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POVERTY AND SOCIAL INTEGRATION IN THE CARIBBEAN

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POVERTY AND SOCIAL INTEGRATION IN THE CARIBBEAN

Introduction

This document will examine major indicators that impinge on the issue of poverty, the analysis of which relates to problems of social integration of all members of society in the Caribbean. In its preparation, use has been made not only of the most recently available data, but also of data relevant to previous periods, such as to detect trends of social development in terms of poverty and the direction of the process of social integration.

Several studies have been undertaken for the purpose of assessing poverty and developing strategic plans for its reduction. However, few have been undertaken for the purpose of determining which groups are not really integrated into society's development and the reasons why this occurs. Therefore, policies need to be put in place to foster social integration of all. The information provided here intends to contribute towards the realization of such a goal.

The level of poverty in a country is one of the key determinants of overall social conditions. In democratic societies, the wealth of a State is usually reflected in the well-being of its people, but this is not always the case. A country might have several positive economic indicators, while large segments of the population fall below the poverty line. Recent assessments of poverty undertaken in selected countries of the subregion found that 25 to 38 per cent of the population were in the poverty bracket.

Box 1
Poor population in selected countries
by year and agent of poverty assessment

Belize	33.0	1996	KAIRI
Grenada	32.1	1998	KAIRI
St. Lucia	25.1	1996	KAIRI
St. Vincent and the Grenadines	37.5	1996	KAIRI

(See Annex, Table I)

For each year since its publication, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Human Development Report ranks countries according to their state of human development. The index constructed is known as the Human Development Index (HDI). Table II shows the ranking position of selected Caribbean countries from 1990-1997, the years for which values and rankings have been calculated. Guyana and Haiti consistently rank highest and far above the rest of the Caribbean countries over the period, with Guyana slowly going down in rank and Haiti ranking higher each year up to 1995, after which the ranking lowers for the first time. The lowest ranking has been maintained by Barbados.

Box 2					
HDI ranking for selected CDCC					
countries					
	1990	1992	1994	1995	1997
Barbados	20	25	24	24	29
Guyana	105	105	104	100	99
Haiti	137	148	156	159	152
Trinidad and Tobago	31	39	40	40	46

(See Annex, Table II)

Poverty in the Caribbean is expressed in many ways, for example, in the weak status of the labour market, the status of vulnerable groups in society, poor health facilities for large portions of the population, poor efficiency and quality of social services (safe water supply, electricity, adequate housing), high income disparities, poor infrastructure in many countries and inadequate maintenance of same, crime and violence, shortcomings in matters of governance and social well-being, generally.

Equity is an issue for serious consideration in any exercise on poverty. In some countries the quality of social services differs according to social group and its geographical location in society. In one country, for example, improved economic conditions have allowed for some improvement in social services. However, such improvement has not taken place in deprived areas where large numbers of poor people are living.

This review of poverty in the Caribbean will examine the following indicators:

1. Infant mortality
2. Malnutrition
3. Communicable diseases
4. Employment and income
5. Education
6. Social services (water and sanitation, housing)
7. Natural Disasters

It will also pay some attention to crime and violence and the issue of illicit drugs, both as expressions of social deterioration in the context of poverty in Caribbean societies.

Infant mortality

Infant and child mortality rates are most significant indicators of poverty in a country. While the rate declined significantly in most Caribbean countries between 1950 and 1990, the period 1970-1997 shows fluctuations in some countries and an actual increase in the rates in Dominica, Guyana, St. Kitts/Nevis, Saint Lucia and Suriname in the second half of the 1990s. In eight out of the 14 Caribbean Development and Cooperation Committee (CDCC) countries for which data is available for the years 1994/1995 and 1997, the infant mortality rate per 1000 live births has increased over that period. Child mortality over the same comparative years has increased in six out of 13 countries for which the comparative data is available. (See Table III).

Scores above 58 for infant mortality appear in Guyana and Haiti and above 45 for child mortality appear in Belize, Dominican Republic, Guyana and Haiti.

Box 3 High Infant Mortality	
Guyana	59
Haiti	92

(See Annex, Table III)

Box 4 High Child Mortality	
Belize	46
Dom. Republic	53

(See Annex, Table III)

A broader look over several decades shows a significant decrease for all countries in the Caribbean and, with the exception of Grenada, the decreasing trend continued all the way to 1990. (See Chart and Table IV).

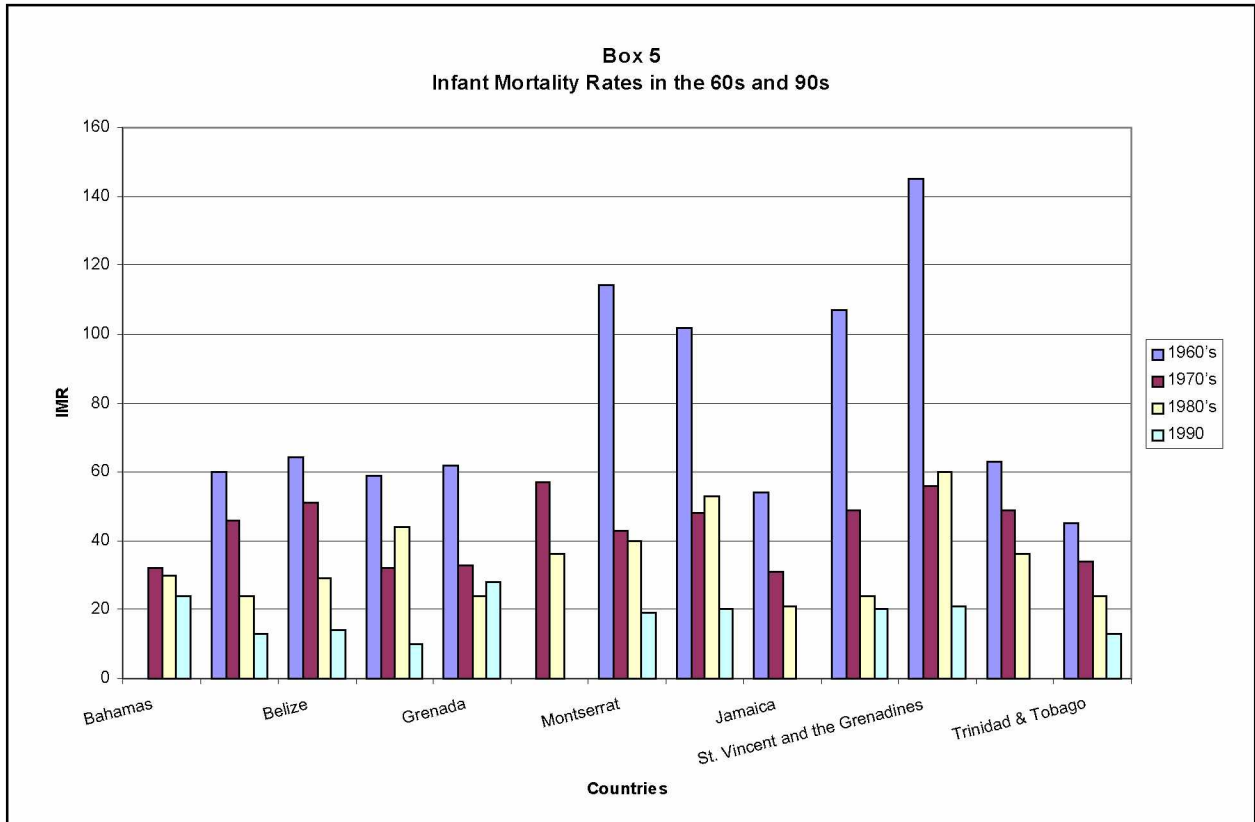
Amartya Sen¹ argues that "there is a very strong empirical connection between public and private investment and child mortality reduction. It is amply confirmed that investment in nutrition, immunization, child-care, etc. does dramatically reduce the rate of child mortality when it is high. Experiences have shown how very effective even rather small investments in these fields can be." (Sen, 1999).

