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Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean



YOUTH IN THE ANGLOPHONE CARIBBEAN: THE  
HIGH COST OF DEPENDENT DEVELOPMENT

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## SUMMARY

The decade of the 1960's saw the youth of the English-speaking Caribbean embrace some of the most sweeping changes that this region would encounter. For most of these Caribbean nation states, it marked a historical transition from colonialism to Independence that was destined to irrevocably change the direction of these countries and the lives of its citizens. Youth were told they had everything to gain. In fact, in the words of one of the most distinguished leaders of this period, Dr. Eric Williams, international scholar and founding father of Trinidad and Tobago, the youth carried the future in their schoolbags.

This study examines the effects of these changes on youth in the English-speaking Caribbean in the 1980's. While it attempts to look at the condition of today's youth in the entire English-speaking Caribbean, budget and time constraints allow only for a general overall view of the area, using quantitative analysis only in areas for which current data are readily available. While there are marked similarities between developments in the English-speaking Caribbean, each nation has experienced and continues to experience challenges that are unique to its specific history, growth and development. Differences, then, would prove instructive in examining regional development trends for youth. Individual studies would present valuable opportunities for examining, comparing and contrasting styles, strategies, approaches, successes, and failures, and to draw out more fully some of the impressions expressed in this paper.

The paper begins with a brief INTRODUCTION to the cultural arguments which form the backdrop for the concerns of youth in the English-speaking Caribbean. A SOCIAL AND CULTURAL FRAMEWORK follows to briefly discuss some of the anthropological theories which serve as a conceptual framework for examining the conditions of youth in the contemporary Caribbean, and to which this paper urges that considerations be given in the quest for viable solutions.

A SOCIO-ECONOMIC OVERVIEW looks at aspects of Unemployment, Tourism, Education, Health, Housing and Family, Young Women, and Culture, with specific relevance to young people. Current data where available are utilized. However,

the difficulty in obtaining recent statistics, and the brief time period allotted for the research and writing of the study have been major limiting factors in gathering appropriate data for all the areas. Still, there was a strong feeling that studies of this kind tend to rely more heavily on statistics than on direct in-put from those being studied. In an attempt to remedy this, a brief questionnaire survey was conducted in early April on a small number of young people in Trinidad and Tobago. The section titled Research Findings contains results of this survey, as well as general assessment information gleaned from interviews with medical practitioners, psychologists, educators, community workers, drug rehabilitators, leaders of youth leagues, social workers, religious leaders, and others deeply concerned, committed and involved with youth in Trinidad and Tobago and in the Caribbean. In addition, participant-observation has been studiously applied from January 1985, when this researcher served as a consultant on a youth-focussed project for Trinidad and Tobago's Ministry of Community Development and Local Government. Positions advanced in this paper are weighted heavily on data collected during this period. The section titled Summary and Recommendations recapitulates the major issues discussed and offers some suggestions. A Bibliography is provided at the end of the paper.

The findings of this paper make a strong case for a comprehensive study of youth in each of the English-speaking Caribbean countries, before an in-depth study of the entire region could be effected. Thus, this study is intended only as a preliminary study of the English-speaking Caribbean. If its only function is to signal the level of frustration, disenchantment and disorientation of Caribbean youth, to flag the urgent need to examine the specific problems and needs of youth of these nation states, while exploring possibilities of a regional approach to finding and applying corrective measures, and to activate more relevant youth-focussed programmes, then this study would have accomplished its purpose.

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## INTRODUCTION

For nearly all of the English-speaking Caribbean nations, the 1960's presented, not only an eclipse of the colonial era, but the challenge of building a nation. In light of this new challenge, various development strategies were explored and instituted, all with the goal of redirecting and/or charting new paths of social, economic and political development. The success of each strategy depended ultimately on the ability to abandon or minimize dependence on metropolitan countries, while increasing state autonomy and self-reliance. The crucial question for each of these new nation states became that of amassing adequate power and control over their internal affairs in order to pursue and achieve clearly defined objectives for national development.

History has registered the constitutional decolonization and advancement towards autonomy and self-reliance in the Commonwealth Caribbean. Trinidad and Tobago, Bahamas, Barbados, Grenada, Dominica, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Belize, Antigua-Barbuda, Jamaica, and Saint Christopher-Nevis have all achieved constitutional independence, with Guyana and Trinidad and Tobago later moving towards the achievement of republican status. The other nation states--Montserrat, the Cayman Islands, the Turks and Caicos Islands, and the British Virgin Islands--remain colonies of Britain.

A recurrent question for all of these newly independent territories, however, centers on the reality and effectiveness of the process of decolonization. To what extent are autonomy, self-reliance and self-direction--the catch words of independence--merely constitutional, representing neither the political, economic, social and cultural self-control that the concept implies? The question becomes more relevant in assessing the state of youth in the contemporary Caribbean, for certainly the direction of a country's youth is a useful and accurate measure of the effectiveness of strategies of

self-reliance, autonomy and independence. The effectiveness of development strategies of the English-speaking Caribbean must be counterpoised against lingering effects of colonization, especially in the areas of education, culture and occupation, which are directly responsible for the persistent cultural and psychological colonization that characterise the contemporary Caribbean and are most visible in its youth.

It is within this framework that the plight of today's youth in the English-speaking Caribbean must be viewed, particularly with respect to issues such as national identity, cultural alienation and cultural imperialism, which this paper cites as some of the fundamental issues beneath the obvious challenges being experienced by Caribbean youth. For it is important in the decolonization and development process to focus, not only on economic and political considerations as most of the English-speaking Caribbean has done, but on cultural considerations, since the most forceful domination of the Caribbean existed, not only in the economic and political spheres, but in the cultural domain. In fact, it is in the cultural sphere that opposition to ideological domination has traditionally surfaced, and continues to surface in the culture of the Caribbean working class. This paper hypothesizes that despite constitutional decolonization, and despite the economic and political reforms accomplished in the post-colonial period, the Caribbean remains dogged by economic dependence on the metropolitan countries, and plagued with a deeply-rooted cultural and psychological colonization that forms the basis for the crisis of today's youth. Cultural imperialism and ideological domination continue to reign in the Caribbean, resulting in the alienation and general instability of an alarming majority of young people, as is manifested in the problems outlined in the following pages.

While most studies of this type focus on the economic aspects of national development and its effects on youth, this paper views the situation from a cultural perspective of national development. It in no way minimizes the impact of economic forces on the development of youth, but views culture as central to the social and psychological development of young people,



a centrality that must be underscored in the transition from colonialism to Independence and in the immediate post-colonial phase of nation building. Culture is perceived as a body of socially acquired values, meanings, beliefs and ideas that serve society as behavioral guides and models (Mintz & Price: 1976). It is through culture, as collective practice or practical activity, that a society interprets its experience, directs its actions and defines its very existence, a process through which the stability, cohesion and continuity of the entire group are ensured. For the Martiniquan psychiatrist Frantz Fanon, "a national culture is the whole body of efforts made by a people in the sphere of thought to describe, justify, and praise the action through which that people has created itself and keeps itself in existence. A national culture in underdeveloped countries should therefore take its place at the very heart of the struggle for freedom which these countries are carrying on." (1963). Culture thus assumes the monumental task of forming and projecting an ideology that shapes national consciousness, a task which it was never assigned in the post-colonial English-speaking Caribbean.

For the purpose of this study, the United Nations chronological definition of youth as between the ages 15 to 24 is used. However, because of the analytical framework employed, it is important to view this group, not merely as a chronological category, but as a socio-economic group within a historical and political context. In those nations which have attained Independence, young people between the ages of 15 to 24 are among the first generation to be raised in decolonized societies. They are, then, the products of the immediate post-colonial experience, representing the harvest of the first post-colonial ruling elites. As such, they mirror the failures and successes of that generation and become a significant variable in analysing the effectiveness of approaches and strategies for national development.

This study takes full cognizance of the role of women as preservers and transmitters of culture, since women in their roles as mothers, nurturers, and often *de facto* heads of households, play a key role in the child-rearing function and in the socialization of young people. It is to women that the major task falls of ensuring the regeneration and continuance of the group.

Youth inherit the responsibility of effecting this regeneration and continuance. Thus, women as transmitters, and youth as receptacles of what Edward Brathwaite (1970) describes as one's *Nam*<sup>1</sup> or submerged cultural reality and identity, assume an even more important role in ensuring the appropriateness and immortality of a cultural ideology that forms the basis for the survival and sustenance of the group.

To summarize, this paper posits the importance of cultural decolonization in the process of nation building and hypothesizes that the fundamental disorientation and alienation of youth in the English-speaking Caribbean is rooted in the institutional flimsiness and superficial planning in the area of cultural development. In fact, the paper supports the view that the development process is itself a cultural process, the reinforcement of which must be viewed as a developmental imperative alongside population, health, education, agriculture, the transfer of technology, etc. (Nettleford: 1979), "for each society relies first on its own strengths and resources and defines its personalised vision of the future." (Raymont: 1977). This essay further submits that women and youth, by nature of their importance in assuring the regeneration and stability of any society, have a leadership role to play in the area of culture and national development in post-colonial societies. It is a role which they have not been allowed to play, because both groups have historically been sidelined as mere understudies and supporting characters to those perceived as the main actors and guardians of the society--adult males. Thus, they have not been fully integrated into the planning and development processes of these societies, resulting in the urgent concerns that this study outlines.

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<sup>1</sup>*Nam* is a word/concept developed by Edward Brathwaite. *Nam* is man spelled backwards, i.e. man in disguise: the state of the African under the pressure of slavery: man generally under pressure/oppression, disguised/submerged in order to survive.

## SOCIAL AND CULTURAL FRAMEWORK

The Caribbean as a region can be viewed as a culture area, that is to say, a distinctive geographical region, sharing a distinctive distribution of culture traits. While the cultural sphere has been regarded widely as having the most power over the lives of those enslaved and indentured in the Caribbean, it has received the least attention from Caribbean scholars, Governments, policy-planners and decision-makers. Yet, it is the cultural process--which is not exclusive of economic activities and modes of production--that was considered the most threatening during the period of enslavement and European colonial rule. In fact, the use of culture to "de-self" the enslaved, became a key means of sustaining the image of European superiority and maintaining control in the post-Emancipation period. This is exemplified by a British magistrate who, on returning to England after a seven-year tour of duty in Jamaica, complained about the films shown in Jamaica, especially "the bathroom, bedroom and bomb dramas" which he claimed did a great deal of harm, since such films "belittle the respect of the natives for the whites and...are in the long run inimical to successful government...Our rule exists in the last resort on a carefully nurtured sense of inferiority in the governed. As soon as we lessen that, we lessen the security of our laws." (Hart: 1980)

This "carefully nurtured sense of inferiority" was as deep-rooted as it was pervasive. Neither religion, education, politics nor economics escaped its continuing vise. Nowhere are its dangerous, destabilizing effects more clearly visible than in today's Caribbean youth. It is for this reason that the plight of the youth in the English-speaking Caribbean represents a damning commentary on the effectiveness of post-colonial development strategies and the local ruling elites. For Caribbean youth lack the cultural ammunition necessary to battle with the hegemonic culture within their own societies, and the persistent external threats of cultural imperialism. "To fight for national culture," says Fanon, means in the first place to fight for the liberation of the nation, that material keystone which makes the building of a culture possible." (1963) It is a fight that must be led and directed from an institutional level, and must be multi-disciplined in its breadth.

It is in this area that post-colonial development strategies--in spite of successes and advances in some areas--have failed most noticeably, if the area of culture, which remains a significant *locus* of internal and external domination and control is to be examined closely.

The many theories that provide theoretical conceptualization of the English-speaking Caribbean reflect the historical complexity of the region. One of the oldest economic theories, the Plantation Society thesis (Best: 1968; Beckford: 1972) has equal relevance in anthropological analyses of these highly stratified societies. Based on the dependency theory of Latin America, it identifies the plantation system as the core institution of the social order of the pre-Emancipation Caribbean, stressing its pervasive influence particularly with regard to intra/extra-territorial relationships, and a structural dependency, which the theory concludes, lingers in the midst of apparent change. Offshoots of this structural dependency are hierarchical class relations; unstable family organization; low level of community organization; rigid patterns of stratification; a generally brittle social order; and an Eurocentric intelligentsia (Wagley: 1957).

The theory is one of disintegration and disorganization. According to Beckford's position the only real change effected since Emancipation has been a minimal and individualized mobility for Black people. Thus, inherent in the theory is the notion of structural continuity in change, which alludes to the inability of Caribbean societies to reach beneath mere cosmetic changes for a complete re-examination of existing social structures, and to embrace the obligation and responsibility of the post-colonial era to create new solutions to specific challenges rooted in the pre-Independence history. While the Plantation Society theory has indeed been argued as outmoded (Craig: 1982), its concepts of a continued structural dependency, and the plantation as the one rallying point of a fragile unit are particularly relevant and instructive to the approach this paper takes with regard to the cultural alienation and disorientation of youth.

