste generation (Kinnaman, 2006).

A problem associated with these economic incentive programs is the unfortunate increase in the likelihood of illegal or illicit waste disposal. This threat should be weighed carefully by leaders of developing countries especially Caribbean states. Memories of old dump sites such as nearby gullies that existed prior to organised collection may still persist, and some households may return to undesirable disposal habits to save the costs of purchasing the special tags or stickers.

Deposit-Refund Programs

Economists that studied solid waste and recycling subsidy from a theoretical perspective are almost universally united in support of deposit-refund programs to generate economic incentives to promote recycling (Kinnaman and Fullerton, 2000a). The refund encourages the practice of recycling without simultaneously encouraging illicit disposal behaviour. The deposit, essentially a tax on consumption, prevents the disposal subsidy from

unintentionally subsidising consumption. This policy option could be applied to specific products such as drink containers as in Barbados and other countries, or more broadly to all forms of physical consumption.

This latter option has several advantages. First, a sales tax on all forms of physical consumption might be easier to implement and administer than a specific deposit on each material. Second, the subsidy need not take the form of a return of payment to a household that carts materials back to the appropriate collection facility, but can instead take the form of free collection of all recycled materials. In other words, the revenue from the added sales tax can be applied to finance separate collections of recycled materials from households. The collection represents a real subsidy to the household, especially those households with high opportunity costs of time, in that the household is saved the effort of transporting the material to a recycling collection point.

Conclusion

This article has summarised the present state of solid waste management in the Caribbean, has provided crude estimates of future refuse amounts, and sketched out some policy options to both manage collected waste and encourage households to change their disposal practices. Planners in the Caribbean might find this information useful to prepare for future waste management needs.

Investing in long-term strategies for managing solid waste will likely become common in many countries in the Caribbean over the next few decades. Sanitary landfills, incinerators, large-scale composting facilities, efficient recycling facilities, and perhaps green design require the investment of significant resources. Investing in such strategies offers economic dividends as well. Countries that manage and plan for waste disposal responsibly enjoy a cleaner environment, which can improve international investment, tourism, and economic growth.

Finally, the substantial economies of scale that arise with the construction of sanitary landfills, incinerators, and recycling facilities could justify shipping waste within low-populated nations of the Caribbean. Political, environmental, and ethical question will surely abound, but environmental

and economic savings could be significant. Future research could estimate the savings from centralised waste facilities as functions of incomes, populations, and transportation costs within the Caribbean.

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Public Policy Lecture

Caribbean Migration: Challenges to Leadership

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Introduction

My analysis focuses on the English-speaking Caribbean, but the implications are wider. The thesis of this presentation is that the nation state bounded by distinct territorial borders is outdated in the 21st century. This is even more evident for the Caribbean islands where Caribbean migration very early in our history reshaped the boundaries of core institutions of family, society, politics and economics. The national boundaries have become even more irrelevant in the age of globalisation. In spite of the fact that the nation state is outdated, the legal and institutional frameworks which govern day-to-day activities are based on defined national jurisdictions.

Far from responding creatively and proactively to the fact that the nation state is today an anachronism, even within the context of a regional integration mechanism, Caribbean leadership and institutions have become more narrowly nationalistic and inward looking. The educational and training institutions rather than leading the way are also going against the tide and splintering along national lines at the risk of becoming irrelevant. Our leadership, political and educational institutions and development strategies have to respond in accordance with the present reality of greater regional cohesion among the people if the Caribbean islands are to avoid becoming failed states.

When I speak of leadership I am not only speaking of people who hold positions of leadership institutionally, but of a more dynamic and transformative notion of leadership. This kind of leadership is best reflected in the model of the Canada geese. All the geese share the long term vision of the destination that they want to arrive at. The goose in the lead often falls back and allows another to take the lead. Every goose is a potential leader and leaders are prepared to follow. The geese in front honk in encouragement. They support one another and if one goose is injured, two or three fall back to support it until it is able to rejoin the group. With such clarity of purpose, shared leadership responsibility, and caring for the members, year after year, they travel and arrive successfully thousands of miles to their destination and back. In this model that the geese offer, the skills of every member are fully utilised, with participation and shared leadership expected and enabled in others. Through this process the vision is clear, and equity and equality, caring and cooperation are the values in evidence which lead to their successful journeys. It is not surprising that the Australian cricket coaches use this model to train their team with consistent results.

The Broader Migration Context

Migration has been a feature of society since the beginning of humanity. The United Nations Development Programme's (UNDP's) Human Development Report (HDR) reminds us that 'Recent DNA tests support previous fossil evidence that all human beings evolved from a common ancestor from equatorial Africa, who crossed the Red Sea into Southern Arabia approximately 50, 000 years ago' (2009: 29).

The UNDP's 2009 HDR on *Human Mobility and Development* states: 'Population movements have played a vital role in the structural transformation of economies throughout history, thereby contributing greatly to development' (2009: 29). This is in contrast to the history of slavery where between the 15th and 19th centuries, approximately 12 million Africans were sent as slaves across the Atlantic which had a negative impact on African development, but a major positive impact for Europe and the US. Between 1842-1900, 2.3 million Chinese and 1.3 million Indians were sent as indentured labourers to South East Asia, Africa and North America (Sanjek 2003). Unfortunately migration data remain weak, and as the HDR points out, it is much easier for policy makers to count the international movement of shoes and cell phones, than that of nurses and construction workers.

At its peak in the 19th century total emigrants over a decade accounted for 14% of the Irish population, 10% of Norwegians, and 7% of the populations of Sweden and the UK. By 1900 more than a million people left Europe each year in search of better conditions in the face of poverty and hunger at home. In contrast the number of lifetime emigrants from developing countries today is less than 3% of the total population of these countries.¹

The prevailing attitude of governments then was that population movements were to be expected and were beneficial to both origin and destination societies. Attitudes changed in the 20th century with countries like Argentina and Brazil removing subsidies and US and Australia introducing entry requirements. In spite of these restrictions, the proportion of international migrants was similar to or larger than it is today. While attitudes changed over time shifting to intolerance and xenophobia, open migration still continued enabling rapid rates of economic development.²

Even interstate migrants within the US in the 1930s were met with fierce resistance and intolerance from the locals because they were perceived as threats to their jobs and livelihoods. Severe drought led to the massive cross state migration of 2.5 million from the Midwest in the 1930s to other areas less hard hit. As the HDR (2009) points out, leadership and action to change

¹UNDP HDR 2009, p. 28-29.

²UNDP HDR 2009, p. 30.

the nature of the public debate made the crucial difference. John Steinbeck's, novel *The Grapes of Wrath* was a scathing indictment of the intolerance and mistreatment of the migrants and led to a public debate and congressional investigation into the plight of migrant workers. The investigation resulted in the landmark 1941 decision that States had no right to interfere with the free movement of people within the US.³

The European Union also faced internal resistance to policy change and intolerance to the perceived outsiders. The expansion of the EU and the entry of Spain were met by widespread popular debate about the flooding of the EU with poor Europeans from the South. The EU leadership played a critical role in holding course and putting in place the legislation and protection of free movement of labour. Both the European Community and the US are stronger economically from those decisions.