Malnutrition and communicable diseases

Malnutrition and communicable diseases have long been recognized as a consequence of poverty. It is increasingly clear that it is also a cause. In some parts of the world, notably Latin America and East Asia, there have been dramatic gains in reducing child malnutrition. But overall, the absolute number of malnourished children worldwide has grown. There is a clear relationship between malnutrition and child mortality (United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), 2000). If a child is even mildly underweight, the mortality risk is increased. The World Health Organization (WHO) estimates that malnutrition was associated with over half of all child deaths that occurred in developing countries in 1995. Among various factors sharing the cause of child mortality, malnutrition is responsible for 55 per cent (UNICEF, 1998). An often unrecognized fact is that illness is frequently a consequence of malnutrition, which in turn is also commonly the result of illness. Little widespread recognition of such correlation leads to insufficient attention to the quality of food intake generally. More importantly, in terms of causes of poverty, it has also been established that widening income disparities, coupled with reductions in social protection, are having worrying effects on the nutritional well-being of children (UNICEF, 1998). Data on malnutrition, measured among under-fives, is calculated on the basis of data for underweight, wasting and stunting children in a country. Although the Caribbean remains far from the high figures in other developing countries, the trend from 1990 to 1998 indicates low percentages except for Antigua and Barbuda, Jamaica, Guyana and Haiti which

¹ Dr. Amartya Sen, Keynote Address, First Global Forum on Human Development, United Nations Headquarters, New York, 29-31 July 1999

countries register 10 per cent and more under-five children who are under the average weight for their age. (See Table V). Haiti is the only country in the Caribbean with an extremely high prevalence rate which compares to countries like, for example, Afghanistan, and Central, East and Southern Africa. In the Caribbean, Cuba presents a peculiar and positive case. While nutrition levels have declined significantly in the context of a shrinking economy since the breakup of the former USSR, Cuba has been able to survive nutrition-wise through putting food production on the priority list. (See Box 6).



Box 6**CUBA: BEST PRACTICE IN FOOD INSECURITY
1990 - 1998**

Cuba has seen its economy shrink and levels of undernourishment rise since losing its most important trading partner with the break-up of the former USSR. With much of its agriculture geared to producing commodities for export (primarily sugar and tobacco), Cuba has succeeded in reducing undernourishment to very low levels while relying on trade for more than half of its food.

With the end of Cuba's special trading relationship with the USSR, daily food intake dropped by more than 500 calories per person, mainly because of a steep decline in food imports. Yields for major food crops also dropped because of a lack of imported fertilizer, but Cuba managed to produce nearly comparable quantities by growing food on more land.

The economic decline has increased the number of people relying on subsidies while reducing productivity and food intake for many workers and their families. Continued restrictions on trade with the United States of America add to the country's economic difficulties.

Cuba's setback was accompanied by a rise in the share of undernourished people from 3 to 19 per cent.

Despite its recent problems, Cuba remains relatively prosperous and well-fed compared to other countries in the Caribbean and Central America. More than half the country's roads are paved and 95 per cent of the population have access to safe water.

Since 1993, the Cuban Government has given priority to increasing food production and restructuring industry. Signs have begun to emerge that the new economic model is taking hold and labour markets are recovering. But the transition process is far from complete.

Source: FAO, *The State of Food Insecurity in the World*, 1999

Communicable diseases have been fairly well controlled in the Caribbean, as appears from overall reported significant decline of morbidity due to communicable diseases over the period 1980-1994. (Pan American Health Organization (PAHO), 1997). This fact in itself relates to the overall decrease of poverty in the region. Also, generally, the countries have increased coverage of full immunization of children over the period 1981-1994. (See Table VI). HIV/AIDS, while not considered a traditional communicable disease, has been categorized as a "notifiable disease for special surveillance" in the Caribbean, given the dramatic trend of an increasing number of cases in the region. (See Table VII).

Another remarkable phenomenon is the fact that, while in the 1970s and 1980s the major cause of death in most Caribbean countries would be one disease or another, in the latter half of the 1990s accidents, specifically motor vehicle accidents and violence - mainly in young men - form the major cause of death in most countries of the region. (See Table VIII). While no data exist on the number of persons with disabilities in Caribbean countries, there is no estimate of

the prevalence of disability as a result of motor vehicle accident injuries and injuries caused by acts of physical violence either. It has been established though, that motor vehicle injury (MVI) death rates are two to five times higher in males than in females. (PAHO, 1997).

Employment and income

Employment and income indicators are genuine determining factors of a state of well-being and poverty. Employment is a major source of income. The World Summit for Social Development, Copenhagen, 1995 and its several follow-up sessions have emphasized the importance of employment in efforts towards the eradication of poverty. Five issues identified to meet the employment challenge include the centrality of employment in policy formulation; the importance of education and training in labour policies; enhanced quality of work and employment; enhanced employment opportunities for groups with specific needs, and a broader recognition and understanding of work and employment.

The moves towards the liberalization of world trade and other aspects of globalization presented challenges to the Caribbean in the 1990s. Policies regarding labour market or the labour force required negotiations with the social partners. Agreements and consensus are not concluded overnight and in fact are very difficult to obtain. The 1980s experienced much effort but small results. Barbados and Suriname managed a breakthrough for different, yet somewhat similar reasons. Seemingly external factors brought consensus to fruition. (See Box 7).

Box 7

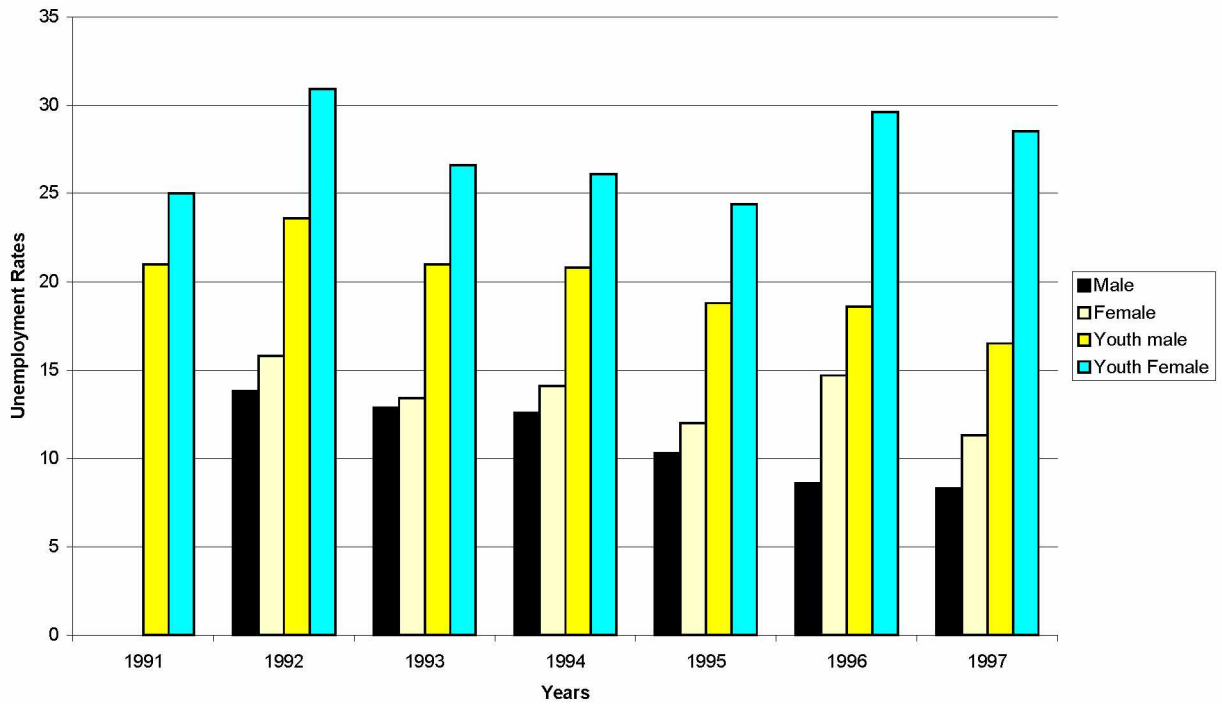
Consensus for labour market and labour force policies Barbados and Suriname