Perhaps the most popular theory of Caribbean societies is the Plural Society thesis developed by M. G. Smith (1965), which stresses differentiation and separateness on a cultural, social and or racial basis,

and the maintenance of parallel but not overlapping institutions. The theory uses a conflict model of society, with the use of force viewed as the only means of assuring cohesion and order. It characterizes a society comprised of diverse peoples with a lack of social will, who "mix but do not mingle." The theory has been severely criticized, major critical themes centering on its emphasis on the divisive elements of Caribbean society and its neglect of the more unifying elements. Still, it holds particular relevance for multi-ethnic societies like Trinidad and Tobago and Guyana, and to a lesser extent, Jamaica.

In using this theory to analyze various aspects of Caribbean societies, Lloyd Braithwaite (1960) argues that although these societies are culturally heterogeneous, they operate on a common scale of values inherited from the colonial rule. That common value, however, on which falls the task of integrating the society, is ethnic superiority and inferiority. Thus, it is the acceptance of the social superiority of "whiteness" and things European, values reinforced by a local Eurocentric elite, that legitimizes the system of inequality. And Braithwaite points out, "the hostility to anything of African origin is so strong that it is difficult for anything that is recognized as African to persist." Despite its many failings, the theory throws some light on the continuing negation and devaluation of African cultural traditions in the English-speaking Caribbean, in spite of the region's overwhelming majority of people of African descent. The negative impact of this continued derogation of a significant element in the Caribbean culture complex on the cultural confidence of Caribbean youth is a major concern of this study.

Both of these models have been updated by the theory of "cultural dualism" which has its intellectual roots in the work of Melville Herskovits (1941) on the interplay of African and European elements in West Indian culture, itself rooted in E. B. DuBois' "double consciousness" analysis of Black American society. It is a simultaneous carrying of two traditions, one African, the other European, which Herskovits described as "socialized ambivalence" and which Roy S. Bryce-LaPorte (1970) identified as a form of "biculturalism" in religious beliefs and practices. What emerges is the competing and contrasting relationship between African-derived cultural

conditioning and symbolisms and the European colonial tradition, which results in a duality of cultural orientations as exemplified in language (creole and standard English), social codes, behavior, attitudes and religion. The duality is manifested in attempts to weave these two contradictory cultural strands into an integrated whole, an inherently confusing process, aggravated by the moral and cultural inferiority assigned to everything African, which remains a legacy from the period of enslavement and colonialism.

In a work aptly titled "Crab Antics," Peter Wilson uses a model of cultural dualism to analyse the English-speaking Providencia, a tiny island in the southwest Caribbean, where patterns of social interaction are paralleled to the desperate struggling of crabs in a barrel, each pulling the other down in frantic efforts to step on each other to get to and to remain on the top. Wilson embodies the egalitarian/hierarchical contradiction in two conflicting values: "respectability", rooted in the old colonial order and "English culture" with a drive toward stratification and inequality, and "reputation", grounded in an intrinsic moral self-worth, with a drive toward equality. "Reputation" amounts to an indigenous response to "respectability", which is perceived as a representation of the imposed alien structure of domination. "Reputation" stresses "the equality of human inequalities, whereas respectability seeks to rank them." Wilson sees "crab antics" as the persistent dialectical relationship between these two antithetical value systems, and proposes the model as having analytical applicability for all English-speaking Caribbean societies.

In another study of the social and political behavior of residents of a changing plantation community in Barbados, Susan Makiesky-Barrow (1976) identifies the coexistence of these two dialectically opposed values, which she identifies as egalitarianism on one hand, and status-driving on the other, the duality reflecting the contradictions of the larger social order. The study points to the tension which exists among villagers in manipulating these two conflicting ideologies, and illustrates manifestations of these structural and cultural contradictions in politics, family, community organization, education, employment, language, social behavior,

and religion. For Makiesky-Barrow these villagers interpret their society through a dual system of ideology and values that stresses individual achievement and unity, yet position power and solidarity as counterposing forces.

Based on fieldwork in Jamaica in a predominantly working class and a predominantly middle class neighborhood, Diane Austin (1983) documents how both groups manipulate these contradictory values of "equality" and "hierarchy", how both groups view each other, but more importantly, the link between the interplay of these two opposing value systems, and the hegemonic relationship between subordinate and dominant groups. Austin incorporates both themes of ideological domination and cultural opposition within a single analytical perspective, viewing both conflicting ideas as one continuous process, which she claims reflects a situation of "conflict contained by domination." It is within this situation of "conflict contained by domination," argues Austin, that stability in the English-speaking Caribbean lies. This analysis advances the view of local "creole" elites as continuing to perpetuate an ideology that promotes not value integration and equality, but one of domination and stratification. For historical sociologist Gordon Lewis (1968) political and ideological structures of the colonial period are simply carried over into the post-colonial society:

"Social bullying and economic intimidation are pretty much the order of the day in the life of the masses... Nor does the political fact of independence...necessarily change the social system. It merely transfers its control from the metropolitan masters to the local ruling groups. And because these groups understand the majority better than did the expatriate officials they might be able, indeed, to tighten up the psychological screws that hold the majority in their prison".

It is in the hands of these cultural, economic and political brokers that the future of Caribbean youth have been entrusted, and on whose shoulders the responsibility for the ideological conflict and disenchantment of Caribbean youth must weigh.

All of these theories point to race, class, culture and ideology as inescapable dimensions of Caribbean social reality. Given the foregoing reference to the importance of the cultural process in national development and reconstruction of post-colonial societies, it is important to view development strategies, particularly with respect to young people, within these contrasting principles of social organisation and culture. For it is this irreconcilable duality that underlies the fundamental problems of cultural alienation, disorientation and displacement, forming the backdrop for the myriad challenges of youth in the English-speaking Caribbean. The problems of Caribbean young people hinge on a cultural dependence that is in turn linked to the continuing economic dependence, dictated by the terms of international trade, and penetration of foreign capital.

Perhaps the most vexing aspect of this theory of cultural dualism is not the blending of these two opposing cultural streams, one European, the other African, but the continued perception--conscious and subconscious--of the inherent superiority of European cultural elements, and the worthlessness and inferiority of African cultural traditions. The perceived superiority of the former has now been extended to include North American cultural influences, the United States having assumed increased visibility and control over the English-speaking Caribbean. In essence, the result is a total confidence in and thirst for external and foreign ideas and attitudes, and an accompanying derogation and devaluation of everything internal and indigenous. Continued ignorance of Africa and its rich history and culture translates into the persistent denial and degradation of the African element of the Caribbean culture and a dangerous readiness to accept any and every foreign loophole by way of escaping the truth and reality of a national self-identity. For a true national self-identity rests inescapably in a recognition and reconciliation with the African component of the indigenous culture.

The emergence of a "creole" culture in these Caribbean nation states does not completely address the problem. While creolization admits, encourages and acknowledges the blending of the two cultural streams, it tacitly embraces a European bias that still positions African cultural traditions as minority



influences within the total culture complex. In its inherent glorification of European concepts, creole culture--albeit subtly--at worst negated, and at best minimized the contributions of both African and Indian culture. In countries such as Trinidad and Tobago and Guyana which have large East Indian populations, East Indian culture has merged with the African-derived culture, a natural progression, since both groups as enslaved and indentured "foreigners" represented the dispossessed and oppressed, and have to a large extent remained at the base of a pyramid structure that evolved, placing Europeans and European-looking at the top; and the "high coloureds" in the middle, a space they now share with post-colonial occupational elites of African, Indian and mixed descent.

East Indians, however, have been able to negotiate a completely different relationship with their new environment. Because of the different conditions under which they were brought to the Caribbean, they were able to exercise a "cultural persistence" which fueled the cultural confidence to protect them from the psychological trauma and the rootlessness of a desecrated and fragmented culture. In his study of East Indians in Trinidad, Klass (1961) documents the ability of villagers to reconstitute social institutions which functioned as mechanisms for the transmission of their culture and the maintenance of community cohesiveness. Africans, to the contrary, had little alternative but to adapt their culture to the new environment through a syncretic process, and it is this hybrid culture that still thrives in the English-speaking Caribbean, despite the attempts of the metropolitan ruling powers, with the active participation of local "creole" elites to exorcise it. While contemporary post-colonial elites have not succeeded in ignoring this syncretic culture that is grounded in African retentions and reinterpretations, they have continued to vest cultural differences with an economic, social and political significance that condemns practitioners of Africanized/folk culture to low socio-economic status.

It is impossible, then, to examine the situation of youth in the English-speaking Caribbean without looking at the influence of this cultural process on the development strategies that emerged in the post-colonial experience, the continued cultural and psychological insecurity and economic dependence which give birth to these strategies, and the "crab antics" which

they encourage. The dismantling of colonial rule placed urgent demands, not merely for national reconstruction, but for creative national reconstruction... that is to say, an analysis of the situation in terms of the needs and priorities of the indigenous population. It required thorough self-analysis in order to address the challenge of national building. It required, too, a complete overhauling of systems which were designed by the colonial powers for their enrichment and glorification. The recognition and acceptance of this task of creative reconstruction can come only with the confrontation, recognition, and acceptance of the collective selves that have been so carefully esconced and subjugated under irrelevant foreign ideas which continue to generate a national confusion that is so clearly reflected in the current situation of Caribbean youth.

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## SOCIO-ECONOMIC OVERVIEW

Previous studies of youth in the Caribbean have pointed to the correlation between the rapid expansion of the region's youth population and the growth of the global youth population. According to a recent UNECLAC analysis of population trends in the Caribbean, the population of the entire region grew at an annual average rate of 1.4 percent during the period 1980 - 1984, a figure that reflects a downward trend from the annual rate of 2.1 percent reported during the Seventies.<sup>2</sup> In actual numbers this means that between the extreme years of the period 1970 - 1983, the Caribbean population rose from about 25 to 30 million. Despite this downward trend, and its lower level than the corresponding world growth rate of 1.8 percent, the population growth rate remains high. During the same period, 1970 - 1983, growth rate for the United States was 1.1 percent, and for Western Europe, a comparatively low 0.4 percent. (Nelson: 1986)

This declining trend, however, was not true for all of the Caribbean nation states. Barbados, Trinidad & Tobago, Grenada, Jamaica and Saint Christopher/Nevis reflected this downward trend, while Belize and Guyana remained with a significantly high growth rate of over 2.4 percent. The declining growth rate was mainly associated with effective birth control programmes in Trinidad and Tobago and Jamaica. Still, the Caribbean area remains one of the most densely populated in the world. Table 1 shows that the Caribbean youth population hovers around 20 percent of the entire population, except for Montserrat where the youth population amounts to 5.5 percent of the entire population. This high youth population coincides with a dramatic increase in the world population for people between the ages of 20 to 24. Demographic data<sup>3</sup> show that young people in the 15 to 24 age group numbered 921 million in 1984, 187 million of them living in developed countries, and 734 million in the developing countries.

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<sup>2</sup>UN Demographic Yearbook 1984.

<sup>3</sup>Barcelona statement, adopted at the World Congress of Youth in Barcelona, Spain, July 8th to July 11th 1985.

TABLE I

## \*Youth POPULATION COMPOSITION

	ANTIGUA BARBUDA	BRITISH VIRGIN ISLANDS	BAHAMAS	BARBADOS	BELIZE	DOMINICA
Total Population	79,000	14,000	253,000	269,000	171,000	86,000
Youth Population (aged 15-24)	19%	-	21%	21%	17%	16.4%
Youth Population (aged 15-19)						
male	3,500	-	12,400	13,000	6,300	2,600
female	3,600	-	11,700	13,000	6,300	2,800
Youth Population (age 20-24)						
male	2,500	-	9,300	15,000	4,100	2,000
female	2,800	-	9,700	15,000	4,200	2,500

\*Based on youth figures listed in United Nations "Statistical Indicators on Youth" for 1980 - 1985 period. These percentages represent an approximation, since figures for total population represent more recent data obtained from the 1985 Supplement to the Handbook of International Trade and Development.