The Caribbean Migration reality

Emancipation saw the exodus of large segments of Caribbean populations from their island states to regional and international growth centres. The Caribbean migration pattern, both regional and international continues to be a central feature shaping its development. In fact, the rate of migration in the Caribbean is one of the highest in the world. While the world average is 3% of the donor/sending country, Antigua and Barbuda, Grenada and St Kitts and Nevis which mirror the English Caribbean pattern have average rates above 40%. The IMF 2006 data indicate that over the last four decades the Caribbean has lost more than 40 % of its skilled labour force. Many of the English-speaking Caribbean islands have lost more than 50% of tertiary level graduates and 30% of secondary graduates.⁴ Nearly half of international migrants move within their region and approximately 40% move to a neighbouring country. Forty-eight percent of all international migrants are women. This gender pattern is very different from the early industrial age of migration when the majority of migrants were men.

³ UNDP HDR, p. 46.

⁴ Caroline Bakker, Martina Eling-Pels and Michele Reis 'The Impact of Migration on Children' UNICEF Aug 2009.

Migrants from Barbados and the Eastern Caribbean countries historically moved to Trinidad and Guyana within the region and the UK, US and Canada in the North. Jamaicans went to Latin America, the UK and the US. Panama received significant flows during the construction of the Panama Canal. Today Barbados, Antigua and Barbuda, and Trinidad and Tobago are among the largest recipients of regional migrants. During the colonial period people moved freely throughout the region. The long tradition of migration has resulted in an early socialisation of our children into a regional and international arena long before the entry of television into our homes. Migration has also forged a different Caribbean reality for basic institutions such as the family with implications for the emergence of nations and nationalism.

The Caribbean Transnational Family

The family is the foundation of the society and nation. It is the first place of socialisation into values, attitudes, behaviour, civic responsibility, community and nation. Approximately 25 years ago, I introduced the concept of the Caribbean transnational family⁵ to explain what my research on Caribbean migration was clearly showing. I was part of an international team researching Caribbean migration and its regional and international impacts. In 1982, building on earlier research by Linda Basch, we looked at the data on movements of Caribbean people within the Caribbean, North America and the United Kingdom. We conducted indepth interviews with 130 Grenadian and Vincentian migrants and their families in New York, 80 in Trinidad and Tobago and 100 family members in Grenada and St Vincent and the Grenadines.

The snowball method was used to study the migrants' social and political networks. Several of the 20 Vincentian organisations and eighteen voluntary organisations in New York were also studied. The sample balanced male and female migrants. Documented and undocumented migrants were included with the support of church communities in Trinidad and Tobago to which we

⁵Rosina Wiltshire, *The Caribbean Transnational Family*, Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of the West Indies Cave Hill 1984.

made the request for support for the research.⁶ At that moment and for many decades previously, Trinidad and Tobago was the largest regional destination and New York and the UK the primary international destinations. In a later phase of the research, we collaborated with a team spanning Jamaica and the UK.⁷

The pattern was clear. The Caribbean family did not fit the traditional sociological definition of the family which was bounded by a household in one country. Traditionally it was assumed that the family was demarcated by a household existing within defined territorial boundaries. The data showed the Caribbean family spread across several countries. Parents and children are separated by oceans, live on different islands and continents, with core family functions such as nurturing, economic support and decision making shared by central links in the family network. Critical decisions on education, housing, health care are shared by parents, aunts, uncles and grandparents who live in different countries. Homes are often co-owned by migrants and family members back home. Clothes and food are provided on a regular basis sent in boxes or barrels from family members in the North to the family members at home in the Caribbean. Food supplies also move within the Caribbean among families and migrants giving rise to a brisk exchange and expanded trade.

This pattern was so widespread and deeply embedded in our culture, behaviour and expectations that we needed a new term to describe what we were witnessing. There was a Caribbean reality different from the Northern family. The Caribbean 'normal' family was not confined to one household. It was difficult to find one household that was not intricately inter-connected by family ties to migrant households abroad. Both the nuclear and extended families are transnational families. This insight was welcomed by some North American psychologists who had been trying to understand what they were witnessing with some of the Caribbean children who were having problems at home and in school. The children were living at home with their parents in North America whom they had joined as migrants, but

⁶ Rosina Wiltshire, Linda Basch, Winston Wiltshire and Joyce Toney, *Caribbean Transnational Migrant Networks: Implications for Donor Societies*, International Development Research Centre, Ottawa Canada 1990.

⁷ Elizabeth Thomas Hope *Caribbean Migration*, UWI Press Jamaica, 2002.

they complained of missing home. Children described that they missed their mama and papa back home even though they lived with their mothers and fathers. The psychologists could not understand this odd confusion as they saw it and often considered the children subnormal, unable to express themselves and problematic. They could not help these children because they had no understanding of their reality. The transnational family concept helped them to gain greater insight into the psychology underpinning our Caribbean migrant children's problems. A Caribbean lawyer who was practicing in Toronto and witnessing in court the results of these dilemmas faced by Caribbean children and families shared with me her frustration at the time of having few theoretical or institutional frameworks to support the reality and the resulting casualties of Caribbean children in the system. Based on her experience in the court system she wrote *Harriet's Daughter* a brilliant novel which should be required reading for teachers, students, parents and counsellors. Samuel Selvon's, *Lonely Londoners* and Andrea Levy's, *Small Island* are excellent and entertaining accounts of the adult migrant experience.

An inward looking policy focus bound by European concepts of family and nation and the inadequacy of relevant theoretical and institutional frameworks have resulted in dilemmas for Caribbean teachers, health professionals and lawyers as well as their North American and British counterparts. The focus on the nation state with its defined territorial boundary as the point of departure has meant that our Caribbean models of a 'normal' family which inform our training, policy and planning have little to do with the real experience of the majority of Caribbean peoples, our children and our youth.

The Regional Framework

Those who have left their island home and have lived abroad, even for short periods as students, tend to see more clearly the logic of integration than those who have never left. Former Barbados Prime Minister His Excellency Errol Barrow reminds us of the important role of Caribbean migrants in the movement for Caribbean federation. In his statement to the Parliament on June 20 1962, he challenged the view that Federation was imposed by the UK. He spoke of the ambivalence of the UK Government about the establishment of a Federation. He acknowledged a debt to the West Indians in the USA who contributed a substantial amount of money to the Standing Closer

Association Conference held in Montego Bay in 1947. He remarked that it was due to the financial contributions they made that this critical meeting was held and their efforts to promote the cause of West Indian nationhood which contributed to the success of the conference in 1947.⁸

The failure of the Federation, while it slowed the regional process, did not signal the end of the regional momentum. Caribbean leaders sought to build on this momentum in forging the Caribbean integration movement. The Caribbean Free Trade Area (CARIFTA) agreement in 1965 and The Caribbean Community and Common Market (CARICOM) in 1973 with an agreement on a Common External Tariff were all steps in strengthening the regional process. The CARICOM Revised Treaty of Chaguaramas, establishing the Caribbean Single Market and Economy 1989 and the Heads of Government in February 2007 decision on full free movement by end of 2009 remain important goals for the region. In spite of the stated goals, however, the politics and national dialogue have increasingly become more inward looking and nationalistic. The lived experience of our children continues to be a transnational reality. The leadership therefore seems to have become more and more distant from contemporary Caribbean youth's lived reality. It is no surprise that the CARICOM Youth Report presented to Caribbean Council Human and Social Development (COHSOD) January 2010⁹ seems to capture how our youth perceive their reality, with 85% of the region's youth between 15 and 29 indicating that they would migrate if they had the choice and resources.