Conditions and factors at play for Social Pacts:

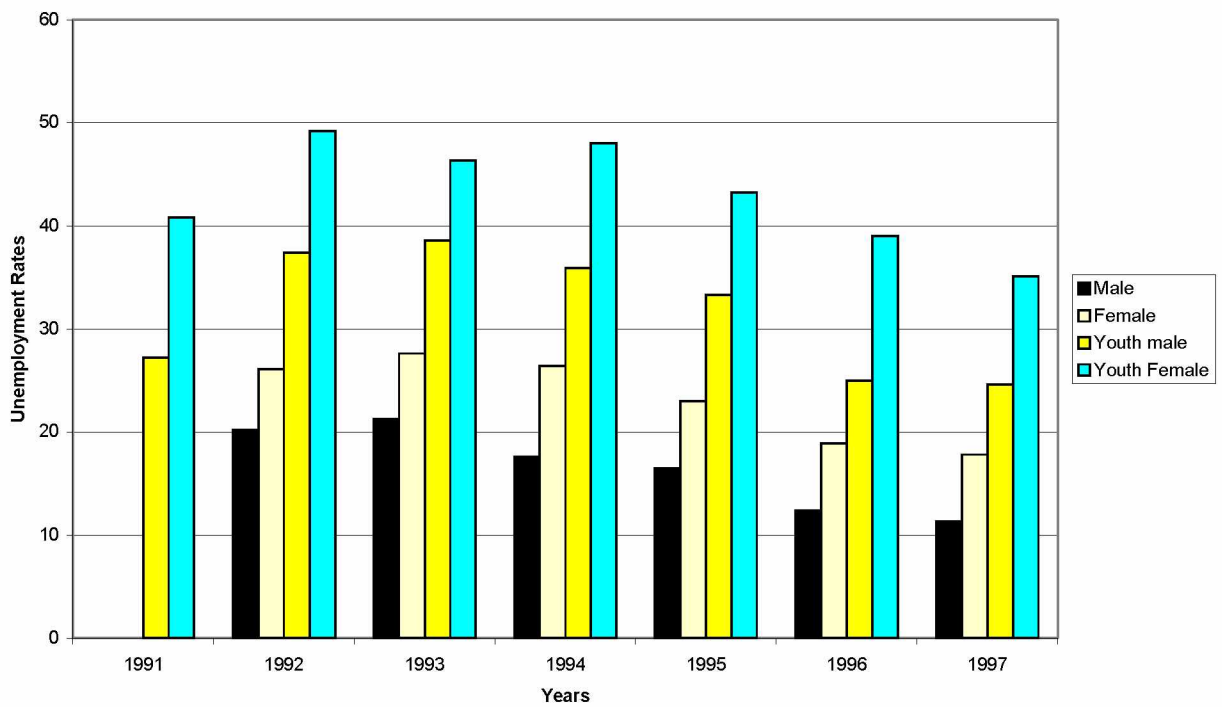
- Strong and influential Trade Union Movement.
- Balance of Payment difficulties and sizeable fiscal deficits.
- Implementation of a Structural Adjustment Programme with social consensus.
- Barbados concluded Social Pact with consensus and cooperation of social partners. Employers, Trade Unions and Government set specific targets for key economic issues, including, among others, an exchange rate regime, price stability, and real wages.
- The Suriname government included several members of the Trade Union Movement and the Labour Party, but a formal Social Pact was never concluded.
- Presence of the Trade Union Movement in government, however, signalled an atmosphere for cooperation.
- Targets for key economic issues (exchange rate regime, price stability, real wages, etc.), however, were not agreed upon in an open bargaining process.
- Discussion on adjustment policies diverged on the issue of the exchange rate regime in both countries.
- Barbados sought to provide stability during the process of stabilization, resulting in sustained growth.
- Suriname opted to float the currency, which led to an unmanageable fall of real wages, erosion of social protection systems and heavy contraction of social spending.