TABLE I (cont'd)

	GRENADA	GUYANA	JAMAICA	MONTSERRAT
Total Population	113,000	953,000	2,323,000	11,000
Youth Population (aged 15-24)	16%	22%	24%	5.5%
Youth Population (aged 15-19)				
male	3,700	53,000	147,000	628,000
female	4,100	52,000	143,000	625,000
Youth Population (aged 20-24)				
male	2,800	56,000	141,000	599,000
female	3,500	54,000	138,000	603,000

TABLE I (cont'd)

	SAINT CHRISTOPHER AND NEVIS	SAINT LUCIA	SAINT VINCENT AND THE GRENADINES	TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO
Total Population	77,000	122,000	99,000	1,118,000
Youth Population (aged 15-24)	25%	16%	16.7%	22%
Youth Population (aged 15-19)				
male	3,500	5,600	3,600	63,000
female	3,600	6,000	3,700	62,000
Youth Population (aged 20-24)				
male	2,300	3,500	2,700	59,000
female	2,100	4,600	3,300	59,000

The challenges of today's Caribbean youth far surpass the rate of its population expansion, and demands the urgent attention and increased action from local, national and international organisations and agencies. Perhaps the most dramatic and telling indicator of the plight of the youth in the Caribbean is the increasing number of young vagrants on the streets of the Caribbean, a situation which has reached panic proportions in Jamaica, Trinidad, and Guyana. For Trinidad<sup>4</sup> an alarming majority of these young vagrants are of African descent.

The high representation of Afro-Trinidadians among this young growing vagrant population again registers questions and concerns about the effects of race on post-colonial youth, and demands in-depth study if its negative impact is to be understood and erased.

Vanquished by negative prospects for the future and governments which seem to view young people as part of the problem rather than part of the solution, these young displaced take to the streets, daring society to see in them the reflection of unsuccessful development policies in their hopelessness. It is not only the unemployment, unavailable housing, inadequate health facilities, drug addiction, nor irrelevant education and training. It is the despair that comes from seeing no hope on the horizon, and a lack of credibility in those empowered to trigger that hope and turn it into optimism and tangible contributions to the society. Perhaps the real despair comes in seeing the fickleness of the Independence of which the elders boasted, accompanied by corruption, mismanagement and blatant bureaucratic bungling by those elected to lead them to the glory of nationhood.

The painful reality is that despite the outward and visible signs of decolonization and Independence, the English-speaking Caribbean remains economically, psychologically and culturally dependent. Despite its constitutional Independence, because of its geographical location, increasing militarisation of the region, and its inability to take principled positions in the best interests of its own constituencies, even its political independence becomes questionable as events in recent years have shown.

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<sup>4</sup>Tobago, which has remained a more rural environment than its urbanized sister island, Trinidad, is remarkably free of vagrants. In fact, the island's only vagrant is reputed to have come from Trinidad. Redfield's ideal type dichotomy of folk and urban societies--the most rural being the most folk, and the most urban being more prone to "disorganization", secularization and individualization--applies.

Persistent economic dependency is easier to measure. Beckford (1972) elaborated on the all-pervasiveness of the plantation system and its ability to generate and sustain a persistent underdevelopment that represents a structural continuity in the post-Independent era: foreign trade and aid; imported consumption and production patterns; tourism; gross inequities in the distribution of income and wealth; expatriate ownership and control of business enterprises; foreign owned and controlled banking and financial systems; repatriation of profits... all in a mad rush towards modernization and development, without much concentrated thought to the net loss to the population and to the youth in particular. In spite of the alleged success of such economic programmes in the Caribbean, the overall results are: high rates of unemployment and underemployment; severe underutilization of the labour force; heightened frustration; increased social and economic marginalization of the youth; and cultural alienation.

The gain, it appears, continues to be reaped by the metropolitan countries which these economies have historically supported. Despite restrictive measures adopted by the United States, Canada and England to stem the human flow from the Caribbean, an increasing number of young people



opt for the one proven escape hatch: emigration. In so doing, they aggravate the brain drain to which the Caribbean has been subjected historically. The salient point is that policies and programmes of Caribbean governments still represent the practice of a development closely linked to and consequently directed by its relationship with the metropolises. It is this fundamental truth that underlies the continued disorganization of Caribbean societies. It is the effects of this process which dependency theorists term "dependent development" that are so clearly discernible in this first post-colonial generation.

#### Unemployment and Underemployment

Causes of unemployment and underemployment, so widely documented by economists and other experts, are worth mentioning in view of their drastic effect on today's growing population:

- rapidly expanding population;
- high growth rate of the labour force;
- the increasing rate of female participation in the labour force;
- the drift of the population from rural to urban areas, resulting in a conversion of rural underemployment to urban unemployment;
- the importation of labour-saving, modern technology from developed countries, particularly in manufacturing activities;
- the concentration on introduction of capital-intensive technology. Trinidad and Tobago during its 1973-1983 oil wealth presents an instructive case study.
- the unbalanced mix of education and training, often producing inappropriate mixtures and levels of skills contrary to those needed in the labour market. (Demas: 1977)

Another factor of particular relevance for the English-speaking Caribbean, is the perception of the superiority and higher status of the "collar and tie" job, a direct hold-over from the period of colonial rule.

Policies and programmes that emphasize industrialization and modernization to the detriment of agriculture have simply validated and reinforced this perception, while condemning the population to near-starvation and high-priced imported food, and at the same time promoting consumption patterns that encourage tastes for imported foods, and devalorize indigenous foods and tastes.

The problem of unemployment and underemployment, a major concern and priority of most developing countries, represents a traumatic and frustrating experience for adults. It becomes a more shattering and devastating reality for young people entering the job market. For while for adults unemployment means unequal access to participating in the production, income and wealth of the society--a psychologically and emotionally damaging experience in itself--for youth, it is a shocking introduction into the real world that could irrevocably tinge their relationship to their environment and their community and negatively direct the course of young impressionable lives. Lowered self-esteem, diminished self-worth, anger, anxiety, confusion, frustration, lack of direction, purposelessness and disenchantment summarize the experience of Caribbean youth on their first introduction to the job market.

The problem is severe. As indicated on Table II, 1985 data for Trinidad and Tobago--the Caribbean nation which enjoys the highest standard of living--show an overall unemployment rate of 15 percent. Unemployment for the 15 to 19 age group shows a high 37 percent of the total work force, a figure that more than doubles the overall unemployment rate. The unemployment rate for the 20 to 24 age group at 25 percent almost doubles the overall unemployment rate. The 25 to 34 age group, however, shows a marked decrease at 13 percent, a figure more in line with the 15 percent unemployment rate for all ages. For all age groups the unemployment rate for females is considerably higher than the unemployment rate for males. This is of particular note in the 15 to 19 age group, where male unemployment is 35 percent to the 43 percent female unemployment, a figure that almost triples the overall female unemployment rate of 17 percent. These figures all represent an increase over the 1984 unemployment rates.

Table II

Unemployment rates for Trinidad and Tobago  
by age and sex: 1984 - 1985

<u>Age group</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Both sexes</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
All ages	30/6/84	13%	12%	15%
	31/12/84	14%	12%	17%
	30/6/85	15%	15%	17%
<hr/>				
15 - 19	30/6/84	31%	29%	37%
	31/12/84	35%	32%	42%
	30/6/85	37%	35%	43%
<hr/>				
20 - 24	30/6/84	21%	19%	23%
	31/12/84	22%	21%	23%
	30/6/85	25%	25%	24%
<hr/>				
25 - 34	30/6/84	11%	11%	11%
	31/12/84	12%	11%	14%
	30/6/85	13	12%	14%
<hr/>				

Source: Vital Statistics Bulletin Vol.1, No. 1 1986: Central  
Statistical Office, Port of Spain, Trinidad and Tobago.

While current data were unable to be obtained for all the other Caribbean nations, Table III details the unemployment rates by age group for the 1980 to 1982 period for some countries. In every country listed, the unemployment rate in the 15 to 19 age group reads considerably higher than unemployment rates in the 20 to 24 age group. Unemployment among this 15 to 19 age group is almost three times as high as the already high unemployment rate in the 20 to 24 age group for Barbados, Belize, Montserrat and Saint Christopher/Nevis. Table IV indicates 1983 and 1984 unemployment rates for those countries where data were obtainable. Additional data put 1984 unemployment rates for Jamaica and Antigua and Barbuda at 20 percent, and between 10 to 20 percent for both Montserrat and Dominica. (Nelson: 1986)

This study links the high unemployment rate among the 15 to 24 age group with a regional educational system that subordinates vocational and technical skills to academic curricula, and hence provides little education and training for non "collar and tie" jobs. But to fully understand the enormous psychological impact of unemployment and underemployment in the Caribbean, it is important to view occupation as the major status symbol that it represents in the region, and a sphere in which the competition of the opposing ideologies group solidarity and status driving is best observed. Placed within a historical-cultural context, employment in the English-speaking Caribbean becomes much more than a means for providing basic individual and family needs. It is not only a major channel for improving one's standard of living, but, like education, it is perceived as a key factor in throwing off the residues of enslavement and indentureship and ridding oneself of the inferiority and low social status that has been historically synonymous with racial identity and economic dependence.

In his study, "Social Stratification in Trinidad," Lloyd Braithwaite (1975) documents the "fundamental change in the self-assertion of the lower classes" provided by employment opportunities during the establishment of American bases in Trinidad. According to Braithwaite, it is difficult to exaggerate the degree of personal dignity which came to the working class as a result of full employment. Thus employment is perceived as a major element in social mobility, and a principal status marker. Within the context of Wilson's "crab antics" model outlined in an earlier section, employment assumes a significant role in the long

Table III

Unemployment rates among teenagers and  
in the 20-24 age group  
1980-1982

Country	% Unemployed	
	15-19 yrs.	20-24 yrs
Barbados	40.9	14.7
Belize	13.9	5.2
British Virgin Islands	16.8	7.7
Dominica	55.7	23.8
Grenada	55.8	26.4
Guyana	55.5	22.7
Montserrat	32.7	11.5
Saint Christopher/Nevis	36.9	14.8
Saint Lucia	52.5	21.8
Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	58.2	24.2
Turks and Caicos Islands	28.2	20.2

Source: Op.cit. preliminary analysis of the 1980 Census Programme.

TABLE IV

UNEMPLOYMENT INDICATORS OF SELECTED COUNTRIES  
(Percent change from previous period)

Country	Unemployment (%)		
	1982 <sup>*</sup>	1983	1984 <sup>P</sup>
Antigua and Barbuda	20.0	...	...
Barbados	13.7	15.0	17.1
Dominica	15.0	...	...
Grenada	14.2	...	39.5
Jamaica	27.4	26.7	25.4
Montserrat	5.6	7.0	...
Trinidad and Tobago	10.4	11.1	12.7

Source: ECLAC Report "Economic Activity 1984 in Caribbean Countries".

\*/ 1982 figures for ECLAC Report "Economic Activity 1983 in Caribbean Countries".

climb upwards. Emphasis on individual needs over community good has remained as a structural continuity from the pre-Independence period, and it is in attitudes towards work that this is clearly discernible. Particularistic ties of kinship, friendship, "contact" and political patronage have served to reinforce colonial values of individualism and "oneupmanship", and have served to vivify social and economic stratification at the expense of the harmony and progress of egalitarian societies.

Occupation is viewed, not as an opportunity to make a valuable contribution to the society, but as a means of reaping the social rewards and high status that accompany the acquisition of material goods that testify to material success. In other words, the concept of nation-building as a motive for occupational participation remains noticeably absent. The rapid growth of state and local intervention in the economy, and the nationalization of formally exclusive holds of the metropolises are two of the bolder attempts of Caribbean countries to control their economies. Guyana, Trinidad and Tobago and Jamaica have made some headway in this attempt at economic decolonization. Still, there are fundamental attitudinal changes towards this new ownership which have not been effected, and they continue to haunt the self-realization of young people and thwart their level of participation in the society.

It is in this vicious cycle that Caribbean youth have been trapped. Those who are uneducated and/or improperly trained for the job market are invariably those who possess neither the social skills nor economic and political power to elicit favours and patronage from the society's power brokers. Educated youth, on the other hand, particularly youth who have graduated from foreign universities are perceived as threats by the more mature professionals who very often hold years of first-hand experience, but no university training. These youth suffer the brunt of the resentment of the older folks who, caught up in their own frustrations and insecurities, see young professionals as wanting too much, and "having things too easy." These young people become the unwilling victims of the "crab antics" jockeying, and often become unsuspecting targets of vicious competition, pettiness and rivalry. Instead of freely allowing young people the benefit of their knowledge and experience, and encouraging their contribution and participation, many of these adult professionals use their

expertise to block the progress of youth, thus adding to their disenchantment and frustration with the society. Competition for work, graft, "contact", favours and patronage assume greater prominence in the quest for employment than qualifications, capability, and the desire and ability to contribute. The link between race, class, colour, and gender to the access to economic power further complicates this scenario, leaving open invitations to Black low-income youth to lives of crime, and exposing young women--particularly single mothers--to sexual exploitation. Research of the 28 companies trading on the Trinidad and Tobago Stock Exchange point to a system of interlocking directorates as a mechanism for the concentration of wealth, power and privilege, and the monopoly of information by a few. (Parris: 1984) The research also found the corporate elite in Trinidad and Tobago, though multi-ethnic, to be dominated by those of Caucasian extraction. There is no reference to female representation among the group.