Transnational Boundaries and Multiple Loyalties

Similar to the dominant concept of the 'normal' family defined by a nuclear family living in a household, which has little relevance to the Caribbean reality, the concepts of nation and nationalism have drawn on a European reality at a particular historical period of relatively fixed populations and clearly defined national boundaries. These concepts have been central to the rules and theories governing international law, politics, economics and society. While the Caribbean populations have been fluid, the premises of

⁸ Speeches by Errol Barrow Hansib Publishing Ltd, Barbados 1987 p 44-45.

⁹ CARICOM Youth Report, CARICOM 2010

fixed geographically bounded populations that underpinned the dominant theories of nationalism, domestic politics, economics and sociology, continue to inform Caribbean development. It can be argued that the traditional models of nationalism and development have reduced relevance in a globalised world and the Caribbean has been a world leader in these globalisation trends.

The concept of the nation as bounded by territory was grounded in the emergence of the European nation states, with nationalism functioning as a natural expression of a singular loyalty assumed by all inhabitants. The Caribbean experience indicated that this is not necessarily part of a Caribbean reality. In my article, *'Implications of Transnational Migration for Nationalism: The Caribbean Example'*,¹⁰ I put forward the view that Caribbean people do not have a single national identity. Caribbean people hold multiple identities and multiple loyalties. Home is where they are born and where they live at the same time. As with the Texan who is both fiercely Texan and fiercely American, Caribbean migrants in New York were as likely to vote and participate in home politics as in politics in the host country. They also actively tried to influence the decisions of relatives at home. Caribbean politicians recognising the importance of the diaspora often canvas their constituencies abroad.

The Caribbean transnational reality has had a clear impact on nationalism as well as behaviour in economic, political and social spheres and calls for a re-examination of traditional politics, economics and sociology and current theories and strategies of development. It holds opportunities as well as challenges for our development strategies and policies. It also calls for a radical rethinking of our educational system and training of teachers, health practitioners, counsellors, psychologists and police personnel. This Caribbean reality presents challenges to the dominant notion of the nation state and nationality which was defined based on the emergence of the European nation state and reinforced by colonialism. It is noteworthy that in Europe where the notion of the modern nation state was born has today more practically adjusted to the changing reality in its model of European Union

¹⁰ *The Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, Volume 645. 1992, p. 175-189.

and freedom of movement. Academic theory, and legal and institutional development have nevertheless lagged behind.

Policy Implications: Opportunities and Challenges

The economic implications of these movements for regional and international travel and tourism are evident. The role of remittances has been recognised as a key benefit of migration. Jamaica, Guyana and Haiti in the region are the largest recipients of remittances which contribute significantly to their Gross Domestic Product (GDP). International financial institutions and Caribbean leaders have sometimes lauded and encouraged emigration as a means of gaining foreign exchange through remittances. The attitude of most policy makers to the active external recruitment of Caribbean skilled labour in the health and education fields has tended to be that remittances compensate for the loss of skilled personnel, and that migration eases the pressure on the labour market. This is a short sighted perspective. A development policy, which plans on exporting key segments of a country's skilled people, such as nurses, teachers and agricultural workers actually risks treating people as commodities for export. It does not take account of the investment in health and education of these citizens from birth to adulthood including costs of loss of leadership, entrepreneurship, technical and creative skills in the homes, communities and at the national and regional levels.

Gerald Sider makes the point that the amount of money invested in raising a child, the cost of reproducing a labour force drawn from and returned to communities and kin-groups in the donor home countries, and taking care of the elderly and sick are not borne by the countries benefiting from the productive labour of the migrant, but by the home communities.¹¹

In contrast to the reactive response to demand for skilled labour, the Cuban strategy is instructive. Cuba has had a deliberate proactive strategy of training doctors to replace the exodus of doctors following the revolution. It is estimated that Cuba now has 33,000 physicians in family medicine and their ratio of nurses and doctors per populations exceeds that in the US.

¹¹ Gerald Sider, 'The Contradictions of Transnational Migration', *The Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences* vol. 645 p. 232.

Life expectancy is higher than the life expectancy of Denmark with average life expectancy at 78.5. Barbados life expectancy is 77.0 and Trinidad and Tobago 69.2.

Cuba is also increasingly being regarded as a destination for medical care. Investment in Research and Development has resulted in a vibrant biotechnology and pharmaceutical industry. Cuba now has more doctors than it needs and provides medical services to other countries in Latin America, the Caribbean and Africa. This is a win/win scenario for the service providers, Cuba and the host state. The sale of its professional services, particularly health care and medicine contributed to robust economic growth of 12.5% in 2006, a strengthened external sector and larger foreign exchange earnings. Trinidad and Tobago's commensurate growth rate of 12% on the other hand was largely fuelled by oil and natural gas. Jamaica in the same period grew by 2.6% and Barbados 3.8.¹²

The English-speaking Caribbean policy responses appear to lack vision. The University of the West Indies (UWI) is the premier regional higher education institution with initial agreement by regional governments to a set of specialisations located in different islands. Today medical schools have proliferated across the islands. The strategy is not clear and to the onlooker the core element of the trend seems merely that each island wishes to demonstrate its capacity to have its own specialised schools including law and medicine. This trend within the English-speaking Caribbean has not interrupted the classic brain drain of its highly skilled tertiary and secondary graduates. These English-speaking Caribbean islands with medical schools within their island territories still import doctors from as far afield as India and Nigeria, while their Caribbean trained doctors seek jobs abroad. Unlike the Cuban model the Caribbean governments import doctors or nurses to fill much needed scarce skills depleted by emigration.

Tastes for Caribbean products developed with movement of peoples whose demand for Caribbean cultural items, including food and music, increased. Caribbean people also represent the bedrock of the region's tourist industry

¹² UN ECLAC: Preliminary Overview of the Economies of Latin America and the Caribbean, 2006.

and regional airline travel. My recommendations to the West India Commission on freedom of movement in the Caribbean were based on data which clearly demonstrated that Caribbean regional movements were central to the economic well being of the region.¹³ The Caribbean marks its tourist season as the winter months when visitors from the US and Europe visit and stay in hotels and guest houses. Caribbean visitors return home and travel extensively throughout the region in summer, Easter and Christmas and for major cultural events such as Cropover, Carnival and Jazz festivals.