Source: ILO Globalization and Employment in the Caribbean, August 1999

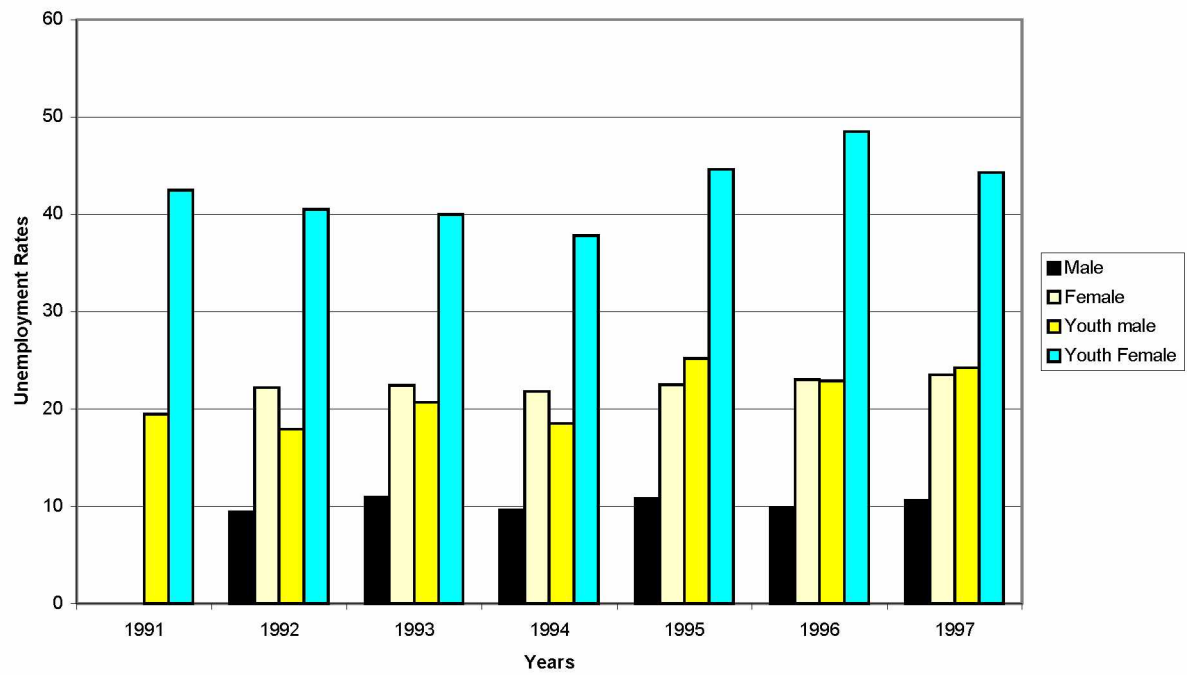
Box 8
Unemployment Rates in the Bahamas



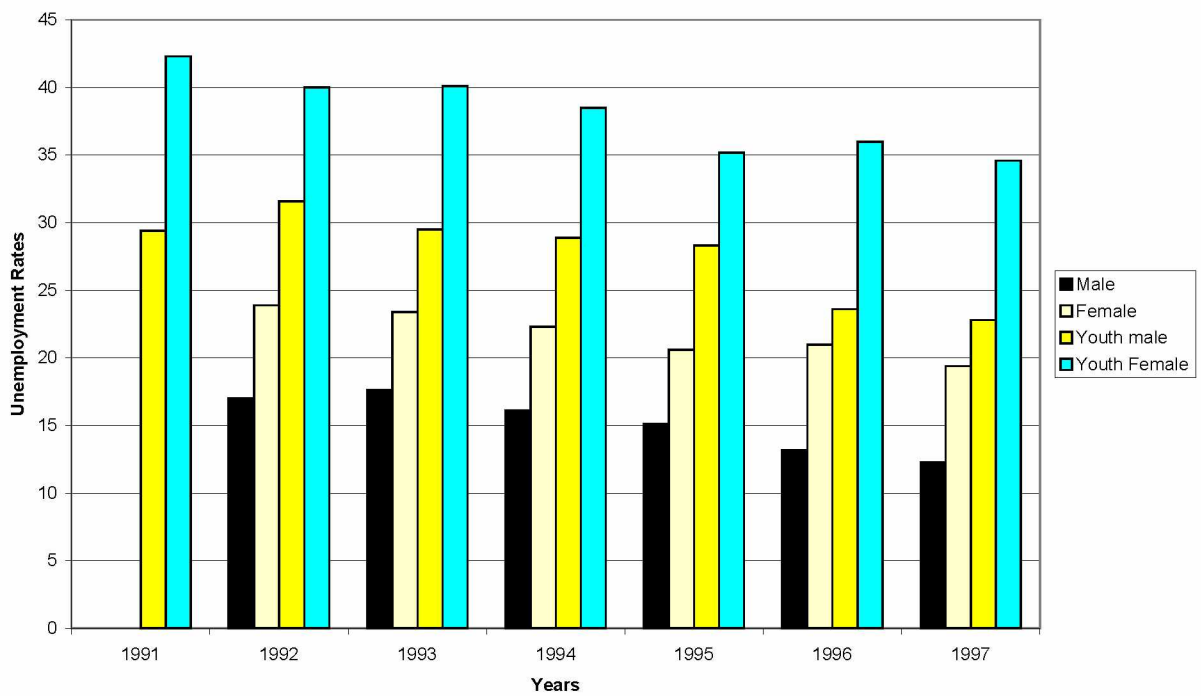
Box 9
Unemployment Rates in Barbados



Box 10
Unemployment Rates in Jamaica



Box 11
Unemployment Rates in Trinidad and Tobago



Over the past Decade most countries have seen an improvement in skills training for employment and income, more than was done in the past. Special training programmes, especially for people with specific needs, have been developed in several countries, for example the Youth Training and Employment Partnership Programme (YTEPP) in Trinidad & Tobago, the Human Employment and Resource Training Trust (HEART) in Jamaica, Social Impact Amelioration Programme (SIMAP) in Guyana, the "Fundashon pa Edukashon i Formashon di Fishi i Kapasitashon" (FEFFIK) in Curaçao, Netherlands Antilles, and the Agency for Rural Transformation Ltd. (ART) in Grenada and several other programmes in other countries, in which the changing needs of the labour market have started to be integrated into these systems. These efforts, if seriously geared towards the changing needs of the labour market and the growing knowledge-based work environment, are central for the subregion to keep up with globalization.

As another avenue to arrest poverty by having people working and employed, the thrust to promote micro and small enterprise has been embraced by many countries in the region. In the 1990s, support to micro, small and also to medium-sized enterprises has increased in many countries, not only by national governments but by international organizations and donor agencies, as well. There is much hope that the future will see its positive impact on the situation of poverty.

The data for the 1990s shows that levels of unemployment have fluctuated in most countries during the decade. Indeed, Table IX gives us a varied impression of the subregional situation regarding unemployment over a period of seven years. Among 12 Caribbean countries, Barbados appears with the highest rate of unemployment (23 per cent) in 1990. At the same time, Barbados maintained the second highest rate of decrease in the level of unemployment over the period 1993 – 1998. (See Chart and Table X). This is noteworthy and points perhaps to various factors, one of which may well be the question of good governance.

One outstanding feature is the persistent high level of youth unemployment and the high number of women among the unemployed. It should be noted though, that while female unemployment is high and higher than male unemployment in many countries, the female participation rate in the labour force has been consistently lower than male participation over the period 1992 - 1998. (See Chart and Table XI).

In some Caribbean countries, poverty has spread to include even people with jobs in the formal economy, often as a result of externally imposed structural adjustment measures from which governments could not abstain (Suriname, Jamaica, the Dominican Republic and most recently the Netherlands Antilles). Thus even the non-independent CDCC member countries have been affected in this way.

Many of the poor are employed in the informal sector and at the bottom levels of the agricultural sector. These people are often referred to as "the working poor", meaning that their work fails to provide an income from which they can live. Furthermore, some working people at the bottom of the wage scales (clerks, unskilled office assistants, drivers, messengers, teachers and nurses) in the formal economy have become the so-called "new poor" as their poverty is the consequence of erosion of real wages. In the second half of the 1980s and right through the

1990s this situation has affected these segments of the workforce in Guyana, Jamaica, Suriname, the British Virgin Islands and, recently, the Netherlands Antilles.

Among the findings of poverty assessments undertaken in the Caribbean in the late 1990s, the following observations have been made:

- The human capital base of the poor, including level of education, is low. As a result, accessible employment is in low-skill, low-paying jobs.
- The poor tend to be employed in elementary occupations, rural enterprises, for example, small-scale farming, craft-work and a range of other informal activities.
- Structural adjustment policies in some of the Caribbean countries have resulted in an increase in unemployment and a rise in the incidence and severity of poverty.
- The poor reside in large households, which are characterized by high levels of unemployment, especially among young and female members.
- There is some evidence of intergenerational transfer of poverty, which is understandable when all members of the household tend to be characterized by low educational levels and skills.
- Where poverty is concentrated in identifiable communities, there is evidence of stigmatization, which results in employment discrimination. This has, for example, been the case in Jamaica and Guyana.

As a result of not being needed or wanted in workplaces, generally, or also for a choice of preference to be independent, some poor people have often resorted to informal economic activities such as higglering and huckstering between islands, sidewalk trading, street services such as car wash, etc. either for their own account or informally employed by others engaged in informal activities. Unfortunately, the prospect of large, quick cash has led a number of people, especially young persons, into practices related to the drug trade. The outcry and plea of a young boy who finished school and has been unable to find a job could be shared by many. (See Box 12).

Some countries moved to take action soon after the results of poverty assessments became available. Poverty alleviation or social investment funds have been established in Barbados, Jamaica, Guyana and Saint Lucia. Skills training programmes have been instituted in most countries in order to provide labour market participants with skills to enhance their earning capacity. (See Box 7).

Training to a large extent, however, took place in traditional, low-skill areas. In very few cases training was extended to the middle range of the skill spectrum, for example, computing, computer servicing and other skills increasingly required on the knowledge-based job market.

The regional trend in the 1990s to strengthen Caribbean economies and stimulate economic growth and development in the face of the movement towards globalization and increased competition on the international market was looking forward to channelling the activities of the informal sector into the formal sector. It was expected that the informal sector would have an increased ability to take advantage of new opportunities and the formal sector would be strengthened and higher productivity would enhance the economy and the quality of life in the region. (Tewari, 1998). To some extent this prospect materialized in the case of the inter-island traders in Dominica, in the context of the now more formalized trade in perishable goods within and outside the region. The inter-island trade as it existed in the 1980s and 1970s has transformed significantly from an informal sector to a formal, more mechanized economic activity in which people are employed. This transformation has also implied a decreased participation of women and an increased participation of men.

Specific data on informal economy participation is still difficult to obtain, because of the very nature of the activity. However, compounding statistics on own account workers and unpaid workers may sometimes allow

for an impressionistic notion of the number of people involved in the informal economy. The sector remains attractive to many because of the existence of profitable opportunities, independence in terms of working hours, labour market flexibility and freedom from imposed regulations.