In addition, the symbolism of the "collar and tie" job as representing social and economic superiority continues to limit the desires of youth to explore employment opportunities and pursue academic and professional interests in non "collar and tie" areas. It is with respect to agriculture that this negative perception of non "collar and tie" work most severely affects the economy and the employment prospects of youth. Table IV shows the lower level of employment participation in the agricultural labour force for Barbados, 14.5 percent; Jamaica, 17.1 percent; and Trinidad and Tobago, 14.8 percent for 1985, as compared with the percentage of non-agricultural labour force of 85.5 percent, 82.9 percent, and 85.2 percent for Barbados, Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago respectively. This low level of agricultural participation continues to exist in these Caribbean countries where unemployment rates for young people between the ages of 20 to 24 remain alarmingly high, as shown in Table III.

As economic forecasts for the Caribbean become more discouraging, populations seem to have become even more creative than their Governments in seeking solutions for economic problems. There exists an underground economy or "parallel market" system, to which primarily women and young people have resorted in order to stave off poverty and starvation. Petty trade has become a prime source of income for both of these groups, using foodstuffs, clothing, and motor car parts as the main items of trade. This trading has even become internationalized, as Guyanese exchange gold and diamonds for valuable market commodities from Trinidad and Tobago; Trinidadians purchase clothing from Curacao, Panama and Miami; and Jamaicans, restricted by foreign currency regulations



TABLE IV

POPULATION AND LABOUR FORCE  
(1985)

	BARBADOS	JAMAICA	TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO
Urban population - percentage of Total population	41.4%	44.0%	22.6%
Total Labour Force	117,000	875,000	486,000
Percentage agricultural Labour Force	14.5%	17.1%	14.8%
Percentage non-agricultural Labour Force	85.5%	82.9%	85.2%
Percentage of population of Working age	64.3%	57.6%	65.7%

Source: Handbook of International Trade and Development Statistics. 1985 Supplement

exchange rum, liquers and cigars for items of high value on the Jamaican market. One has only to walk down the main streets of Port-of-Spain to see the number of youths hawking clothing, shoes, cassette tapes and other imported goods on the sidewalks, to grasp the importance of this phenomenon to the survival of the unemployed.

#### Some Concerns about Tourism

Tourist arrivals in the Caribbean amounted to some six million people in 1982. Excluding Cuba, gross tourism receipts were estimated at about US \$3.6 billion. (Blommestein: 1985) Regional tourism responded strongly to the upturn in the economy in 1984, and all destinations except Grenada received increases in visitor arrivals.<sup>5</sup> Given the concentration on export promotion to offset foreign exchange shortages, further emphasis on tourism can be expected. The Nassau Understanding with respect to tourism recommends that the region "pursue vigorously the preservation and maintenance of existing tourist attractions and the development and diversification of new tourist attractions so as to increase the attractiveness of Caribbean holidays and hence to induce increased visitor traffic and/or length of stay and/or tourism expenditures". (Caribbean Community Secretariat. 1984). Even Trinidad and Tobago which, because of its oil and natural gas resources has traditionally maintained a policy of cautious distance from tourism, has now embarked upon a tourism thrust.

The economic benefits that can be derived from tourism are significant. In 1985 Barbados, with the number of arrivals totaling 304,000, received \$207 million. Total receipts for The Bahamas of \$669 million came from its 1,121,000 tourists. Antigua hosted 87,000 tourists and earned \$50 million, while Jamaica welcomed 408,000 tourists for an income of \$388 million. The number of tourist arrivals totaled 200,000 for Trinidad and Tobago, representing a contribution of \$163 million to the economy.<sup>6</sup> The potential for a negative social impact of large tourist inflows on these Caribbean countries with small populations must not be overshadowed by the attractiveness of tourism-generated foreign exchange earnings. With a population of only 120,000 Saint Lucia hosted 70,000 tourists in 1985. Although the tourism income amounted to \$30 million, the impact of a tourist population that amounts to more than 50 percent of the population in one year is cause for concern.

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<sup>5</sup>Source: "Economic Activity 1984 in Caribbean Countries". ECLAC Report

<sup>6</sup>Source: Handbook of International Trade and Development Statistics. 1985 Supplement

Since women and youth represent the largest segment of the unemployed labour force, it is they who remain a captive source for tourism-related employment, and the groups most likely to be affected by the negative elements that often accompany tourism. Drug trafficking and drug abuse, organized crime, male and female prostitution and its accompanying sexually-related diseases are some of the more visible negative effects of tourism among young people in the Bahamas and Barbados. More subtle but perhaps more lasting and psychologically damaging is the role of tourism in aggravating the process of cultural alienation among Caribbean youth.

Economists, sociologists and anthropologists have long pitted the socio-economic benefits against the socio-cultural impact of tourism. The latter two have been more concerned with the view of tourism as underscoring the social and cultural differences between tourists and hosts, than the creation of new employment opportunities, and the tendency of a thriving tourist industry to stem migration trends, particularly among the unemployed and underemployed women and youth in economically marginal areas. Yet, its opponents argue, tourism fosters dependency rather than development, replicating forms of domination and structural underdevelopment that amounts to neo-colonialism since the tourist industry depends heavily on foreign capital. (Cohen: 1984). In addition, in societies like the Caribbean which have recent histories of enslavement and colonial rule, which reflect populations of predominantly African origin, and where the tourist population is likely to be North American and European, tourism runs the risk of recreating and reinforcing impressions of Black servitude and white superiority and generating or aggravating disharmonious relations.

In spite of these disadvantages, tourism represents a ready market for cultural products. To the extent that it is able to encourage the production of cultural products which continue to suffer tremendous neglect and cooptation by the middle class in the post-Independence period, then tourism could inspire the growth and development of an indigenous culture, while creating the much-needed stimulation and source of pride for young people. This, however, in no way relieves Caribbean governments of the obligation of formulating cultural policies and establishing relevant cultural institutions that will serve as

ideological groundings for young impressionable minds, on whom will fall the responsibility of continuing the challenge of national development. In fact, a reliance of economic development on tourism increases the urgency of this task, since because of its innate function of culture carrying, tourism exposes young people to different cultures in a process that could further aggravate cultural disorientation and alienation, unless they are firmly grounded in their indigenous traditions. In fact, it is only this action that could offset the danger of diluting, commoditizing and exploiting local culture for the benefit of tourists, and the commercializing of authentic arts, rituals and customs--usually the domain of the lower-economic groups--by local elites, who are normally in the forefront of tourist ventures.

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## Education

Independence in the English-speaking Caribbean ushered in an era that re-emphasized the importance of education, an importance held during the colonial period when education was synonymous with the middle and upper socio-economic classes. The colonial perception that educated locals might not be in their best interests placed education out of the reach of the masses. In addition, the dearth of educational institutions and the relatively high cost impeded mass access to education. Increased primary education and free secondary education thus became a national priority for these post-colonial societies. Impressively low illiteracy rates reflect the emphasis on education in the English-speaking Caribbean. Table V shows Barbados as having the lowest illiteracy rate of 0.7 percent around 1982. The region's highest illiteracy rates appear at 18.3 percent for Saint Lucia, and 11.3 percent for Antigua and Barbuda. Table VI indicates even lower illiteracy rates for young people between the ages of 15 to 24. However, low illiteracy rates may not necessarily reflect the increasing production of functional illiterates, or the existence of educational curricula that are not effectively synchronized with the realities of Caribbean development.

According to the Population and Housing Census 1980 for Trinidad and Tobago, "the proportion of non-achievers, i.e. persons without an examination certificate, is 52.4 percent" of the country's adult population. The figure represents a disturbing 392,033 persons aged 20 and over who left school without visible proof of ever having attended. In addition, the data show that 34,251 persons 15 years and over have less than a primary level of education, or no education at all. While that figure is a considerable improvement over the figure of 54,126 twenty years earlier, it still does not augur well for an Independent nation that was told its children held its future in their bookbags.

Education, like occupation, has historically been viewed as a means for achieving social mobility. In fact, it is viewed as the key means of occupational mobility, primarily through the civil service. Consequently, the

SELECTED ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL INDICATORS: Education,  
Culture, Health, Transport and Communications

Country or area	Education and culture			Health		Transport and communications				
	Illiteracy	Enrolment ratios <sup>1</sup>		Circulation of daily news papers per 1000 population	Population		Tourism		Passenger vehicles in use	Telephone 100 population
		Combined primary and secondary	Third level		Per hospital bed	Per physician	Number of arrivals	Receipts		
	In per cent			Number		Thousands	Millions of dollars	Thousands	Number	
Antigua and Barbuda ...	11.3	114	..	80	113	2187	87	50	..	..
Bahamas .....	10.3	108	..	154	256	1218	1121	669	63.6	35.8
Barbados .....	0.7	99	13.6	145	119	1293	304	207	25.3	29.1
Belize .....	8.8	92	..	41	232	3261	..	..	7.5	4.0
British Virgin Islands .....	1.7	..	..	..	382	1300	..	..	2.1	24.3
Cayman Islands .....	2.5	61	..	..	354	1042	121	52	..	42.9
Dominica .....	5.9	74	..	..	224	8000	..	..	..	3.9
Grenada .....	2.2	99	..	28	188	4400	23	13	3.7	5.4
Guyana .....	8.4	76	2.8	85	216	9647	..	4	32.5	3.6
Jamaica .....	3.9	77	6.4	46	283	2845	408	388	109.6	6.2
Montserrat .....	3.4	..	..	..	194	1428	..	..	..	18.3
Saint Christopher and Nevis .....	2.4	..	..	22	177	3125	..	..	3.3	3.6
Saint Lucia .....	18.3	..	..	33	202	2750	70	30	4.9	6.9
Saint Vincent and the Grenadines .....	4.4	..	..	..	170	4737	..	..	4.8	5.0
Trinidad and Tobago ...	7.8	78	4.6	140	257	1488	200	163	131.5	6.3
Turks and Caicos Island	1.9	..	..	..	140	2000	..	..	..	..

Source: Handbook of International Trade and Development Statistics 1985 Supplement.  
The data shown are for years around 1982.

YOUTH ILLITERACY, 1980-1984

Country	Male	Female
Antigua and Barbuda	...	...
British Virgin Islands	...	...
Bahamas	...	...
Barbados	0.3	0.2
Belize	3	3*
Dominica	1	1*
Grenada	1	1*
Jamaica	2	1
Saint Christopher/Nevis	2	1*
Saint Lucia	6	4*
Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	2	2*
Trinidad and Tobago	1	1

Source: Selected Statistical Indicators on Youth 1985.

\* 1970 - 1974 data.

process of acquiring a good education envelops students from a very young age in fierce competition and rivalry. It not only applied extreme pressure to compete early in their lives, but provided early socialization into the "crab antics" dynamics, and according to Austin (1983) institutional endorsement that inequality is due to differential ability and intelligence endowment. Although free secondary education for these societies was instituted on the attainment of Independence, the competition remained to gain admittance to the elite secondary schools. Failure to gain entrance in the elite or quality secondary schools meant placement in a "Comprehensive School", structured to provide a mix of academic and technical training. But associated with these schools is a stigma of social and intellectual inferiority which students carry into their working lives. Youth also have access to Polytechnic Institutes or specialized schools for secretarial skills, hotel management, etc. Still, higher academic training remains the ideal. The regional network of higher education in the form of the University of the West Indies permitted access to higher education within the region. However, the perception of the automatic inferiority of any regional institution resulted in a tendency to place a higher value on qualifications obtained from foreign, particularly British universities. Later expansion of the University curriculum, introduction of new diploma and degree programmes, and the establishment of two new campuses stimulated a heightened confidence and increased enrolment.

The University's three campuses are based at Mona, Jamaica, established in 1948; St. Augustine, Trinidad, established in 1960; and the 1963 Cave Hill, Barbados campus. Individual campus registration figures for 1981/82 put student enrolment at 4,892; 3,124 and 1,566 respectively. Non-campus territories are: Antigua, Bahamas, Belize, British Virgin Islands, Cayman Islands, Dominica, Grenada, Montserrat, St. Kitts/Nevis, Anguilla, Saint Lucia, and Saint Vincent. Guyana, once a fully participating territory has since established its own University of Guyana, but contributes under special arrangements to the professional faculties. One programme in Hotel Management is conducted in the Bahamas, but the Bahamas is not considered a campus territory (CRESALC/UNESCO:1985) While the total number of male registrants has traditionally been higher than female registrants, the gap has been narrowing. The 1984 student enrolment figures indicate a trend of significantly higher representation of women, particularly in the faculties of Arts and General Studies and Law.