CARICOM represents the second largest source of Barbadian tourism and the data show that these movements tend to withstand economic shocks abroad. Even when a major crisis hits the north and the non-Caribbean tourism slow considerably affecting hotels, Caribbean visitor figures generally remain steady. What is significant is that the Caribbean tourist dollar tends to go directly into the economy because they often stay with family and small guest houses. The percentage of the North American and European tourist dollar remaining in the destination country tend to be smaller. In spite of its economic significance, Caribbean tourism is not regarded as important. They also tend to be treated like second class citizens at the regional airports. Caribbean governments have adopted in principle the Commission's recommendations¹⁴ designed to address these contradictions as part the CSME. The CARICOM line is visible at airports but the recognition that the free movement of Caribbean people represents not a question of charity, but the foundation for our regional development and economic well-being is still not part of our understanding.

Economic analyses are often premised on the assumption that the average law abiding individual, unlike the multinationals, operates within a relatively well defined territorial sphere. Economists and policy makers did not conceive of a rational economic person functioning across territorial boundaries with family commitments and loyalties straddling territorial boundaries. In the Caribbean, rigid exchange controls only work effectively where people have confidence in the government and economy. Significant financial leakages would be difficult to contain, given the transnational links, without high

¹³ 'Caribbean Regional Population Movements and Freedom of Movement with the Caribbean', prepared for the West India Commission Report Time for Action 1992.

¹⁴ Report of the West India Commission: A Time for Action 1992.

levels of confidence. Globalisation has exacerbated this porous nature of boundaries.

Social consequences are equally complex. Migration enhanced cross-fertilisation and strengthening of the genetic pool. While children were often left behind with family during their early years, they were most often well cared for and loved. They developed a strong sense of the regional reality and are often more knowledgeable and aware of international reality than many children growing up in the North. On the other hand, these children tend to be at risk.¹⁵ The transnational nature of families often expose our children to high levels of abuse and gender- based violence often within the home. Both the World Bank report on Youth and the UNICEF regional study on Child Sexual Abuse in the Caribbean found the Caribbean region to be one of the highest in child abuse. While boys were also the victims of sexual abuse, girls were most likely to be victims and men the main perpetrators. The traumas played out at critical points in our children's lives and their reality is hardly acknowledged in our policy frameworks and educational strategies and content. These children are often defined as problem children and their families characterised as dysfunctional (Youth in Development 2002).

Existing Policy Frameworks

The Caribbean integration movement represented an early commitment to a regional policy framework that embraced our regional reality, from which Europe sought to draw lessons.¹⁶ Caribbean challenges are mirrored internationally. Today the regional framework seems to be under challenge. An assessment of migration policies in 28 countries covering North and South revealed that 92% are biased in favour of temporary skilled workers, while for permanent skilled workers 62% of Southern policies and 93 % of policies of the North encourage such movements. Temporary arrangements are used for unskilled workers such as work permits or temporary visas. Some policies permit dependents within 'developing countries showing one half excluding dependents and developed countries one third'.¹⁷

¹⁵ Caroline Bakker, Martine Elings-Pels and Michele Reis *Impact of Migration on Children in the Caribbean*, Paper No 4. UNICEF 2009.

¹⁶ Rosina Wiltshire, *Caribbean Integration: Performance and Promise*. Paris: OECD Development Centre 1986.

¹⁷ UNDP HDR 2009 p34

Common concerns expressed in some Caribbean islands which are mirrored in Europe and the US, include the impact of migrants on the social services and the fiscal impact. Fifty percent of Europeans worry about the fiscal impact of migrants. It should be noted, that those most concerned tend to be the less educated and the unemployed. Estimating whether migrants take more than they give is very difficult. A migrant whose child attends state school may also provide child care services for a highly skilled woman to participate in the labour force. The impact on the finances of a state are generally often cause for concern and in many countries this is cited as a problem. Estimates however, indicate that in the US and UK where popular concerns run high, the impact of migrants is negligible percent of GDP.¹⁸

Another major area of concern is the perception that migrants tend to contribute towards crime. The data varied across countries. More than 70% of European respondents to the European Social Survey 2002 believed that migrants worsened crime in their country. The data show significant variation. US 2000 census data indicate that among young men incarceration rates are lowest for immigrants even those least educated. In Europe, it was more diverse in 25 countries where foreign born people were twice as likely to be incarcerated as locals. Within the report the argument presented was that economic and security concerns are sometimes mutually reinforcing and migrants who are marginalised because of temporary or irregular status may resort to crime therefore reinforcing fears. Social exclusion often leads to congregation of these migrants in concentration in certain housing locations, usually low income, with negative social consequences.¹⁹

Most migrants are law abiding and productive and add to the economic and social well being of the countries in which they settle. Many Caribbean islands are facing increased crime levels attendant on drugs. This is linked to the fact that the Caribbean is a trans-shipment location for drugs moving from Latin America to North America where the demand for the drugs is high and the island borders are porous. Migrants have been associated with trafficking and in some Caribbean locations migrants are disproportionately represented in prisons. Policy and leadership have an important role to

¹⁸ UNDP HDR 2009 p88-89

¹⁹ UNDP HDR 2009.

play in how effectively migrants are integrated or whether they remain marginalised. Technology has made it possible to track movements of criminals and suspected criminals more effectively than ever before. Vigilance in addressing the criminal element is clearly necessary. The porous nature of Caribbean borders would suggest that a regional security strategy is critical to addressing this negative challenge. While the region articulates the importance of addressing the problems regionally and some regional frameworks have been put in place, the dominant tendency seems to be greater introversion and narrow nationalism.

Illegal migration within the English speaking Caribbean is a function of a policy framework which maintains an outdated notion of the nation state. The porous boundaries of the Caribbean make it very difficult to effectively manage these flows. It also diverts scarce resources from a more realistic policy which acknowledges the fluidity of the boundaries and focuses policy attention on the effective strategic management and monitoring of the flows. It is almost impossible even to get reliable statistics of the regional population flows.

CARICOM Heads of Government have made core policy decisions on timelines for free movement of labour and the establishment of the Caribbean Court of Justice and have failed to follow up on their implementation. This lack of follow through sets a poor example to our young in relation to the central principle of trust and trustworthiness which requires following through on one's words and commitments. It also indicates to the general population and the world that the CARICOM Heads of Government have insufficient commitment to the regional integration movement and renege on commitments after they leave the decision-making table. Transformative visionary leadership would be willing to step out of the box of the nation state paradigm and make sustained efforts to build broader regional institutions which are adequately supported. The economies of scale to be gained would be significant and the OECS offers some practical models.