Education

Education - Although education has always been considered important, there is a new, urgent and more forceful thinking about the serious need for adequate education. Education is

Box 12 Education and Poverty

The following letter was sent to the Editor of NEWSDAY in Trinidad and Tobago.

"I am a young adult who completed secondary school two years ago without any passes. Aware of the benefits of a proper education, I am now computer literate and have learned basic Spanish.

Because of my limited education I have not been able to find a job since I left school. I really need a job so that I can pay for O'Level classes. My parents can't afford the fees so I have to pay for the classes myself, which I don't mind. I don't want pity, ole talk, money or lecture. All I request is some sensible advice. How can I get a job to pay for O'Level classes when I need the O'Level passes to get the job in the first place? I don't know anyone of influence and no influential person knows me. My parents don't own a company and are not on the Board of any, so nepotism and favoritism are out of the question.

I am not interested in doing anything illegal or immoral. I don't have a criminal record or an unfavourable reputation and it's going to remain that way. I can't take out a loan. I have walked the pavement seeking employment and prayed. I have never even been on a job interview.

I would like to contribute to my country through education and a decent legal job, but I can't do this just sitting at home doing nothing. Would someone who has been where I am at present and positively overcame this situation please extend some sensible, realistic advice that I can immediately put into action.

Please respond, I am desperately waiting on advice."

Source: Newsday, Wednesday June 14, 2000

now seen as one of the main determinants for long-term development potentials nationally, regionally and globally. The new patterns of production move towards knowledge-based work, which implies changes in the organization of work and management. It is widely felt that education needs to be redefined and that its focus has to change. There is no escaping from the technological revolution and new development processes that shape the globalized world today. Caribbean people need an education that is marketable and fitting to the changing needs of production, including commerce, industry and services. At the moment there may be high levels of unemployment, yet critical shortages of technically trained labour in key sectors of the region's economy. It is often pointed out, for example in the hospitality industry on which many Caribbean economies depend, that the labour force is unresponsive to new production patterns in the hospitality and related services industries, as the education system fails to build the required capacity and skills.

Several projects of technical assistance to governments over the past decades have focused on education. Up until the present time, none of them on which the information is accessible, has focused on building a new young labour force that will be capable of filling the gaps in the present-day and future demand for knowledge-based labour. Many projects have been funded by various agencies in the region, but the majority is concerned with infrastructure, the building or upgrading of schools or the physical equipment of same. Perhaps Barbados, with its focus on Information Technology in several projects is an exception in this regard.

Box 13
Sample of education project components
in the Caribbean in the 1990s

Country	Revision of Curriculum	Admin. Capacity	Infrastructure	Materials	Teacher Training Scholarships	Other/Notes
Antigua and Barbuda		X	X	X		
Bahamas		X				
Barbados	X	X	X	X		
Cuba					X	Information technology integration in all project components
Dominican Republic	X	X	X	X	X	
Haiti				X	X	National education plan
Trinidad and Tobago		X	X			Educational equity building

Source: ECLAC, SIDS Database

Social services

Housing and squatting - Generally the status of housing in the Caribbean has been relatively good. As a favourite political tool, housing indicators have assumed prominence in social policy at various periods in the history of countries in the region. Issues of squatting, overcrowding, increased demand for housing and reduction of housing stock due to natural disasters have, on and off, played a role.

Countries with a large influx of migrants tend to have more problems of available housing. In the 1990s, this has been the situation in some Caribbean countries, invariably in the

more prosperous ones, such as the British Virgin Islands and the Netherlands Antilles. In St. Maarten the social concern arises from the fact that many migrants from Haiti and the Dominican Republic make their home in container facilities. In Curaçao, a survey is underway to better determine the housing needs. While Aruba may be considered among the more prosperous islands in the region, this country has carefully monitored immigration, thus pre-empting problems in this regard.

In general, plans and policies that are now in place can be strengthened by more effective systems to accurately measure housing conditions. Besides the basic data that speak to housing tenure and materials of walls and roofs, etc., there is a need, for example, for a more systematic monitoring of squatting and for measuring the incidence of overcrowded households.

The problem of squatting is widespread throughout the region and speaks to the inability of the formal housing sector to provide adequately for low-income groups in need of shelter. This has become a problem and has resulted in the need for policy action in countries like Guyana, Haiti, Cuba, Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago. (See Tables XII and XIII). By and large, squatter communities do not have the necessary infrastructure to support their population and this often results in poor health conditions and other social ills. These are invariably only dealt with by policy makers when they achieve dimensions that directly affect the rest of society.

Governments have, therefore, often found themselves in a quandary, sometimes championing the cause of the squatter and at other times criticizing this development as illegal and immoral. At a press conference on 30 March 1994, the Minister of Public Service and the Environment in Jamaica, Easton Douglas, stated that "while there may be requests to settle squatter issues, a lasting and comprehensive solution can only come over time" (L. Alan Eyre 1997, pg. 99).

Water - Water resources management faces many challenges in the Caribbean with its small island characteristics. One such challenge is to manage water resources in such a way that it maximizes its contribution to the eradication of poverty in the subregion. An integrated approach of all sectors, such as water and sewerage, agriculture, environment, health, planning and finance, public awareness, education and training, community participation and information technology is imperative for strategic action to take place. As populations change and demands increase there is a corresponding need to increase clean, safe water supplies.

Despite the much acclaimed and embraced United Nations Plan of Action targeting "Water for All in the Year 2000", the year 2000 is here and some Caribbean countries have not yet reached a 50 per cent coverage of households with access to safe water. This includes economically weak, as well as less weak countries. An overview of coverage in selected countries is presented in Table XIV. Lack of access or poor access to water -for example only from a standpipe at accessible distance- may be attributed to a variety of factors, but it is invariably the poorer segment of the population that falls into this bracket. Caribbean countries have several kinds of constraints to maintain adequate levels of safe water supply and sanitation for all.

While it is true that some Caribbean countries are blessed with sufficient quantities of fresh water to supply all the fundamental needs of the population, there is no equity in distribution of water, often due to the location of this resource and to seasonality factors. Countries without natural fresh water supply need to invest much capital to process water from the sea or treat water from other sources. In some countries, the situation is aggravated by environmental degradation.

The Government of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines reports that approximately 90 per cent of the population have access to water. However, about 45 per cent of households do not have any acceptable method of sewerage disposal. Three per cent are connected to a control sewerage system.

In Haiti, because of deforestation and consequent soil erosion, about 10 per cent of total rainfall goes into deep percolation and groundwater. The other 90 per cent runs off or is evaporated. The large majority of the population has no access to water. In 1995, for example, Haiti used only 18 per cent of the available water resources. (Caribbean Council for Science and Technology (CCST)/World Bank, 1997). The situation for the poor has, however, improved over two decades, but availability of potable water remains poor. Interestingly the rural areas which had only 8.0 per cent coverage in 1980 reached 39.0 per cent coverage by 1995. (See Table XV)

Box 14 Water use –vs- available water resource in Haiti 1995		
Resources (x 10/m ³ /yr)	Total needs (x 10/m ³ /yr)	Total use (x 10/m ³ /yr)
12,600	2,229.4	1,266.9

A Subregional Seminar on Integrated Water Resources Management: (Institutional and Policy Reform), held in Trinidad & Tobago in 1997 included in its conclusions that Caribbean islands should consider the following:

- There is a strong need to develop in-house capabilities to conduct long-term and ongoing data collection and analysis for proper planning and development and management.
- Provision of Laws, Regulations and allocation of responsibilities for proper groundwater development and management should go hand in hand with allocation of trained and qualified manpower to carry out the required functions and enforcement of the laws.