Ironically, the concept of free secondary education has given birth to two extreme attitudes. One group has taken full advantage of the benefits, skilfully utilizing their education for individual social, occupational and economic upward mobility. The other group views education as a "freeness", and this notion seems to mature into an excessive reliance and expectation of hand-outs. It is this mentality that provides the catalyst for corruption, bribery and political patronage. Neither group appears to have the capability of making the connection between free education and the quest for national freedom, equality and development for which the system was designed. Very few can be counted in the middle realm of those who view education as the basis for the self-transformation and societal transformation necessary for creative reconstruction. In fact, highly represented in this middle realm are "returning nationals" with foreign education and experience and an eagerness to "make a contribution." These are quickly frustrated and disillusioned on entering or attempting to enter the work place, the arena in which positive development policies and programmes should be consolidated and activated, but which instead remains a hotbed of competition, rivalry, intimidation, and petty jealousy, more a testimony to "crab antics" than to social cooperation as a basis for national success and achievement. A significantly high percentage of these returning nationals are forced to return to "the cold."

The role of education, not only as it affects employment but as a pivotal force in the psychological transformation of newly independent countries cannot be overestimated. Its function of instilling in young minds more relevant ideas, values and attitudes as prerequisites for new societies are imperatives for Caribbean governments. It is through the education process that young people can be socialized into more egalitarian societies, provided there exists the economic, political and cultural will to so do. The bridge between education and employment is a crucial one for Caribbean youth. It is in this transition phase that the direction of young people--and by extension these societies--is determined. It is this period that provides the most serious choices for Caribbean youth as they battle with the frustrations of unemployment, feelings of uselessness, lack of self-confidence, diminished self-worth and lack of self-esteem. Current restructuring of the University of the West Indies to emphasise territorial rather than regional input, the creation

of Trinidad and Tobago's National Institute of Higher Education, Research, Science and Technology (NIHERST), and the proliferation of extra-mural and adult education programmes point to attempts to seriously address continuing educational challenges. Still, the third-level sector, as is demonstrated on Table V, indicates the dramatic decrease in enrolment, a situation which demands urgent attention as it relates directly to the employability of youth. In addition, there remains a need to become more creative in the use of the educational process to help in the task of societal transformation and to undo some of the deep-rooted damage effected via education during the colonial period.

#### Youth Camps, Trade Centres and Youth Centres

In Trinidad and Tobago, the Ministry of Sport, Culture and Youth Affairs assists with continued education, job training and placement of youth through the establishment of five residential vocational Youth Camps and six non-residential Trade Centres. Courses at Youth Camps include: auto mechanics, electric installation, masonry, cabinet making, tailoring, agriculture, etc., and cover a two-year period. However, the El Dorado Girls Camp concentrates on garment construction, cookery, catering, beauty culture and commercial subjects, areas that do not break out of the traditional pattern of sex-biased occupations. Camps also provide courses in remedial education and guidance in the establishment of cooperative, cultural and recreational activities. Student population of all Youth Camps for 1984 was 891, of which 220 were women.

Attendance at the non-residential Trade Centres is restricted to young people who live within the Counties or Administrative Districts in which the Centres are located. Vacancies are advertised in the mass media, and candidates are chosen through a Ministerial interview panel. Courses are similar to those mentioned for Youth Camps, and trainees are awarded a Trade Achievement Certificate on completion of the courses. A total of 281 youth graduated from Trade Centres in 1984. Eight Youth Centres, located throughout the country, concentrate on social and recreational activities, e.g. dance, sport and drama, but vocational training in some skills are provided on request. The Ministry's Youth Affairs Division also provides a job placement service for graduates of Youth Camps, Youth Centres, Trade Centres and other youths in both public and private sector industries. Between 1980 and 1984 the Division found employment for approximately 800 youths in such areas as: book binding, cooking, catering, plumbing, electrical installation and agriculture.

## Health

Drug and alcohol addiction represent the most serious health problem of Caribbean youth. The most striking change during the 1980's has been the explosive increase of cocaine use in the Caribbean, especially in The Bahamas, Trinidad and Tobago, and Jamaica. This increase has reached epidemic proportions in the past three years, particularly in The Bahamas and Trinidad and Tobago. (CARICOM Secretariat: 1985) Perhaps the problem of youth and drug addiction can be more accurately viewed within an older context, that of the high incidence of alcoholism among the adult population. Alcohol is still the largest drug problem of the region, causing a heavy drain on the economies of these nation states. In Trinidad and Tobago, where the oil wealth of the 1970's precipitated a national "spree", it has been estimated that health costs due to alcohol are TT \$80 million, and the cost in terms of lost productivity about TT \$100 million. (Beaubrun: 1984)

According to drug rehabilitation counsellors in Trinidad and Tobago, research has revealed that nearly 100 percent of those treated started with alcohol and graduated to harsher drugs, depending on availability and cost. Experts in the field have also been able to further distinguish patterns of drug abuse among youth and adults, pointing to alcoholics as older and employed with increased cocaine dabbling and some cases of serious users among upper income groups. Drug addiction for youth too has a class differentiation, positioning middle and upper middle income youth as users of cocaine and LSD, and lower income youth largely as pushers of cocaine and LSD, but users of marijuana. For Trinidad and Tobago a further ethnic distinction is emerging, indicating a preference for alcohol among East Indians as other ethnic groups suffer addiction to harder drugs. The salient point, however, is that an overwhelming majority of youth involved in drugs, whether as pushers or users, are unemployed.

Analysis of data obtained from a volunteer, non-residential drug counselling centre, based on information obtained from 84 patients during the period of November 1985 to April 1986, paints a demographic portrait of the drug addict as between 14 - 44 years old; single (58.3percent); unemployed,

45.2 percent; male, 90.5 percent; and predominantly of African descent, 53.6 percent. East Indians represented 16.7 percent of the counselling centre's population, and 27.3 percent were of mixed ancestry. Only 9.5 percent of the population being treated were women. 82.1 percent of those seeking counselling were addicted to cocaine, but may have begun with milder drugs. 8.3 percent were addicted to marijuana, and 4.8 percent to alcohol. The youngest ages given for the introduction to drug use was age 8 for alcohol; age 9 for marijuana; and age 12 for cocaine. 95.2 percent of those receiving counselling claimed the problem was their own, while 10.7 percent admitted it was a family problem. Other drugs abused were Cogentin, Stelazine, Solvents, Morphine, P.C.P., Heroin, LSD, Opium, MX (Mandrax), Lilly, Datura, Valium, I.C.I., and Purple A. Only four students, or 4.8 percent were among the group. 27.3 percent of the group were skilled and employed; and 19 percent unskilled, but employed.

The link between education, unemployment and drug addiction is direct and inescapable. Young people either take full advantage of educational opportunities, cope successfully with the battery of examinations and go on to attend university, or, they become overwhelmed by the process and drop out of the system very early. Given the high unemployment rates, however, for both groups the end of the line is a void that often becomes the beginning of flirtation with drugs and continues into serious addiction. In 1985 a nationwide survey of drug use was carried out by Dr. Lennox Bernard of the University of the West Indies. The sample comprised over three thousand students up to the age of 20 years, those in youth camps and reform schools, and unemployed youths age 14 - 20. Preliminary findings indicated that 16 was the decisive age at which drugs, including alcohol, were most frequently used. Among the reasons reported for drug use were: peer pressure, curiosity, search for happiness; need to stay calm; pressure at home; loneliness, school work, and performance at sport. There was also the startling revelation that drug abuse was highest among adolescents from stable homes with two-parent families.

The gravity of drug abuse in the Caribbean is cause for alarm, not only because of its destructive influence on the youth, but because of its potential for destroying the entire society through its real threat of producing an entire generation of aimless, wasted, and unproductive young people. The

scourge affects more men than women, but the threat of prostitution, venereal disease, and pregnancies leading to drug-addicted babies presents more dangerous complications for young women. Increasing cases of male prostitution, however, makes real the possibility of contracting the deadly Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) for young men.<sup>7</sup> The convenient location of the English-speaking Caribbean between the United States and South America make it an easy trans-shipment point for drug trafficking. Topography, comparatively lax penalties for drug offences, the low price of cocaine, the purity of available high-quality cocaine from Columbia, the high prevalence of "free basing", the availability of the more potent cocaine preprocessed as "rocks", and the new cocoa paste which is even more potent than free-basing cocaine are some of the other explanations given for the rapid increase in drug abuse in the Caribbean.

Informal case histories for Trinidad and Tobago document 1) the introduction of alcohol to drug addicts from as early as eight years old; 2) the startling number of teenage drug addicts who were introduced to drugs by their parents; 3) the availability of "soft" and "hard" drugs from pushers in schools; 4) the connection between the adoption of North American habits and behavior and drug abuse; 5) for The Bahamas, Bermuda and Barbados, the link between increased drug addiction and the influx of North American tourism, prostitution, gambling and organized crime. 6) the spread of drug abuse by locals returning from extended sojourns in the United States and England.

In a more general sense, health problems affecting Caribbean youth are in keeping with some of the major problems in health care generally: environment, impure water supplies, unsanitary facilities, lack of health care servicing of rural areas, inadequate health services and antiquated health equipment, resulting in a lack of confidence in health care. For young women, teenage pregnancies presents a continuing challenge. This will be more closely examined in a later section, titled "Young Women". The most recent health concern for the entire Caribbean is the dreaded Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) particularly in those countries which have large homosexual populations, or which, because of tourism, attract among their tourists a large number of homosexuals.<sup>7</sup> The fear of the disease in Trinidad and Tobago has stimulated a new trend towards sexual caution among youth, which will hopefully trigger a decline in the number of teenage pregnancies.

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<sup>7</sup>As of March 1986, the Caribbean Epidemiology Centre (CAREC) was notified of AIDS cases in 11 member countries. (CAREC Surveillance Report Vol 12, No. 3)

### Housing

The nub of the housing problem for young people is tied to problems of inadequate education, unemployment, difficulties in communicating with parents, rural-urban migration in search of employment, and drug addiction. According to one social worker in Trinidad and Tobago, "some children simply should not be living with their parents." In fact, the lack of quarter-way and half-way housing for young addicts in drug rehabilitation and counselling programmes presents a vicious return cycle to the same environment and problems which encouraged drug addiction in the first place. Some end up on the streets, as reflected in the alarming increase in the number of young vagrants on the urban streets of the English-speaking Caribbean, as mentioned in an earlier section.

Two other economically-related factors have also contributed to the housing difficulties of young people. For Trinidad and Tobago, the preponderance of foreign consultants--the beneficiaries of government-to-government contracts during the decade of the oil boom--fueled an artificial hike in rents to capitalize on the high salaries and housing allowances given to these foreign experts. Influx of tourists has effected similar rapid increases in the price of land in tourist havens like Barbados, The Bahamas, and Jamaica. Attempts at controlling and even rolling back rents have been made in Trinidad and Tobago, but this action still has not brought prices within the range of unemployed and underemployed youths, and further contributes to feelings of inadequacy, insecurity and uncertainty about the future.

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## Family

The vast literature on family structure in the English-speaking Caribbean points to the centrality of women in their roles as mothers. As major income-producers in the household, and often as the only income-producers, low-income women are often *de facto* heads of households which, because of the economic marginality of low-income men, become matrifocal and matricentric. Even though legal marital union might be considered the social ideal, low-income women opt for a number of adaptive strategies in order to cope with their socio-economic realities.

Recent controversies over the analyses of West Indian families center around whether the Black low-income family is a variant of elite family structure, representing a response to the economic inability of lower-income often unemployed and underemployed lower-income men to perform their expected family responsibilities. Or, whether, as an example of Herskovitsian reinterpretation, the female-headed, matrifocal household is an essentially different type of family organization, based on separate principles and cultural values retained from West African culture. This latter notion brings to the forefront the strength and support that comes from the extended family, opportunities for cultural transmission in the "grandmother family" and the significance of collateral kinship...concepts which are seldom considered in analyzing lower-income families in the English-speaking Caribbean.

Whether a question of the emulation of elite patterns, or the retention of a family structure based on distinctive culture and values, the salient points for both arguments are the economic marginality which robs low-income men of their status-defining functions, and a male-dominated structure which remains insensitive to the economic importance of women, and ignorant and/or unsympathetic to the extent to which the stability of the family, the stability of the youth, and by extension, the stability of the entire society depends on her. Full comprehension of this fact would demand more serious consideration to the employment and training of women, who in most of the English-speaking Caribbean almost double the unemployment figure for unemployed males. Such thinking attaches urgent importance to the establishment of day care centres and other facilities that provide support networks for working mothers. In both female-headed and

male-headed households, the connection between women and the nurturing of children into secure, self-confident and stable individuals who are prepared and capable of executing their roles in the continuation of the society cannot take second place to the persistent prioritizing of maledom to the detriment of women, youth, and the entire society.