While Europe continues to strengthen its regional movement, The European Partnership Agreement (EPA) with the Caribbean has further undermined the Caribbean regional movement. The EPA agreement generally recognises Caribbean regional integration. However, in its specific practical provisions it systematically undermines the regional framework. Each government was

required to sign on the EPA independently and core provisions and dispute settlement mechanisms, to which Caribbean governments agreed, supersede the CARICOM framework.²⁰ The OECS has made the greatest progress with the establishment of several core regional institutions including a common judiciary and a common currency. However, even in this forum, the recent proposal which was defeated to make Venezuela a member suggests a potential loss of clear focus and direction.

Former UN Secretary General Kofi Annan spoke of the Caribbean having punched well above its size. Today, rather than building on its transnational strengths and comparative advantage in a globalised era, the Caribbean seems to be losing ground and turning inward and going backward. Jamaica and Guyana, once the developed countries of the region, are today two of the poorest. Jamaica ranks 100 in the HDR while Guyana ranks 114 falling behind all the other Caribbean islands except Haiti which ranks 149 out of 182 countries. Trinidad, the other More Developed Countries (MDC) in the region ranks at 64 in the HDR. In spite of its oil and natural gas, Trinidad is beleaguered by governance challenges and rising crime.

Reminiscent of a football player who loses sight of his goal and runs toward the goal of the opposing team, the Caribbean, which was at one point a frontrunner in recognising its transnational and regional reality and in building a regional integration movement, seems stalled, and sometimes appears to be moving in the opposite direction. While the opportunities and challenges are regional the leadership seems to look increasingly inward rather than regional for practical solutions.

The Air Jamaica divestment impasse is a classic example of the narrow inward focus and inability of leadership to capitalise on potential regional opportunities. Jamaica which perceived the rest of the Caribbean as underdeveloped small islands voted against Federation. Today Jamaican leadership challenges continue amidst a steady economic and social downward spiral. The national airline is facing major financial problems and Trinidad based Caribbean Airlines interests have proposed a purchase. In spite of the fact that Jamaicans are migrating to other Caribbean islands in increasing numbers, there has been major resistance from the Air Jamaica pilots and

²⁰ Norman Girvan Lessons Learned from the CARIFORUM/EPA 2008.

the Jamaican population to this option. Political leadership, economic and societal leaders, including the media, seem incapable of giving practical guidance in the matter.

We have produced great leaders in science, literature and the arts, business and sport. However, the challenges of West Indian cricket seem symptomatic of the broader leadership and societal challenges that the region is facing generally. There seems to be no shared vision or clarity of vision. The discipline, ethics and values which enabled leaders like Frank Worrell to forge a consistently high performing regional team and a region which performed beyond limitations of size in the global arena are not clearly evident in cricket or other spheres. Each man for himself and each island for itself seem to have replaced the broader vision.

The greatest policy challenge requires an acknowledgement of the core elements of our reality. Full embrace of our transnational and regional reality foundations would enable us to question the perspectives and policies which do not maximise the potential of the transnational framework and maximise the capacity of the Caribbean people that remains untapped. The areas of education, legal, economic and political frameworks would require careful review and transformation. In the area of education, our children need to be introduced to a model of the transnational family as one model that has as much legitimacy as a nuclear family model. In the absence of their own reality being acknowledged, children often get the impression and feel that their family is abnormal and they have been abandoned by migrant parents. This merely adds an additional psychological burden, exacerbates the challenges and reduces the opportunities presented to them in this transnational context. Young high school graduates in the region and diaspora should be canvassed for university placements in the region. Even when the Caribbean students from the diaspora pay the full economic costs, their Caribbean university costs are likely to be much more competitive than those of Northern universities.

Small size is not an impediment to excellence in the global arena. Caribbean people have demonstrated their capacity for greatness. That greatness can only be realised if we accept who we are as a people and region and build on that reality. We have to acknowledge in practical policy and planning that migration has fundamentally shaped our reality and transformed our core

institutions which make national boundaries more fluid. One consequence is the reality of regional integration at the core levels of family, society and culture. This fluidity of boundaries combined with globalisation provide an opportunity for our leaders to demonstrate visionary transformative leadership in every sphere. Such transformative leadership which more fully embraces the transnational and regional reality in all its dimensions, with a commitment to strengthening it and building on it, will enable practical solutions to some of the biggest challenges facing the region, and the realisation of the true greatness of the Caribbean people and region.

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Commentary

Stepping Out of the Shadows, There was Carice, Haiti: It was (and will be) Co-governance to Support Public Actions

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Introduction

The increasing rise of alternative policies and institutions has gradually re-centred the discourse about the broad conception of political and organisational practices. We have encountered a window of opportunity to deploy discursive methodologies to find common grounds between sub-national bodies and state activities. It is to refine assessments about fast changing social realities and institutional complexities to bring coherence and build up capacity for state institutions and development strategies to work-out empowerment principles for under-privileged groups. This reality is also there to help make some valid distinctions on the effects of distributional mechanisms to rethink how resource allocations as well as formal and informal institutional barriers can be overcome to balance community negotiations and transparency. And the questions to be asked are how connectivity between accountability, effectiveness of state institutions or national agencies cross-over the boundaries of policy and management

practices? These are perspectives that really matter; first to make sense of community based actions and second, to help find or identify the drivers of institutional transformations within highly centralised forms of government. For example, the making of Community-Driven-Development (CDD) strategies has hit some high notes lately. And amidst these developments, there is a basic factor to never neglect; it is the role of the state to regulate institutional power and transparency for planning and decentralised resource governance. This is a widespread adaptation. It is a means to rally coordination between different stakeholders, frame local governance structures to drive empowerment efforts for local communities and come to grips with the enlargement of public support. Campos and Hellman (2005) underline a view that accountability and governance mechanisms cannot be isolated from both institutional and individual capacity to match the right responses or modalities to drive public policies. In a nutshell, as Baker *et al* (2008) and Butler (2005) emphasise, these trends to move and manage in the most efficient and innovative ways resources and administrative supports unveil specific issues. They chart pathways about the nature of local political environments as well as local institutional designs. With those points, the constructs of public sector services or more specifically allocation processes have to integrate social and political variables to draw innovative policies that engage local participation to not undermine the impacts of community initiatives on individuals. It is to widen management scopes to increase results in collective action, social equity or economic efficiencies. Moving across those dynamics is a way to enhance public actions to augment services with an emphasis on co-governance to take on real inclusive poverty reduction strategies, (Sheng *et al* 2007).

We have a focus on co-governance with no guess work. And it is where the contextual notion of capability enhancement should come with no dissonance as to mainstream targeting, integrating various stakeholders to bring tangible results on organisational capacity for management, resource mobilisation, and above all to confront the dire problematic of elite capture. It is to bring a distinction in terms of project dynamics or outcomes in order to manage across scales, strengthen institutional designs and frame long-term objectives within realistic monitoring and evaluation mechanisms (Ackerman, 2004; Takao, 2006; Brandsen and Pestoff, 2006). Setting up this agenda requires one to move beyond linear thinking by taking a broad understanding of social change and policy change. These are the seeds for more nuanced responses

that can hold things up within institutional systems, ease the making of downward or at times upward accountability with new sets of rules and roles between government agencies and local stakeholders. These arguments run extra miles as Fox (2004) denotes that the integration of cross-sectoral coalitions, within empowered participatory governance schemes, provide symbiotic links between state-citizen interactions to enhance monitoring capacity as well as bargaining power to drive institutional reforms alongside public interests.