- Use of computer models requires a lot of data for model development, calibration and verification.
- Public education and information dissemination should not be limited to drought or emergency situations.

(CCST/World Bank, 1997).

National disasters - The hurricanes of the 1990s, in addition to taking lives, have left many people homeless, with no access to safe water supply and cut off from affordable access to food. In some countries there have been casualties and injuries, most noteworthy in the Dominican Republic. Immediate relief action has prevented further deterioration of the social well-being of the population in most cases.

However, physical, infrastructural, agricultural and environmental damages have long-term effects, which particularly affect people in poverty and those who became poor because of loss of resources suffered as a result of hurricanes. Such resources include homes, (backyard) food production, health, schools, power supply. In some countries, for example the Dominican Republic, it takes a very long time before the population, again, especially the poor segment of the population, will be able to benefit from power supply. The country continues to suffer from daily blackouts to this day.

The island of Montserrat, which suffered heavily from hurricane Hugo in 1989, entered the 1990s with eruptions of the Soufriere Hills volcano which had been dormant for 300 years. In 1995 many people were displaced and some relocated as a precaution. Many of those who returned to their homes in 1996, when the volcano seemed to rest, were forced to leave again soon after. The same year caused the first 25 casualties. Some villages were buried by the volcano, others were declared unsafe to live in. In 1997, emissions of acid rain caused serious environmental damage and made the island a dangerous place to live in. Massive relocations took place to neighbouring Antigua and Barbuda and overseas.

People's livelihoods have been seriously affected through damage to agricultural produce, especially with regard to banana plantations and the sugar cane crop, through loss of habitat, power supply, infrastructure and casualties, diseases and injuries suffered, all of which have long-term effects on many aspects of life. (See Table XVI).

Illicit drugs, violence and crime

Illicit drugs - The small size of most Caribbean countries, the location of the Caribbean subregion in between the two larger parts of the Western Hemisphere and the intensive traffic of people and goods in the subregion make the subregion prone to drug trafficking. (Griffith, 1997). At the same time a growing number of families are becoming poor. The phenomenon of conspicuous consumption drives many towards this alternative source of income, despite the risks involved. They are often in search of a better quality of life for themselves and for their families.

The largest Caribbean drug seizures in the 1990s were in Belize and Guyana. Both countries serve as transit points. Transit, however, also creates opportunity for local consumption of illicit substances and, therefore, for increasing levels of drug addiction. Cocaine and heroin consumption and abuse are primarily the results of a spillover from trafficking operations. The drug problem appears to be more acute in the major transit States, notably the Bahamas, Puerto Rico, Jamaica, Belize, the Dominican Republic, Trinidad and Tobago, and to a lesser extent, Guyana.

Recent studies in the Caribbean have found that the highest incidence of crack cocaine abuse is among young people. Crack addicts as young as 11 years of age have been admitted to detoxification centres in the subregion. Even younger addicts -nine year olds- were found in the Bahamas, which has a high incidence of trafficking. The volume of drug offences in the Caribbean has been the highest in 1993, in Jamaica. (See Table XVII).

Violence and crime - Social alienation, as expressed in crime and violence, has emerged as a critical area of concern in the region. While the reliability and regional comparability of crime data continues to be problematic, there is no doubt that the levels of violence and crime rose dramatically in a number of countries in the Caribbean. In seeking to explain these rising levels of crime, commentators have pointed to widening economic class disparities, increasing levels of poverty, limited avenues for social mobility, the impact of migration on the family, urbanisation, the break up of traditional normative social controls, the development of a drug counter culture and tensions arising from changing gender relations.

With respect to violent crime, a study by Albuquerque and McElroy² shows that murder rates in the 1990s have increased, albeit moderately, for Antigua and Barbuda, Barbados, Dominica, Guyana, Jamaica, St. Kitts and Nevis, Trinidad and Tobago and the United States Virgin Islands. In Belize the murder rate declined slightly during the 1990s from 45 in 1991 to 32 in 1998. Conversely, in Jamaica, the number of murders climbed from 542 in 1990 to 1038 in 1997, a rise of 91 per cent.

This increase in murder rates has been attributed to a number of factors including the increasing number of guns in circulation, drug addiction and drug trade and gang feuds. Still, domestic/family and community disputes account for a significant number of homicides both in Trinidad and Tobago and Guyana. In relation to Jamaica, it has been reported that the majority of murders in the 1980s resulted from domestic disputes. By the 1990s, gang feuds and robbery accounted for 46 per cent of all murders in 1995. (See Table XVIII).

The rise in other types of violent crime is even starker. The incidence of reported cases of rape, like all forms of violence against women, appears to have risen dramatically within the Caribbean region. Whether or not this reflects an actual increase in the number of rapes as opposed to increased reporting or a combination of both factors is unknowable. Table XIX shows that the incidence of rape doubled between the 1980s and 1990s from 39.1 per 100,000 population to 77.4 in Dominica. A steep rise in the incidence of rape is also discernible for

² Albuquerque, Klaus de and McElroy, Jerome L, Longitudinal study of serious crime in the Caribbean, UWI Centre for Criminology and Criminal Justice, UWI, St. Augustine, 1999.

Jamaica, St. Kitts and Nevis and Barbados. According to Table XIX the rate of rapes for the countries for which data is available is highest for Dominica, St. Kitts and Nevis and Antigua and Barbuda. In their crime study, Albuquerque and McElroy posit that the relatively lower rate for other countries may be attributed to underreporting (as in the case of Guyana) and inadequate record keeping.

Tables XX and XXI indicate that property-related crimes have consistently risen since the 1980s. Such crimes include robbery, larceny and burglary. The average rate of robbery has increased between 1980 and 1990. This was significant in the case of Antigua and Barbuda, Barbados, Dominica, Guyana and St. Kitts and Nevis. The increase was most dramatic in Barbados, where the rate of robberies went up from 64.6 per 100,000 to 212.2 per 100,000 over that period. In St. Kitts and Nevis it was dramatic as well. In that country the rate increased from 13.3 to 58.5 per 100,000 over the same period. Similar steady increases in burglary rates are to be noted. Exceptions to this are Trinidad and Tobago and Jamaica where the incidence of burglary appears to have decreased. This does not accord with the public perception of the incidence of such crimes and the decline may be related to underreporting.

One of the factors, which over time would affect reporting rates of crime, is the efficiency of detection. In this regard, since 1995, less than one in six burglaries reported were solved in Trinidad and Tobago. Detection rates are similarly low for robberies. In the case of rape, the detection rate is better with 63 per cent of the reported rapes for 1999 being solved by the police. (See Tables XIX, XX and XXI)

Men commit much of the reported crime. For Jamaica, 91 per cent of those incarcerated in 1990 were male, of which number only 41 per cent were first time offenders. The rate of male offenders remained relatively constant throughout the first half of the 1990s. On the other hand, most of the women incarcerated in the same time period were first time offenders: 94 per cent in 1990 and 88 per cent in 1994. The types of crimes for which women are imprisoned also appear to be different from the limited data available for Trinidad and Tobago. Of the 117 women imprisoned in 1997 in Trinidad and Tobago, 42 per cent were imprisoned for violations of narcotic laws. Narcotic-related offences accounted for 31 per cent of men imprisoned in 1997. Interestingly, 7.7 per cent of the men who were imprisoned in 1997 were in debt arrears, including child maintenance arrears.

Homicides, drug-related offences and rape are among the crimes reported most often. Table XXII illustrates for selected countries. Intentional homicides may or may not be drug-related as well. In the same way, drug-related homicides may or may not have intentional elements as well. In its investigation, the Court and judiciary may have their ways of dealing with that aspect of relevant cases of crime.