East Indian family organization indicates a different structural formation and continuity. A significant majority of East Indian children usually grow up in male-headed households, as different from the patterns cited for the low-income Afro-Caribbean family. Another major difference between these two family systems is the age and conditions under which cohabitation and marriage are institutionalized. Customary law prescribes a much earlier age for both sexes for East Indians, while among Afro-Caribbeans, the ideal and modal age of marriage and cohabitation is much higher. This difference has significant effects on the organization of family life, indicating a paternity that is relatively more fixed for the East Indian family. Although these unions appear to be longer lasting than for the Afro-Caribbean families, a more pronounced family stability and security are not necessarily indicated, for the presence of a father figure does not necessarily imply harmony and stability in a family. In fact, many father-centered homes spanning the race/class spectrum are plagued with wife and child abuse, incest, alcoholism and other deviant behavior that would certainly be more injurious to the positive development of a child than a matrifocal home, or one in which the father plays a peripheral role. Research cited in an earlier section of this paper reported that drug abuse was found to be highest among adolescents from stable homes with two-parent families, indicating a fundamental breakdown in family life that is not restricted to female-centred homes.

The importance of family stability in shaping the lives of the youth warrants a closer look at the influence of race, class, culture and economic power on Caribbean family structure. Perhaps what is needed is a focus change from the "problems" of "disorganized" low-income families to a clearer view of the practical strategies used by these economically disadvantaged groups in order to organize their survival and continuity. Such an approach could urge governments to recognize the economic importance of women, and accelerate measures to support and facilitate the economic



autonomy of women. Useful too, as a strategy for effecting a more stable and secure society, would be an analysis of the flexibility, adaptibility and creativity of lower-income economic strategies for the sharing and maximizing of resources, usually centered around indigenous economic traditions, e.g. *lou-lou*--the pooling and rotating of scarce resources, and *gayap*--cooperative, self-help, collective labour., and how these traditional strategies might serve as models for more relevant economic development policies in the English-speaking Caribbean.

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### Young Women

Young women in the English-speaking Caribbean remain the segment of the society most affected by all the dysfunctional aspects of the overall society. Rampant unemployment, inadequate educational preparation, a dearth of post-educational skills training, competition with men in a male-oriented labour market, social customs and attitudes that, under the pretence of the protection of women serve to limit and discourage full participation in the society's development, early pregnancies that impose the overwhelming responsibility of single parenthood in societies that lack the infrastructural systems to assist young unwed mothers and women as heads of households, all combine to make young Caribbean women the sector with the least alternatives and opportunities for improving their life chances.

Familial responsibilities that far outweigh the opportunities allowed by these male-dominated societies leave women unsuspecting and unwilling pawns in their day-to-day survival. This harsh reality can be dramatically evidenced by the countless reports of demands for sexual favours in order to obtain and retain employment. In Trinidad and Tobago, these reports, ironically, were most prevalent in connection with a Government-instituted programme especially designed to ease unemployment among lower-economic and unskilled groups. In an effort to address the rising unemployment in their societies, women in the Seventies became a significant factor of the "new immigration" which differed from older patterns in that men were overwhelmingly outnumbered by women, who often left behind established households, husbands, and children (Burgess and James-Gray: 1981). However, tighter immigration restrictions in the metropolitan countries have slowed this process.

The growing prevalence of drug abuse in the Caribbean presents specific problems for young women. In Trinidad and Tobago where drug abuse has reached near epidemic proportions, informal research reveals an increasing number of young women who resort to some of the more vulgar forms of prostitution in exchange for drugs. In fact, case histories document a growing number of women who are deliberately introduced to drugs in order that they might be forced into prostitution. In the Bahamas, and Barbados, growing prostitution has been linked to the influences of tourism. Young women from Guyana, Colombia and the Dominican Republic represent a rich source of prostitution "finds" for male-dominated international prostitution rings. In Grenada prostitution has allegedly also mushroomed and in Bermuda, high rates

of illiteracy were attributable to the "holiday atmosphere" generated by large-scale tourism, specifically the conspicuous consumption of alcohol by tourists (Manning: 1979).

An increasing challenge for young Caribbean women is that of teenage pregnancy, which data show occur disproportionately among low-income families. Thus teenage pregnancy is simultaneously a product of social circumstances and a contribution to these circumstances by helping to perpetuate the limited life chances of this group, and hampering the marital, social and emotional growth of both mother and child, while presenting a physical risk for both mother and child. Recent data show that for every Caribbean country, teenage pregnancies were higher thirty years ago than they are today, but have declined steadily in most countries, except Dominica, Jamaica, Montserrat and Saint Lucia. In these countries, rates increased in the Sixties, before declining below the 1950 rates in the Seventies. Still, adolescent fertility rates continue to be in the excess of 100 per 1,000 in most Caribbean countries, a figure that translates into an average of one in ten adolescents giving birth to a child every year. During 1980, these rates were as high as 120 in Guyana, 125 in Grenada, 133 in Jamaica, 143 in St-Kitts/Nevis, 157 in St. Lucia, and 164 in St. Vincent. In Trinidad and Tobago, the 1980 figure declined from 148 per 1,000 in 1950, to 85 per 1,000 (Jagdeo: 1984). Data do not reflect the fertility rate of women 17 years old and younger, a group that has a high fertility rate. However, data show that 60 percent of all first births in several Caribbean countries occur to teenagers, and 50 percent of these are to women 17 years old and under, an age group that is most susceptible to reproductive dangers: prolonged labour, cervical lacerations, caesarian sections and toxemia, as well as underweight and premature babies.

Table VII indicates that in Trinidad and Tobago, of total births for 1980, 47 percent were from young women between the ages 15 - 25. 38 percent of this group were mothers in the 15 to 19 age group, 69.2 percent of which had their first pregnancy, and 24 percent their second or more. Of this 24 percent, 5 of these young women had given birth to their fifth child. In 1981 the percentage of pregnancies in the 15 - 24 age group rose to 50.3 percent of the

TABLE VII

Youths birth statistics for Trinidad  
and Tobago: 1980 and 1981

	<u>Age group</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1981</u>
<b>Total births</b>		29,869	32,177
	15 - 19	5,356	5,688
	First pregnancy	3,708	3,950
	Second or more pregnancies	1,297	1,375
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	20 - 24	9,635	10,509
	First pregnancy	3,671	3,942
	Second or more pregnancies	3,113	3,494

Source: Vital Statistics Bulletin. Vol. 1, No.1, 1986:  
Central Statistical Office, Trinidad and Tobago

total birth rate. Pregnancies in the 15 to 19 age group amounted to 35 percent of total youth pregnancies, of which 69.4 percent had their first child. 24.2 percent of the same age group gave birth to a second or more child, and 15 of this same group had 5 children. In the 20 to 24 age group in 1981, first pregnancies represented 37.5 percent, a slight decline from the 38.1 percent for 1980. One woman in this age group had 10 children. In 1981, 90 children under age 15 became mothers, 5 for the second time. This figure represents an increase over the 73 mothers under age 15 in 1980, one of whom had 2 children. These figures all refer only to live births, and do not account for still births, abortions and miscarriages.

This pattern of high early pregnancies coincides with population trends for the English-speaking Caribbean, where young mothers account for upwards of 40 percent of all births. These alarming figures must be juxtaposed against the low mortality rate for the same age group. Of the 7,506 deaths in Trinidad and Tobago in 1980, only 117 or 1.5 percent occurred in the 15 to 19 age group; and 144 or 1.9 percent for the 20 to 24 age group. In 1981, deaths in the 15 to 19 age group numbered 115 or 1.6 percent of the total number of deaths, 7,355. Deaths in the 20 to 24 age range numbered 130 or 1.8 percent.<sup>8</sup> This low mortality profile for youths in Trinidad and Tobago holds for all the English-speaking Caribbean, except perhaps for Guyana. Socio-economic patterns indicate that these figures may well represent a predominance of single mothers, confirming the needs for urgent attention to high levels of female unemployment, as well as the need for pre and post-natal care, family planning, contraceptive counselling and day-care nurseries and centres.

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<sup>8</sup>Source: Vital Statics Bulletin. Vol.1, No.1, 1986  
Central Statistical Office, Port of Spain, Trinidad and Tobago

### Youth and Culture

The cultural identity or *nam* of the young people in the Caribbean is being threatened fundamentally. Its manifestations are the tremendous lack of self-confidence and self-identity, the lust to assume foreign cultural forms, expressions and images, and the simultaneous derogation of indigenous cultural traditions. This is hardly a new pattern. It is behavior inherited from a long sordid history of enslavement, indentureship and colonialism, and post-colonial strategies to eradicate this legacy have failed to take into account both the length of the process and the depth of its damage. In an earlier section titled SOCIAL AND CULTURAL FRAMEWORK, some of the theories advanced in the analysis of Caribbean societies were mentioned, and it is to these I wish to now turn for a look at Caribbean youth and their cultural environment.

Each of these theories posited the significance of race, class and culture in the cultural growth and development of Caribbean society, the cultural dualism concept positing the co-existence of two competing contradictory streams of culture, one African, the other European, and with the values of unity and group solidarity associated with the African culture, and the more individualized status-driving values associated with European culture. A recurrent theme in all these theories, however, is the negative values attached to the African and African-derived cultural traditions, nurtured during the period of enslavement and colonialism, and persisting in the national consciousness of these post-colonial societies. It remains a source of grave cultural bankruptcy for all of these English-speaking Caribbean nation states, since the persistent discreditation and subordination of pervasive Africanisms has spawned a psychological discrediting of self. This self-negation permits the easy acceptance and adoration of foreign attitudes, values, behaviour and images in a blind quest for a facile replacement of the discredited self.

The process is subtle and unconscious, yet it is apparent in those Caribbean nation-states where African-derived populations visibly predominate, as it is in Trinidad and Tobago, where ethnic diversity and complex admixtures facilitate the process of self-denial. Racial differences seem to have assumed less overt importance to Trinidadian youth than it continues to have for their parents. However, the continued denial of self has fostered a cultural vacuum that leaves youth vulnerable to the promoters and marketers of a foreign ethos.

For Rex Nettleford (1970) "the ignorance of self and the conditioning process leading to acceptance of this lack of perspective are recurrent themes in all black Caribbean life." Inherent in this process of self-recognition and self-acceptance must be the recognition, acknowledgment and acceptance of Africa's physical and cultural presence, an action which the English-speaking Caribbean still finds difficult to make. Trinidad's calypsonian Chalkdust (Hollis Liverpool) has immortalized in song this difficulty of Afro-Trinidadians.

"For hear them boast  
to their friends and their neighbour  
My baby's nose  
from his Spanish grandfather  
My grandmother  
married a Chinee named Lau  
That is why he face so pretty  
and he have such thick eyebrow.  
He dimple come from mih husband side  
whose grandfather was Irish,  
And watch how the eyes pretty  
and wide, cause mih mother mixed  
with British  
And watch at me,  
I'm Carib and Portugese  
So mih child hair curly.  
But the baby black down to the eye ball  
They ain't see Africa at all, at all  
The baby black like a Voodoo doll  
They ain't see Africa at all."

This calypso contribution for 1983 clearly indicates that for Trinidad and Tobago at least, the task of cultural decolonization did not address the physical and cultural reality of a large majority of its population. An old Jamaican proverb, "every John Crow tink him pickney white,"<sup>9</sup> indicates a similar posture in Jamaica. The growth of Rastafarianism in Jamaica and its dread reminder of the indelible links with Africa is an expression of the resistance of young Afro-Jamaicans to the continued dominance of Europe over Africa. The spread of Rastafarianism among youths throughout the Caribbean to Antigua, Dominica, Trinidad and Tobago, etc. attests to the need to dramatically and defiantly express links with Africa, which had been ignored after Independence. While the notion of "creolization" attempted to address the validity of an indigenous culture, inherent in the notion is not the mere blending of the

<sup>9</sup> The literal translation is that no matter how dark-skinned one is, there's the feeling that one's offspring (pickney) is not also black, or at least as black. A broader application refers to the notion that despite one's low socio-economic status, one's offspring has access to better life chances. The salient point in every interpretation, however, is the superior status attached to whiteness.

two cultural streams, but a blending that perpetuated the perceived superiority of European culture and the perceived inferiority of African culture. Consequently, the search for new models for shaping Caribbean culture and nationhood concentrated on an outward-looking thrust that imported alien cultural values to be held up as worthy of emulation. Looking inward would have initiated a confrontation with self and with an Africa that was difficult to face and impossible to exorcise.