Is It Right to Talk Like That?

As a simple review of a Community-Driven-Development (CDD) program, this note looks into the dynamics between collective actors and their outcomes on institutional change. This inquiry follows how communities and collective engagement in the commune (municipality) of Carice, Northeastern part of Haiti were put to the test to implement a self-defined planning process to guarantee access to potable/clean water. By taking into account local aspirations, this project was able to secure resources and impact good governance through the institutionalisation of project development communal councils acting as elected representatives. Through widespread promotion of popular participation in decision-making, this exercise featured a process of empowerment that turned over management, responsibilities and oversight to local organisations. And these outcomes were guiding lights as they extended participation at local level to reinforce changes on the implementation of small-scale investment programs. As Helling *et al* (2005) point out, CDD programs, despite the fact that they need further evaluations are far from being arbitrary approaches. In the re-contextualisation of planning that singles out sustainable outcomes, each stakeholder has to identify relationships and extend support either through partnerships or engagements. It is to stretch over management capacity while also building up and transferring synergies across institutions or groups to strengthen local governments. With Carice they had to confront the dire realities of a resource-scarce setting or impoverished remote rural area.

This context is more than a mere window-dressing exercise. It is the working of spaces for co-governance. Hence, a framework that gives us a basis to assess the relevance of consultative development plans alongside the opening up of state entities to help configure accountability chains. It is a bid to harmonise

political voice, and then openly deliberate on the availability of services as well as the designs and operations of functions and policies undertaken not from the outside for marginalised groups (Fung, 2006; McLaverty, 2009; Gaventa, 2006).

For Cornwall *et al* (2008), Manor (2004) this process of citizen engagement is a starting point to understand better how rights-based approaches can make the connections between civil and political freedom, as well as the transition of power through participatory governance. Namely, how it can fulfil the rights to availability and accessibility to deliberative institutions and push forward mandates that bolster these communities, that is, in terms of their priorities or perspectives to decentralise the provisions of infrastructure.

Co-Governance and Public Actions

The story of the small commune of Carice (Vallière *arrondissement*) in the North-East department of Haiti has added more substance on how responsive community oversight and collaborative planning can enshrine agreed-upon-guidelines to pilot activities with elected local administrations. The making of this devolution and co-governance model brought a particular flavour. It was the evolution of a process of priority-settings for an investment fund (*fond d'investissement communal*) and municipal investment budgets to facilitate the implementation of both an infrastructure development project (hand pumps, potable water and small spring catchment) and incremental adaptation of capacity to support decision-making and local administrative governance. All merged across with elected officials and civil society representatives.

In early 2000, concerns over the excessive fragmentation and lack of capacity of state agencies to tackle rural poverty and rising inequalities due to misguided resource allocations, weak control systems and organisational break-downs between Board of Directors of the Communal Sections (CASEC) and Communal Section Assemblies (ASEC) spearheaded the notion of local government responsibility see (FENU 2007).

It was an attempt to reconcile spending decisions and annual budget to redirect local planning in the hands of village consultative committees (CCC) and consultative councils of village districts (CCSC). In fact, the integration of these two bodies was somehow the sum of greater recognitions of the brunt of previous administrative and planning failures on communities

(see for example *IMF 2006*). This project was part of a move to change governance malfunctions, adapt accountability and outcomes on procedural requirements in the expansion of political space and voice. Well, these voices came through voting and status amendments that regulated the minutia of governance amidst which the two consultative platforms upheld communities' wishes within the frame of a constitutional convention. The distinctions were positive-sum results that helped to break down resistance and channel available resources across all stakeholders.

To move in a non-restrictive fashion, the CCSC with elected officials (CASEC), ASEC members and representatives from different housing sections and residential blocks along with the CCC (which is a body made up of the mayor, deputy mayors as well as representatives from other civil society organisations), CASEC and ASEC coordinators and administrative managers combine together cumulative negotiations and legislative procedures to strengthen decision-making. The whole exercise is to promote effective budgeting in order to target fair resource allocations and service provisions. There are not too many gray areas behind this process as certain eligibility criteria such as availability, honesty and level of engagement within residential blocks are unequivocal bases to structure mandates and ensure parity in the structural adjustment of resources and financial transfers. In retrospect, the introduction of committee members and neighbourhood groups has produced entry-points of co-governance for accountability. As the citizens were not isolated from governmental spheres, they were able to directly insert their voice into policy formulations and procedures to counter-balance undesirable outcomes on the accountability system and prevent capture by vested interests. This is a practice that has assigned functional responsibilities within a legal and regulatory framework that recognise the importance of information flows to improve performance on targets and build-up local capacity and incentives to by-pass corrupt behaviours.

In essence, access to information has been primordial to correct implicit discriminations in the community. It has covered a wide range of issues where a non-negligible factor has been the increased confidence in the use of financial transfers and budgeting procedures as these two measures have been tied to citizens' assessments of budget allocations and spending. Hence, to limit as much as possible the illegal use of public funds and carve more avenues for civil society organisations to first monitor government

compliance with objectives of the local development plan and, secondly, guarantee that it is open and transparent, (see PNUD 2008).

With these conceptual distinctions and institutional designs it was possible to magnify the voice of popular participation to subside the power of influence of some special interest groups. These are the outcomes that brought to the open a coherent budgeting and investment scheme that promoted the implementation of pro-poor planning to cast financial disbursements and balance funding according to participatory poverty appraisals (PPAs). These appraisals were carried out across the poorest communal sections to provide a baseline of welfare indexes across communities and then reconcile budget priorities with re-distributive criteria. The monitoring aspect was undertaken by a Management Advisory Committee Funds, a national body composed of the mayor, the district director of the MPCE (Ministry of Planning and External Cooperation) and the project manager.

This project proceeded with strong elements of coherence and co-linked obligations among all stakeholders and institutions. With all the relations involved, targeting objectives came up as the expression of a budget process linked to planning and legislative procedures. The case pushed the incremental expansion of allocative decisions closer to pro-poor priorities. It was an explicit turn for citizen participation, democratic governance and enhanced capabilities. It undoubtedly emerged out of surviving claims and prior exercises within civil society to proclaim greater rights, equity and capabilities to push forward institutional change under more empowered forms of involvement and shared responsibilities in decision and policy-making, (see Gaventa 2004).