The 1998 UNICEF study on the state of children in the Eastern Caribbean found a correlation or connection between early education failures, on the one hand, and limited coping skills and an early entry into lives of crime and drug abuse, on the other. Juvenile crime and drug abuse profiles indicate that children who have been failed by the education system appear to have limited conflict resolution skills, life skills or entrepreneurial skills to provide for their

needs. Several countries in the subregion report increasing numbers of incarcerated young criminal offenders.

Apart from drug and other crime-related violence, violence against women and domestic violence have been on the increase, as well, in several member countries. In Trinidad and Tobago for example, the number of murders resulting from domestic violence has increased between 1996 and 1998. (See Table XXIII).

In response to this reality, governments have established special narcotic and investigative units and increased expenditure on police and national security. In addition, a number of countries have moved to resume capital punishment. In Trinidad and Tobago the institution of community policing has at least provided citizens in some communities with some sort of peace of mind as far as the direct and often experience of offences is concerned.

Concluding remarks

In conclusion, no sweeping statement can be made for the Caribbean with regard to the rise or fall of poverty and social integration as there are major differences among countries with different parameters, conditions and policies at national level. While this is true, the Caribbean may compare favourably with some countries in the world. However, the region may need to advance with caution in terms of, for example, matters of governance in order to make sure that all the international agreements signed and ratified relative to the social arena are complied with, and the ideal of putting people first is reflected in the policies, programmes and projects.

The salient issues of crime and violence, drug abuse and drug trafficking need to be given serious attention. The need to prepare for newcomers on the job market and to attend to the increasing numbers of those already there, not finding jobs, should be high on the list for developmental action. Perhaps integrated and holistic approaches may be the most fruitful in the long term. Productive and constructive participation of civil society may well be increasingly included in the process.

Finally, the much mentioned and alluded to need to forcefully pursue social development while seeking economic growth should be not only considered but actually applied in national and regional development policies and programmes.

Annex

Table I
Poverty estimates of selected Caribbean countries

<i>Country</i>	Head Count Index	Gini Coefficient
Bahamas	5.0	0.515
Barbados	8.0	0.460
St. Kitts and Nevis	15.0	0.445
Trinidad & Tobago	21.2	0.420
Antigua & Barbuda	12.0	0.525
St. Lucia	25.1	0.468
Dominica	33.0	0.488
St. Vincent and the Grenadines	37.5	0.448
Belize	33.0	0.510
Grenada	32.1	0.504
Suriname	63.1	0.573
Dominican Republic	20.6	0.490
Jamaica	34.2	0.452
Guyana	43.2	0.423
Haiti	65.0	

Source: ECLAC, *Poverty Statistics*, Santiago Seminar 7-9 May 1997. UN Santiago Chile. L/CR.1814. Pub. 17th April 1998. and KAIRI CONSULTANTS. *Poverty Assessment Report, Grenada: Volume 1 of 2.* (1998). Source of Gini Coefficients – Norman Girvan. “Societies at risk? The Caribbean and Global Change” Management of Social Transformations –Most, Discussion Paper Series – No. 17.

Sources of figures: Antigua and Barbuda, Barbados, Dominica, St. Kitts/Nevis poverty estimates from IDB as reported in Greene, E. “Reducing Poverty in the Caribbean by Interventions in Health and Education”, PAHO, Table 1.1. ; St. Lucia (1995), Belize (1996), St. Vincent and the Grenadines (1996), Grenada (1998), - Poverty Assessment, Kairi Consultants; Dominican Republic, 1994, “Estabilizacion Apertura y Pobreza en Republicana Dominicana, 1986-1992”, Fundacion Economia y Desarrollo, Inc.; Guyana (1993) HIES/LSMS as reported in World Bank 1994 “Guyana: Strategies for Reducing Poverty” Report No. 12861-GUA; Haiti (1987) Poverty Estimate reported in ECLAC, 1993, “Poverty Issues and Poverty Alleviation in the Caribbean,” Working Paper; Jamaica, Survey of Living Conditions (1992) estimates derived from: “Jamaica: A Strategy for Growth and Poverty Reduction, Country Economic Memorandum; St. Lucia (1995) Calculations from Survey of Living Conditions, as reported in CDB St. Lucia Poverty Assessment; UNDP (1999), prepared by Marcelo Neri and Jack Menke “Poverty in Suriname: Assessment, Monitoring and Capital Enhancing Policies”; Trinidad and Tobago (1992), Survey of Living Conditions as reported in World Bank, 1995, “Trinidad and Tobago: Poverty and Unemployment in an Oil Based Economy,” Report No. 14382-TR.

Table II
Human Development Index for selected CDCC countries

Selected years

COUNTRY	1990		1992		1994		1995		1997	
	HDI		HDI		HDI		HDI		HDI	
	<i>Value</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Value</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Value</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Value</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Value</i>	<i>Rank</i>
Antigua and Barbuda	0.785	60	0.840	55	0.892	29	0.895	29	0.828	38
Bahamas	0.875	32	0.894	26	0.894	28	0.893	32	0.851	31
Barbados	0.928	20	0.900	25	0.907	24	0.909	24	0.857	29
Belize	0.689	82	0.883	29	0.806	63	0.807	63	0.732	83
Cuba	0.711	75	0.769	72	0.723	86	0.729	85	0.765	58
Dominica	0.819	51	0.776	69	0.873	41	0.879	41	0.776	53
Dominican Republic	0.586	97	0.705	96	0.718	87	0.720	88	0.726	88
Grenada	0.787	59	0.786	67	0.843	54	0.851	51	0.777	52
Guyana	0.541	105	0.622	105	0.649	104	0.670	100	0.701	99
Haiti	0.275	137	0.362	148	0.338	156	0.340	159	0.430	152
Jamaica	0.736	69	0.721	88	0.736	83	0.735	84	0.734	82
St. Kitts andNevis	0.697	79	0.873	37	0.853	49	0.854	50	0.781	51
St. Lucia	0.720	72	0.732	84	0.838	56	0.839	58	0.737	81
St. Vincent and the Grenadines	0.709	76	0.761	79	0.836	57	0.845	55	0.744	75
Suriname	0.751	65	0.762	77	0.792	66	0.796	65	0.757	64
Trinidad & Tobago	0.877	31	0.872	39	0.880	40	0.880	40	0.797	46

Source: Human Development Report 1993, 1995, 1997, 1998 & 1999

Table III
Infant and child mortality per 1000 live births in
CDCC countries

Country	Infant Mortality		Child Mortality	
	94/95	1997	94/95	1997
Anguilla	26	--	34	
Antigua and Barbuda	19	17	23	21
Aruba	8	--	10	
Bahamas	19	18	21	21
Barbados	16	11	19	12
Belize	36	35	46	43
British Virgin Islands	20	30 ^a	23	
Cuba		7		8
Dominica	14	17	18	20
Dominican Republic		44		53
Grenada	20	24	25	29
Guyana	46	59	62	82
Haiti		92		132
Jamaica	17	10	23	11
Montserrat	12		15	
Netherlands Antilles	15	--	18	
Puerto Rico		25		
St. Kitts and Nevis	27	30	32	37
Saint Lucia	19	24	23	29
St. Vincent and the Grenadines	18	18	23	21
Suriname	18	24	22	30
Trinidad and Tobago	14	15	18	17

^a1995

Source: UNECLAC, LC/CAR.G.580

Table IV
Infant mortality rates for selected CDCC countries
1960s – 1990

Country	1960s	1970s	1980s	1990
Bahamas		32	30	24
Barbados	60	46	24	13
Belize	64	51	29	14
British Virgin Islands	59	32	44	10
Grenada	62	33	24	28
Guyana		57	36	
Montserrat	114	43	40	19
St. Kitts/Nevis	102	48	53	20
Jamaica	54	31	21	
Saint Lucia	107	49	24	20
St. Vincent and the Grenadines	145	56	60	21
Suriname	63	49	36	
Trinidad and Tobago	45	34	24	13