It is this cultural scenario that Caribbean youth have inherited. It is a scenario that has nurtured and has been nurtured by a psychological, cultural and economic dependence, and spawned a crop of "Afro-Saxons" who still rely on external sources for defining and legitimatizing their identity. Lacking the self-confidence to acknowledge and appreciate their own art, culture, beliefs and approaches to life, young people--with the tacit agreement and subtle direction from their leaders--have turned outside for self-acknowledgment, self-definition, and self-validation. Their heroes are Michael Jackson, Prince, and Madonna; culinary tastes are geared to pizzas and a range of North American fast foods. Musical preferences--aided and abetted by radio stations which minimize the playing of local music--have little to do either lyrically or musically with the rhythms and concerns of their native countries. The fashion influence is direct, immediate and unadulterated. In 90 degrees-in-the-shade humidity of their tropical climes, youth can be seen sporting leather jackets, wool sweaters, and knee-high leather boots suitable for North American winters.

Harmless though they might seem, these signals are mere outward manifestations of a deeper eradication and contempt of self, history and culture. It has brought about a cultural alienation that has invited and feted the lack of commitment and confidence youth show in the development of these Caribbean societies which so desperately need the in-put and participation of their youth. These young people cannot be blamed entirely, since their involvement has neither been aggressively sought, nor dutifully encouraged as an imperative of the development process. Because they have not been presented with their own heroes, a recognition and appreciation of their own culture and history and a validation of their existence, they have sought their cultural



moorings in other harbours. More confusing and discouraging for populations which comprise large percentages of visibly African-derived peoples, is the persistent correlation between recognition and adherence to indigenous African-derived cultural traditions--particularly in the religious sphere, the area in which African retentions have been proven to be the least diluted--and poverty, dispossession and low socio-economic status. For culture has been so vested with economic, social and political significance, that European cultural influences have remained synonymous with high status and the association of African-derived culture with low social and economic status has persisted.

Cultural dependency and economic dependency are so mutually reinforcing, that to minimize or ignore the centrality of the cultural dynamic in the development process, as most of the English-speaking Caribbean countries have done, is to have made a false start. Some of the larger Caribbean nations have made commendable attempts at integrating the dynamics of politics, culture and economics. Guyana's policies of self-reliance have dictated experimentation and discovery of an entire range of indigenous foods, and encouraged the development of an exciting range of products in pottery, wood, textiles, etc. Very early in its post-colonial history, Jamaica developed and implemented a fully spelled-out cultural policy. Consequently, Jamaica can easily be considered the English-speaking Caribbean country with the most highly evolved sense of nationalism, this in spite of the tremendous political, social and economic challenges which that country is continuing to experience. Even though Jamaica, particularly because of its proximity to the United States, is also exposed to real threats of cultural imperialism, it remains well-grounded in its indigenous culture and traditions, with a highly advanced industry of cultural products.

A cultural policy for Trinidad and Tobago has still not been well-articulated. Hence the full birth of a true national identity and culture has been aborted even before its conception. Lacking is the cultural will for seeking viable solutions to unemployment through the establishment of industries based on indigenous art forms: steelband factories, recording

industries, food processing, etc., or for capitalizing on expanding markets for medicinal teas, herbs and aromatic spices. These and other opportunities have been doomed to remain mere talking points as youth become unemployed and addicted to alien cultural values. The creation of training schools in the arts is another vehicle for both reinforcing an indigenous culture and providing solutions to severe economic problems. Such culturally-focussed projects could generate self-employment for artists, wood carvers, steelband tuners, etc. Local furniture industries could employ and train youth, not only in its creative development, but in managing and marketing functions. While there are some token ventures in some of these areas, there does not exist the aggressive thrust needed to stimulate the development and successful implementation of old ideas, nor to inspire more creative innovations.

The role of the media in preserving and promoting a national culture and identity, and in defending national and regional cultural and political sovereignty cannot be overemphasized. The impact of the media on the minds of young nationals bears a tremendous responsibility and obligation in the shaping and directing of attitudes, tastes and priorities. Yet the media in the English-speaking Caribbean figure preeminently among the serious adversaries to the forging of a national culture and a regional identity. More dangerous than the irrelevant and counter-productive images forced on the minds of the young is the repeated failure to provide outlets for self-expression, creativity, and by extension, self-validation. More difficult to reverse is the stifling of the energy and forces that fuel this process of self-validation. Instead of employing young people in the creation of products that reflect their own environment and life experiences for local education and entertainment, a steady diet of canned foreign productions is forced into the consciousness of unsuspecting Caribbean youth. Ironically, while Afro-Americans reject the inanity of television programmes which neither reflect, project, nor seriously address their lifestyles, and while both black and white Americans protest the gruesome violence entering their homes under the guise of entertainment, Caribbean youth, through their state-owned media, are readily exposed to these lifestyles.

The danger of television is the very nature of the medium, which in its projection of exact images, leaves little room for imagination. Consequently, Caribbean youth are more current with affairs of New York, Los Angeles and Dallas, than the festivals, customs and endangered traditions of their own countries. Television advertising, both local and foreign, remains unsurpassed in its projection of beauty standards that, at best, are at variance with the physical composition of the populace, and at worst, perpetuate the racist perceptions of the colonial period. Sophisticated communications technology which now enable Caribbean countries to directly receive American television stations seriously threaten the ability of Caribbean youth to shape their views of their world and of themselves. The president of the Caribbean Publishing and Broadcasting Association (CPBA) recently declared a concern that foreign unregulated domination of Caribbean airwaves must be viewed as a threat to the region's political stability and culture. (Daily Express:4/19/86).

It is in this environment that young people in the English-speaking Caribbean struggle for a self-identity, which they were led to believe would emerge with Independence, and a national culture and identity. One that would, in its prioritizing of nation building, re-establish new attitudes to work, race, class, religion, beauty, etc. One that would, out of necessity and commitment, corral the talents of all its citizens, and by design, ensure total participation and integration of its youth in the express purpose of utilizing all its human resources. It is this right which young people were led to believe was theirs, and which now appears to have been abrogated by the myopic vision of their elders.

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## RESEARCH FINDINGS

The preceding pages gave an overview of some of the major problems of youth in the English-speaking Caribbean. While confident that they reflect the special challenges of today's youth, it was felt that no survey of youth could even pretend to be complete without giving young people a chance to represent themselves. The need to give youth an opportunity to speak for themselves was considered even more urgent, since one of the underlying themes of this study is the limited extent to which the age group being studied is permitted to participate, become involved in and comment on the development of their societies. It was thought, too, that despite the small sample size possible in the limited research period, even a small quantity of responses would help to confirm or deny some of the challenges outlined earlier in this report, and could provide evidence of new challenges of which the researcher was not aware. Thus, despite time constraints and unavailability of research funds, an attempt was made to get the views of young people in Trinidad. Tobago was not represented among the sample size.

The research survey was conducted between March 27th and May 9th 1986. It reflects no locational specificity. Because the period given for research and writing was extremely brief, the interviewing period and process would be, of necessity, brief. In addition, in order to attract immediate and complete participation of those approached, the research questionnaire was deliberately designed to minimize the amount of personal information, and to deal directly with the two relevant issues, to which it was felt young people would readily respond. No attempt was made to identify race, colour, religion or level of educational attainment, factors which admittedly are important in their ability to indicate the extent to which life chances of youth are determined by these criteria, but which, because of the research method employed, may have caused some embarrassment or suspicion and hindered the research process.

What follows, therefore, are the results of an unscientific research, conducted on an unrestricted random sample. Information, therefore, should be accepted for its qualitative value, its coincidence with facts presented before, and a demonstration of the need to execute a more comprehensive study in each of the English-speaking Caribbean countries. Despite the overwhelming similarities

of these nations, there are unique differences, such as duration and nature of the colonial rule, ethnic composition, size of population, dominant economic activity, importance of tourism, etc., which, if examined within the contextual framework of each nation state, could contribute greatly to research on the nature and extent of the integration and participation of youth in these societies. In addition, comparative analysis between the small and large Caribbean nation states could make an important contribution to the body of rural/urban studies, and could provide invaluable guidance in the formation of policies and the development of youth-focussed programmes.

The study was conducted among 28 adolescents between the ages of 14 and 28. Respondents were selected randomly, and asked to complete the research questionnaire. As can be seen from the sample form which appears as an appendix on page 74, the questions were open questions and did not pre-condition a particular response. The sample comprised 15 females and 13 males. Except for 4 men and 4 women who said they were lower-income, the remainder, or 71.4 percent were middle-income. The sample represented an urban group, only 12 coming from semi-urban, but not rural areas. Of the 15 females who completed the questionnaire, 10 were employed, primarily in unskilled and semi-skilled positions. One, however, was a librarian, and 5 students, one of whom was a married post-graduate university student. Only 2 were unemployed. Of the 13 men, all were employed in skilled and semi-professional occupations, except 5 who were students. Even for this small sample, the 2 unemployed women to the 0 unemployed men, and the more promising employment profiles of the young men agree with known facts of the higher unemployment rates for women and better occupational opportunities for men throughout the region.

The data from the research support the findings of this paper that unemployment and drug abuse rank high among the major problems of youth in Trinidad and Tobago, and perhaps by extension, in the English-speaking Caribbean. However, although the overwhelming majority of the sample recognized unemployment and drug addiction as major problems, only a small number listed either of these two problems first. Their primary concerns were breakdown in communication with parents; lack of communication with government leaders, lack of direction,

and feelings of general disorientation and inability to cope with society. Thus, the view of unemployment and drugs as effects of a much larger problem, not as the root cause, bears out the thesis of this paper that the problems of youth in the Caribbean are symptomatic of a much more deeply-rooted problem that is linked to the development strategies of these post-colonial societies that perpetuated, if not increased, economic and cultural dependence and internal social and economic inequalities.

Interestingly, only 4 of the respondents saw family instability as problematic. Three of the sample--all women--listed teenage pregnancy as a concern, underscoring the distinct impression that young men tend to disassociate themselves from the responsibilities of early pregnancies, resulting in greater trauma, hardship and loss of opportunities for young women. Among other problems cited were: lack of appreciation and acknowledgment of the potential contribution of young people; inequality and inadequacy of educational opportunities; lack of career, family planning and other counselling services; lack of recreational facilities and opportunities for community involvement; resentment of the elders of young professionals; lack of self-confidence, knowledge of race, culture and indigenous art forms; improper use of the media; the prevalence of-U.S. influence; and illiteracy.

The second question attempted to elicit from young people recommendations for solutions to these perceived problems. A large number of responses suggested guidance counselling in and out of schools for career, social, psychological and emotional problems, especially with respect to contraception and family planning. A small number even recommended counselling for parents on "how to be parents", the importance of early discipline, and the need to establish and maintain easy two-way communication with their offspring. Some of the interviewees saw solutions to youth problems rooted in a more open and honest dialogue with business and government officials, religious leaders and community activists. They intimated their impressions that, because these leaders did not themselves fully appreciate the value of the contribution young people could and should make, they were unequipped to communicate to young people the significance of their role as future leaders of the country, and to keep them aware and involved in the affairs of their country and their world.

Most of the interviewees concentrated on solutions to existing unemployment problems for youth. They saw the need for aggressive government intervention in order to constantly identify skill gaps and match educational qualification and training with manpower needs. They saw, too, the need to increase employment opportunities through new and more effective policy measures, including population planning, and to augment employment possibilities through trade apprenticeships, work-study programmes, government assistance for self-employment and the establishment of youth-owned businesses. It was also felt that government awareness and acknowledgment of the potential contribution of young people could heighten employers' trustworthiness and appreciation of youth and could serve to enhance the relationship between private industry and young people, and discourage discrimination in terms of recruitment, remuneration and promotions.

Solutions to drug abuse were linked to the maximizing of educational and employment opportunities, and the availability of training centres, recreation facilities and other constructive programmes to encourage a more productive use of free time. Community social work was seen as one avenue for initiating youth participation and instilling early responsibility and commitment to the overall society over individualized goals. In addition, it was felt that serious attempts should be made at the highest levels to decrease the availability of drugs, particularly with reference to drug trafficking and drug peddling. An increased proliferation of anti-drug programmes was highly recommended.

The development of programmes in literature, creative arts, sports, developmental sciences and culture was seen as having a multiple value effect in combatting drugs, as well as creating employment opportunities and providing important education about indigenous history and culture, with a view to strengthening self-confidence and self-identity and minimizing the more negative influences of the metropolitan countries. Such programmes were perceived as important in "creating a greater sense of awareness, feelings, commitment and determination with an understanding of the problems facing young people of today and those of the future," in the words of one respondent. Within this context, television, films, radio, books and magazines, though viewed as a potentially valuable source of education for young people, were accused of miseducating young people and contributing significantly to the prevailing negative self-perception of youth.