This case speaks to the notion of balanced systems-dynamics to support devolution strategies within centralised governments. It is to make sure that centralised supervision and coordination are not distorted to meet social and economic demands to make reforms work. And with this project, we had fundamental differences and results for an alternative option in governmental validity; they emphasised the possibilities of a centre driven re-prioritisation of institutional processes. Recall that Haiti has had a long history with highly centralised functions of government. However, this devolution and localised model of development put citizens at the wheels of new administrative modes within an endogenous process of transformation and

capacity development. The predominance of open dialogues and debates led to a constructivist approach to learning and change. Within this environment, capacity development took a holistic path; it weighed-in systemic factors to strengthen trust, address mindsets and value change. It means that greater attention was given to learning practices that made sense out of process-oriented skills and peer support. This focus-eyed the development of shared norms to build up ownership, mainstream conflict management, streamline awareness campaigns on rights and responsibilities as well as workshops on monitoring and evaluation and project management for local stakeholders. Such an approach moved way beyond the boundaries of normative values. It was a natural direction for operational definitions based on consensus-building/teamwork, coalition expansion, and so on. They drove change across organisational settings to help formulate policies and strategies that matched specific development domains for the commune to enhance human development (World Bank, 2008). The results were quite outstanding. As a decentralisation strategy, it looked for increased provisions and services and gained impacts through the implementation of systemic assessments to social and policy changes. They helped to scale-up infrastructure and service management with institutional transformations applied to municipality governance. Not too many complexities arose as the local government was provided with greater mandates and responsibilities to manage financial transfers. The whole process repositioned locally elected officials and civil society representatives in policy deliberation and formulation within well-defined spaces of engagement. It was no longer a matter of policy prescriptions from the centre, but instead an integrative approach for policy processes with localised options and institutionalised voices. And not the least, it is important to note that the widespread practices of collective actions on institutional development clearly altered the modes of operations across groups. Individual gains no longer prevailed; it was rather a prevalence of group-based cooperation that balanced costs-benefits on co-governance to contain the impacts of rent-seeking and predatory behaviours on the provision of water services and infrastructure management. As a matter of fact, those collective actions underlined an expansion of social capital and trust which were the main catalysts for marginalised groups to secure collective rights.

Conclusion

The aftermaths of the horrific earthquake (January 12, 2010) turned a natural disaster into a catastrophe. It brought Haiti down to its knees and wiped away too many lives; we have a country that is now facing a critical road ahead. The points are to draw up a national broad-based approach for resource mobilisation, reconstruction and development, and find entry points (legal and regulatory frameworks, policy instruments) that will guarantee greater rights to ownership and participation of the people. It is a bid to reconcile commitments, redistribution and government responsibility.

It is important to cast this tragic event under the shadows of enduring years of rampant poverty, inequalities and increased environmental degradations; direct results of too many uncoordinated policies. These negative factors have given real meanings and faces to long-term deprivation and lack of agencies as for the most common citizens it is an uphill battle to reach basic stages of well-being and capabilities. For a large part the country has displayed rarely seen cycles of vulnerabilities and underdevelopment. And now to bring a lasting remedy to this past is to turn toward a comprehensive process of reforms that should incorporate sound ideas about protective security, justice, economic and social progress and not the least, governance and participation. It is to move forward on the fronts of policy renewals and re-engagement of the state with its citizens to configure non uni-dimensional links between institutions, well-being achievements and agency freedom. Clearly, the call is straightforward, and the defining characteristics require as drivers of change broader mechanisms or adaptive measures to set in motion partnerships with local authorities and the people to delineate a social contract with the state. Of course within the larger international community the rights of Haitians have to be recognised. This also means there is a need to reconstruct a process of mutual accountability with new terms for technical assistance, capacity development; above all, they should consider the changing nature of administrative modes of government to secure to the fullest, public actions and entitlements that guarantee access to basic services or necessities.

In this note, the case of Carice sheds significant light on how accountability and government reforms can be matched to augment institutional transformations from within and balance devolution to strengthen local governance. For

policy-makers some of the lessons learned are that despite the fact that the majority of the people of Haiti have been mired within a poverty trap with huge income inequalities and differentials between rural and urban areas (poverty line of US\$1 - \$2 a day) it should never be good to lose sight that agency and capability can be re-structured to bring underprivileged groups at the helms of governance exercises. It is a transformational turn to overhaul highly centralised government functions to seek social and economic changes through active policy measures. They have to open up spaces of deliberations to give to those voices political capital to balance the power of decision-making and alter the pace of change to support public actions. This case does not have to be an isolated one. It might be a starting point to demonstrate what works as many actors in the development field have started to advance on the premises of a reconstruction plan that should come with sufficient rules to enshrine rights and responsibilities across institutions for decentralisation purposes. These links are worth pointing out, because for one, they put people at the centre of decentralisation and development scenarios. And as witnessed with this co-governance framework we had different regulatory instruments and policy choices. These measures enabled participation of the poor to take roots within the decision-making process; and far from being just simple providers of information; they were direct agents (implementers) within the government machinery. This was an interesting departure to overcome minimalist considerations, because these endorsements defined dual complementarities where for governmental policy-making quite normally it came as no surprise that supervision and coordination fell under the realm of the central government. The far-reaching hand of this national entity known as the Management Advisory Committee Funds provided more leverage to balance power relations, isolate clientelism and strengthen horizontal accountability across the local institutions.

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**Bildner Center for Western Hemisphere Studies
Cuba Project
The Graduate Center, City University of New York**

International Symposium

Cuba Futures

Past and Present

March 31 – April 2, 2011

Call for Papers

Since the early part of the nineteenth-century, Cuban intellectuals, political leaders, civil society organizations and institutions have created multiple visions, projects and blueprints for building an independent Cuba. External and transnational groups, including governments, have also participated in creating ideas for shaping or improving Cuban society. These efforts continue today. Past or present, these visions and agendas can often clash with each other, fail to attract support, or be unsuccessful in inducing change perceived as desirable. However, they have generated legacies that stand and shape realities, memories, perceptions, and diverse movements for reforming Cuba.

This international symposium invites interested academics, both young scholars and established specialists, to submit paper and panel proposals on actors, processes, ideas, institutions, and prospects/outcomes in these efforts. The symposium is organized by the Cuba Project at the Bildner Center for Western Hemisphere Studies (The Graduate Center, CUNY). The Cuba Project welcomes participation from academic, artistic, and professional institutions and endeavors. Papers can explore a wide range of historical and contemporary themes and contexts. Written by academics and other scholars, they may illuminate the visions, processes, institutions, civil society organizations, social movements, and other actors operating or focused on various contexts and futures.

The list of possible ideas for sessions, papers, and special events include:

Historical Contexts:

- Revolutionary period and future dynamics: Cultural, economic, and political dimensions
- Republican Cuba (1902-1959) and 19th Century

Themes:

- Creation and demise of utopias and paradigms
- Cultural spheres: Literature, cinema, arts, photography
- Intellectuals and knowledge
- Diverse substantive and policy areas: Racial & Ethnic Relations, Identity, Education, Health, Environment, Economic reform, Political organization and Democracy
- Cubans living abroad and ‘diasporic’ communities
- Transnational actors and processes
- Political mobilization, civil society, state-society relations
- Havana and other cities through history, including the character of the culture, politics, cosmopolitanism, geography
- Issues about socialism, post-socialism, and participation
- Afro-Cuban culture and society
- New voices and approaches, young scholars
- US-Cuba Policy Issues
- Technology and internet networks in Cuban cyberspace

*** We welcome ideas, papers, and panels about these and other themes and contexts***

Proposals should consist of a 1-2 page abstract of the proposed paper or panel, with a cover letter indicating the author’s professional affiliation, biographical sketch and contact information. (Note: Panel proposals must include an abstract and author information for each proposed panelist and paper.)