Again, these research findings are not meant to be conclusive. Yet the information presented is useful and instructive, since it represents the first-hand reactions and responses of young people to their social, cultural, economic and political environment. If anything, the research underscores the need for a deeper insight into the motivations and aspirations of young people in each of the Anglophone Caribbean nation states. In addition to the specific value to the policy-planning and implementation of each of these nation states, a comparative analysis of these various studies could be extremely valuable in helping to understand and assess the impact of current regional developmental strategies on today's youth, and the preparation needed for future generations.

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## SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This paper focusses on the centrality of culture in the development process. It advances the notion that embedded in the cultural dynamic is the energy and force of self-legitimization that is required for the creative reconstruction of new self-images and a new national and cultural identity. The cultural process is perceived as a pivotal ingredient in the development process, with critical influence on social and economic strategies for national reconstruction. The paper hypothesizes that herein lies the major failure of English-speaking Caribbean societies and cites the plight of youth in the English-speaking Caribbean as major evidence of this failure.

The paper draws on preliminary research conducted in Trinidad and Tobago to point to the primacy of a general alienation and confusion as the root cause of youth problems, which also applies to youth in other English-speaking Caribbean nations. This general alienation of youth is linked to the ineffectiveness of post-Independent development strategies, which, in spite of constitutional Independence, continue to perpetuate social, economic, cultural and psychological dependence. The specific failure to provide positive self-images rooted in a national culture and identity has placed youth in a cultural vacuum, and left them wide open for disorientation, destabilization and a host of other counterproductive forces, of which drug addiction, unemployment, teenage pregnancy and cultural imperialism are only a few.

It is the hypothesis of this paper that the exclusion or de-emphasis of cultural development as an imperative in developmental planning undergirds the elusiveness of a national identity, which in turn allows to persist the supremacy of individual material gains over positive collective achievement and solidarity and the reinforcement of social and economic stratification. This failing encourages the pervasive existence of "crab antics", an analytical concept used by Peter Wilson to describe the dynamics of social life on the tiny English-speaking island of Providencia, and which Wilson proposes as representative of the social dynamics in all of the English-speaking Caribbean. The social dynamics of "crab antics" can be subsumed under another theoretical

concept, that of "cultural dualism" which also identifies two co-existing and contradictory belief or value systems inherent in Caribbean social structure. Wilson labels these value systems "reputation" and "respectability" and perceives them as interlocking principles of social behaviour, though representing opposing values. "Respectability" fuels the drive towards stratification, while "reputation" encourages the more relevant and indigenous tendency towards equality.

The cultural dualists see an equally dialectic relationship between the two contradictory value systems of European and African origin, which continue to coexist in the Caribbean psyche, are played out in day-to-day negotiations, and which affect and are reflected in developmental planning and implementation. While the European value system promotes individuality and status-driving, inherent in the African-derived value system are dynamics that foster group identity, group continuity and group survival, unifying ideals which this paper posits are main ingredients to be integrated into Caribbean developmental planning. It is this cultural imperative that post-colonial development plans for the English-speaking Caribbean fail to include, thereby vivifying a European dynamic that encourages stratification and "crab antics" and reinforces, not the unifying forces of an indigenous national culture, but the divisiveness, competition and rivalry of the colonial period.

It is from this perspective that the development and participation of Caribbean youth are viewed, its challenges analyzed, and recommendations offered. Employment, a major regional concern for Caribbean youth, is viewed within the context of the importance of occupation as a significant factor in social mobility, not as an opportunity to contribute to the overall achievement of the society for the amelioration of the entire community. Thus a whole set of decisions about who works, what work is done, and where it is done are executed, not within the context of the impact made on the group, but based on individual decisions that are tied to one's relationship with the society, one's personal ambitions, and one's access to the "contact system" that assists in the materializing of these personal goals. The continued de-emphasis of agriculture falls within this analytical mold, since agriculture still conveys a connection with the land and a distinct distance from the "collar and tie" world of urban administration that is perceived as embodying higher social status values.

Education is similarly viewed as playing a major role in the continuing process of social stratification, not as the mechanism for fostering and promoting relevant cultural values. Thus education remains in clear contradiction of its post-colonial mandate to provide a new indigenous ideology and national identity that emphasize equality as an ideal. The media have been cited as playing a significant role in the continued miseducation of the youth of the Caribbean, and the nurturing of a cultural dependency on the metropolitan countries. However, since most of the media are state-owned, it becomes evident that well-articulated and stringently implemented cultural policies are needed to establish self-acknowledgment and self-appreciation, bolster self-confidence, and reinforce self-identity, if truly indigenous cultures, the centrifugal force of any developmental plans, are to emerge and thrive in these new societies.

The paper registers concern for the lack of attention given to the importance of the role of women, since women, as the primary preservers and transmitters of culture are directly linked to the shaping of the society through functions of child rearing and socialization. The startling figures of female unemployment--which doubles and near triples figures for male unemployment in some English-speaking Caribbean countries--demand urgent action, especially in light of the prevalence of female headed households as a phenomenon of the Caribbean family structure. High incidences of teenage pregnancies and low mortality rates among youth draw attention to the urgency of providing educational, training and employment opportunities for young women--and eliminating the traditional sex bias in all these areas--as a means of ensuring their economic independence. More importantly, women and youth are seen as important contributors to the developing post-colonial Caribbean, and their continued marginalization as representing counter-productive and anti-social forces.

Youths' assessment of their problems as centering around the lack of faith in the leadership of adults and lack of communication with parents are perceived as results of development strategies which do not incorporate as an important component the integration and participation of all segments of its society, and bring about the alienation of young people. Divisiveness, competition and rivalry in social relationships characterized the relationship between older established professionals and young educated professionals, who felt that rather than being allowed opportunities for making meaningful contributions, they were deemed to be threatening, as not having fully paid their dues, as having things "too easy," and "expecting too much too soon."

Widescale drug abuse and drug addiction are registered as a regional problem of alarming proportions. The increase in crime, delinquency and vagrancy are seen as linked to the wide abuse of drugs, and requiring the urgent assistance of both public and private sector funding and technical assistance to eradicate the impending threat of the sacrificing of a whole generation of Caribbean youth to drugs and its related hazards. The promotion of positive local models and heroes, and the cultivation of a potent indigenous culture that places equal value on the African, Indian and other elements of the indigenous culture complex were submitted as essential to an increased self-confidence and heightened self-esteem, and effective antidotes to drug abuse.

#### Recommendations

- 1). The fact that young people represent a major force in the social, economic, political and cultural transformation of these changing societies, supports the urgent need for the placement of youth as an analytical category, along with health, education, agriculture, etc., in all developmental planning, implementation and evaluation.
- 2). Current limited participation of youth prioritizes the need for increased involvement of youth, particularly through the inclusion of qualified youth in positions of power, e.g. boards of state enterprises, Government planning committees, national cooperative efforts, trade missions, etc., where both Government and society could benefit from 'unjaded' innovative thinking, and where youth could have an active role in the direction and growth of the society.
- 3). The inclusion of a cultural component as central to Caribbean developmental planning. Recommended, therefore, are well-articulated cultural policies that promote "indigenization" as opposed to "creolization" as pivotal to the inward-looking process in which all developmental planning should be grounded. Such policies should be reviewed frequently with a view to ensuring effective, consistent implementation and immediate application to all spheres: education, agriculture, the media, employment, tourism, health, housing, and technological development. Significant emphasis

must be placed on group solidarity over self-centered individualism in the interest of forging a national identity and commitment and inspiring national responsibility. At this fundamental level specific attention must be directed towards the eradication of Eurocentrism and ensure the emergence of an indigenous culture that places equal value on the African, Indian and other elements of the indigeneous culture complex.

- 4). The formation of cultural policies could be greatly enhanced by regional collaboration and cooperation for cultural exchange programmes, designed to expose the talents of youth.
- 5). A truly effective process of cultural indigenization requires concerted efforts to increase the awareness of the value of the cultural contributions made by Africans and East Indians throughout the Caribbean. This paper takes the position that embedded within the cultural traditions of both groups lies the *force vitale* for cementing diverse ethnic groups and creating a national spirit and ethos that more accurately reflect the realities of these developing nations, and hence are more suitably equipped to cope with the threats to unity, self-confidence, and self-acceptance and to aid the continuing process of cultural decolonization.
- 6). The cooperation of United Nations agencies--UNECLAC, UNESCO, ILO, WHO (PAHO), FAO, UNICEF and UNIDO--on a joint project for the promotion of youth participation in Caribbean development. Such a project, however, must include the cultural process as a developmental imperative.<sup>10</sup>
- 7). The establishment of a National Youth Service emerges as another developmental imperative. Whether pre-university or post-university, a National Youth Service should make compulsory a one or two-year training

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<sup>10</sup>I am indebted to UNECLAC consultant Dr. Pedro Herrera-Molina for this recommendation.

programme for all youth before entering the work force. Such a Youth Service would provide the opportunity for Governments to educate and socialize young nationals into their responsibilities and obligations to the society, while training young people for productive roles. By this action Governments would be forced to acknowledge the existence of young people as valuable, productive resources and would thus be committed to ensuring their full participation and integration into the society. In addition, a National Youth Service would prove fertile ground for instilling national pride, culture, social values and expectations that are the necessary ingredients for enhancing group solidarity, commitment and responsibility. A Youth Service of this nature could utilize elderly and retired nationals, both in providing training in specific fields and in sharing experiences and knowledge. More importantly, the exchange between old and young could encourage a sense of history, respect for elders, and an ability to examine the past in order to seek guidance and direction for the future.

- 8). Establishment of cultural programmes, utilizing performing, visual and literary arts, folklore, and handicraft to provide more effective use of leisure time among youth, and to foster, at the same time, knowledge and appreciation of indigenous culture.
- 9). Athletics programmes should also be encouraged, although the physical fitness, mental alertness, disciplinary and character-building aspects of sports should be given priority over competition.
- 10). Aggressive educational, employment and training programmes are required for women and youth. Special attention should be directed to the employment needs of rural youth in order to stem urbanization and the conversion of rural unemployment into urban unemployment and underemployment. The private sector must be incorporated in the search for viable solutions to the employment problems of women and youth.
- 11). The production of cultural products for local use and for export invites a range of possibilities for employment and economic growth, particularly among low-income groups, the groups with the least employment possibilities

and the groups which have historically been the well-spring of a vibrant indigenous culture.

- 12). The growth of an indigenous technology utilizing the skills of youth should also be explored. In this vein Government and Business should cooperate to encourage and give financial support to Young Inventors Programmes.
- 13). The restoration of historical sites and vernacular buildings must be given priority as part of the process of documenting and preserving national history and reinforcing national identity.
- 14). Increased involvement and participation of women as policy-planners and decision-makers, in addition to being represented throughout the ranks of the employment force.
- 15). The magnitude of drug abuse requires a regional approach to drug prevention, drug treatment and the elimination of drug trafficking. It requires the combination of Government and private sector funding and expertise to design and implement programmes, including drug education and drug awareness programmes for adults as well as for the youth. Such programmes must consider solutions to drug-related problems such as delinquency, vagrancy, mental illness, etc. The need for half-way housing and stricter anti-drug legislation and enforcement demands urgent attention.
- 16). Discussions involving drug prevention must dwell on the role models provided by some Caribbean leaders, especially in light of repeated allegations and rumours of the drug connections of high Government officials in The Bahamas, Jamaica, and Trinidad and Tobago, and the arrest and conviction of high Government officials from the Turks and Caicos Islands. The elevation of moral, spiritual and human values over material possessions remains the responsibility of post-colonial Caribbean leaders, and cannot be separated from developmental objectives, since they influence the development of young nationals who must be involved not only in the present, but in the future direction and indeed in the destiny of the Caribbean.

- 17). Ensuring the development of tourism within a culture-focussed environment for both tourist and host populations. Utilizing tourism to promote internal tourism and enhance national pride.
- 18). Utilization of the media--particularly television--in providing information and education as well as entertainment, with content emphasis on local and regional history and culture, and focussing on youth as major target audiences.
- 19). Extending the study of youth to the wider Caribbean in order to compare and contrast the conditions of youth in the Anglophone and non-Anglophone Caribbean.

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UNECLAC Questionnaire on youth study

27 March 1986

Age: \_\_\_\_\_ Sex: \_\_\_\_\_ Single/Married: \_\_\_\_\_ Children: \_\_\_\_\_

Address: (Town only) \_\_\_\_\_

Occupation: \_\_\_\_\_

Student: (Name of School) \_\_\_\_\_

Interests: \_\_\_\_\_

Ambition: \_\_\_\_\_

1. Are you: Upper income? lower income? middle income?
2. What do you think are the major problems of young people today?

(a) \_\_\_\_\_

(b) \_\_\_\_\_

(c) \_\_\_\_\_

(d) \_\_\_\_\_

(e) \_\_\_\_\_

3. What do you think should be done about these problems?

(a) \_\_\_\_\_

(b) \_\_\_\_\_

(c) \_\_\_\_\_