Submission: Please send proposals by email to:
cubaproject@gc.cuny.edu; or via fax to: 212-817-1540. Or send a hard copy
 in a sealed envelope to:

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 Attention: Cuba Project
 365 Fifth Avenue, Suite 5209
 New York, NY 10016-4309
 United States.

Deadlines: We *strongly* encourage early submission. Proposals for sessions, papers, and special events will receive preliminary assessment as they arrive. In any case, final deadlines are as follows:

Proposals for Sessions and Special Events: December 31, 2009

Paper Proposals: July 31, 2010

Completed Version of Accepted Papers: November 24, 2010

For updates and further information visit
<http://web.gc.cuny.edu/bildnercenter/cuba/events.shtml>, and for general
 information about the Bildner Center visit www.bildner.org.

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SALISES 2011 Conference Call for papers:

The Twelfth Conference of the Sir Arthur Lewis Institute for Social and Economic Studies (SALISES) will be hosted in Kingston, Jamaica from March 23-25 2011 and is entitled **‘Challenges of the Independence Experience in Small Developing Countries’**.

The year 2012 will mark fifty years since the first Anglophone Caribbean nations gained independence, beginning with Jamaica on August 6th and followed closely by Trinidad and Tobago on August 31st 1962. Following the collapse of the West Indies Federation with Jamaica’s decision to withdraw in 1961, it became evident that the move to independence would take the form of a succession of small independent territories as opposed to the earlier conception of gradual progress towards national status on the basis of a larger regional entity. As such, 1962 marks the beginning of an experiment with a particular notion of small territory statehood which did not, in the view of many observers, seem as the most propitious way towards political autonomy. This, of course, was not a West Indian phenomenon, but part of the broader anti-colonial movement which gained momentum with Indian independence in 1947 and became a deluge in the decades thereafter. At the important and useful marker of forty-nine years since the beginning of the Caribbean dimension of this profound international process, it is useful to pause and ask questions relevant to the entire post-colonial independence experience; among them:

1. To what extent can it be argued that the many small territories that struggled for and gained ‘independence’ actually achieved a modicum of meaningful sovereignty and autonomy?
2. What have been the strengths and weaknesses in the economic models pursued by specific territories and to what extent have they led to economic well-being for their respective peoples?
3. What have been the respective experiences with various schemes of regional integration and what hope do they hold for new avenues to reinvigorate sovereignty?
4. To what extent have the social policies pursued led to real improvements in the quality of life?
5. To what extent have the various political systems served to deepen democracy and provide efficient and effective administration for their citizenry?

6. What has been the role of popular culture and the arts in general in social and national development?

And, looking to the future, some of the immediate questions might include:

1. What new forms or mutations of contemporary constitutional arrangements might most appropriately work with the new notions of sovereignty, nation and identity that are emerging?
2. What, if any are the economic options and approaches that might address successfully matters of greater social equality, environmental sustainability and energy scarcity?
3. What new models of agricultural development might confront rural inequality and the requirement of food security?
4. What are the new approaches to the environment that might simultaneously address its degradation and the development of the rural community and economy?
5. What would a new tourism more responsive to the environment, the local economy and community well-being look like?
6. What are the new and innovative approaches to the vexing international problems of security and crime that would recognize the link between social well being and crime and implement new approaches alongside more traditional forensic and security measures?
7. What are the genuine possibilities for a deeper and wider regional integration to frontally address the difficult challenges of the contemporary global order?
8. What is the role of Diaspora in a reconfigured international political economy?

We encourage papers from a range of disciplines and from trans-disciplinary perspectives which seek to answer these and other questions relevant to the experience of small countries in the post-colonial period. Particular attention will be given to papers that seek to compare experiences, within and across regions particularly from Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean. We will also encourage submissions on the experiences of those non-independent territories that chose a different route to national development in this period. A selection of the best papers from the conference will be published in a special issue of the journal *Social and Economic Studies*.

This event will be the first stage towards a specifically Caribbean-oriented 'Fifty-Fifty' conference which is scheduled to be held in late 2012 and will attempt to comprehensively address these themes through a series of previously organised scholarly research clusters.

Deadline for abstracts: December 31, 2010.

Deadline for acceptances: January 31, 2011.

Deadline for completed papers: February 28, 2011.

Information for Contributors

Presentation

Most articles submitted for publication should be less than 6000 words, with an abstract of no more than 100 words, setting out the main concerns and findings along with key words of the article. Authors should submit:

- a. Two copies of manuscripts including references, with double-spaced typing on one side of each page only; and
- b. Brief biographical notes with full name and associated organization, on a separate page.

It is assumed that authors will keep a copy of their paper. Address all communications and manuscript submissions to: *The Managing Editor, Journal of Eastern Caribbean Studies, Sir Arthur Lewis Institute of Social and Economic Studies, UWI, Cave Hill Campus, BARBADOS*. The telephone number is (246) 417-4478, and the fax number is (246) 424-7291. Upon acceptance of an article for publication contributors should submit a copy of the article on 3 ½ inch disk in Microsoft Word.

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All articles submitted to the **Journal** will be anonymously reviewed to determine their suitability for publication. The final decision regarding publication rests with the Editorial Committee. Unaccepted articles will not be returned.

REFERENCES

References to other publications should be cited thus:

- a. References to articles:

Author's name (last name followed by initials or first names); the year of publication in brackets; the title of the article (in single quotation marks); the name of the publication (in italics); volume number; issue number (in brackets) followed by a colon; then the page numbers. For an article in a newspaper:

The name of the newspaper; the year (in brackets); the title of the article (in single quotation marks); the day and month (in brackets) followed by a colon; then the page number(s).

- b. References to books, monographs or reports:

Author's name (last name followed by initials or first names); the year of publication in brackets; the title of the book (in italics); place of publication (followed by a colon); name of publisher; page numbers if appropriate.

Please do not abbreviate the titles of journals and the names of publishers.

CHARTS, DIAGRAMS, FIGURES AND TABLES

We prefer essays that can incorporate empirical findings in the overall discussion, rather than an excessive reliance on graphs, tables or appendices. If necessary, we would wish that these be kept to a minimum and be submitted on separate sheets of paper. Please be reminded however of the difficulties associated with reproducing such for our readership.

The Editorial staff reserves the right to make any corrections or alterations considered necessary. Authors will receive two complimentary copies of the **Journal of Eastern Caribbean Studies**.

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