Source: Digest of Selected Demographic and Social Indicators, 1960-1994, ECLAC/CDCC

Table V
Malnutrition in the Caribbean 1990 - 1998

Country	% of under-fives (1990-98) suffering from:			
	*Underweight		*Wasting	*Stunting
	Moderate & Severe	Severe	Moderate & Severe	Moderate & Severe
Antigua and Barbuda	10x	4x	10x	7x
Bahamas	--	--	--	--
Barbados	5x	1x	4x	7x
Belize	6	1	--	--
Cuba	9	--	3	--
Dominica	5x	0x	2x	6x
Dominican Republic	6	1	1	11
Grenada	--	--	--	--
Guyana	12	--	12	10
Haiti	28	8	8	32
Jamaica	10	1	4	6
St. Kitts and Nevis	--	--	--	--
St. Lucia	--	--	--	--
St. Vincent and the Grenadines	--	--	--	--
Suriname	--	--	--	--
Trinidad and Tobago	7x	0x	4x	5x

Source: UNICEF, The State of the World's Children 2000

*Underweight: < average; for age

*Wasting: < average; for weight and height

*Stunting: < average; height for age

"X" indicates data that refers to years or periods other than those specified in the column heading, differ from the standard definition, or refer to only part of a country.

Table VI
Percentage of children < 1 year of age fully immunized (three doses or more)
with diphtheria-pertussis-tetanus vaccine (DPT) and
trivalent oral polio vaccine (TOPV), 1981, 1982, 1993, and 1994

	Coverage (%) ^a							
	1981		1982		1993		1994	
Country	DPT	TOPV	DPT	TOPV	DPT	TOPV	DPT	TOPV
Anguilla	78	81	89	86	100	100	94	92
Antigua and Barbuda	79	47	79	90	100	100	100	100
Bahamas	55	53	69	67	91	91	91	91
Barbados	59	55	62	63	86	88	90	91
Belize	50	51	50	52	88	89	88	83
Bermuda	57	60	53	53	65	63	63	89
British Virgin Islands	95	75	83	94	98	99	100	100
Cayman Islands	67	67	90	91	98	98	95	96
Dominica	93	93	100	73	99	99	99	99
Grenada	43	41	56	61	89	91	91	95
Guyana	45	40	53	73	93	92	90	90
Jamaica	39	37	34	72	91	93	93	93
Montserrat	76	76	94	86	100	100	100	100
St. Kitts and Nevis	67	71	92	93	100	100	100	100
Saint Lucia	64	65	79	81	97	97	93	93
St. Vincent and the Grenadines	32	33	67	99	100	100	100	100
Suriname	27	25	61	58	74	73	74	71
Trinidad and Tobago	52	46	54	59	81	78	85	85
Turks and Caicos Is.	29	25	67	80	100	100	100	100

^aFigures are rounded to the nearest whole number

Source: PAHO, Health Conditions in the Caribbean, 1997

Table VII
Increase and decrease of AIDS cases
reported in selected Caribbean countries – 1993-1997

Countries	Increase	Decrease	Highest Incidence
Anguilla	X		
Antigua and Barbuda		X	
Bahamas	X		X
Barbados	X		X
Belize	X		
British Virgin Islands	X		
Dominica	X		X
Grenada		X	
Guyana		X	
Jamaica	X		X
Saint Kitts and Nevis	X		
Saint Lucia	X		
St. Vincent and Grenadines	X		X
Suriname	X		
Trinidad and Tobago	X		

Source: Quarterly AIDS Surveillance Reports submitted to CAREC's Epidemiology Division by CAREC member countries and UNDP Human Development Report 1999.

Table VIII
Comparison of numbers of "unnatural" deaths by
source of report, selected countries

Country and Year	Death certificate		Police reports	
	MVI ^a	Homicide	MVI	Homicide
Bahamas (1985)	39	36	59	34
Barbados (1990)	22	10	22	34
Belize (1986)	18	0(19) ^b	35	77
Guyana (1990)	50	122	190	105
Jamaica (1988)	23	12	343	414
Saint Lucia (1985)	23	10	25	8
Trinidad and Tobago (1985)	213	108	220	106

^aMotor vehicle injuries

^b19 deaths were classified as firearm accidents

Source: Health Conditions in the Caribbean, PAHO 1997

Table IX
Unemployment rate of selected Caribbean countries
1990 and 1997

Country	Unemployment rate	
	1990	1997
Antigua and Barbuda	6	n.a.
Bahamas	15	10
Barbados	23	14.5
Belize	10	13
Dominica	n.a.	23
Guyana	12	n.a.
Grenada	14	17
Jamaica	15	16
Saint Lucia	17	20
St. Vincent and the Grenadines	20	n.a.
Suriname	14	10
Trinidad and Tobago	19.6	15

Source: ECLAC Document, WSSD 99/4, August 1999

Table X
Changes in the levels and rates of
unemployment in selected Caribbean countries between
1993 and 1998

Country	Levels of unemployment	% increase or decrease in the rate
Bahamas	Decrease	-47.3
Barbados	Decrease	-46.5
Belize	Increase	45.9
Jamaica	Increase	7.1
Neth. Antilles (Curacao)	Increase	20.1
Saint Lucia	Increase	35.8
Suriname	Decrease	-25
Trinidad and Tobago	Decrease	-27.6

Source: ECLAC Document WSSD 99/4, August 1999

Table XI
Labour Force Participation in selected CDCC countries by sex
1992-1998

Country	1992		1993		1994		1995		1996		1997		1998	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Bahamas	79.9	69.9	82.3	69.5	82.1	70.2	78.5	69.5	79.8	68.2	79.4	70.5	82.4	73.0
Barbados	74.1	59.4	74.1	59.7	74.2	61.5	74.5	62.7	74.3	61.6	73.6	62.1	74.0	62.0
Belize			79.3	36.6	79.4	34.5	78.5	35.5	79.0	34.0	79.7	38.6	78.6	39.6
Jamaica	76.3	62.4	74.6	62.4	76.5	62.4	76.8	61.8	75.5	60.6	74.6	59.0	74.0	57.8
Saint Lucia					76.3	59.6	78.5	58.2	77.6	58.1	78.4	59.7	77.0	59.5
Suriname			72	40	69	35	68	35	72	39	68	37		
Trinidad and Tobago	76.1	44.1	75.5	43.7	74.6	44.3	75.5	44.9	74.2	46.8	74.8	45.9	75.3	47.0

Source: ILO Globalization and Employment in the Caribbean, August 1999

Table XII
Squatting in Trinidad and Tobago, 1980-1990

Year	Squatters	Unit of Measurement
1980	106	Settlements
1985	20	% of population
1990	25	% of population
1990	25,000	Households

Table XIII
Increased squatting in Trinidad and Tobago

Year	Squatters
1979	7,550
1990	25,000

Table XIV
Households with access to safe water (%)
in selected countries

Country	Households served by public system	Public piped into households	Public standpipes	Piped into own yard	Piped into other yard	Private piped and private attachment not piped	Public well or tank	Year
Barbados		84.20	1.00	10.20	3.30			1991
Dominica		30.00	37.00				7.90	1991
St. Kitts Nevis		49.5	22.7	16.8		5.7	1.6	1991
St. Lucia	74.00	46.00	28.00			18.00	6.90	1991
St. Vincent and the Grenadines						71.60		1998

Source: UN-ECLAC National data.

Table XV
Potable water coverage in Haiti (1996)

	1980	1990	1995
Port-au-Prince	48.0	53.2	35.0
Secondary cities	47.0	58.6	45.0
Rural areas	8.0	33.5	39.0
Country	18.0	39.5	39.0

Source: CCST/ECLAC 1997

Table XVI**Hurricane damage in the Caribbean affecting livelihoods in the 1990s**

Name	Year	Agro	Housing	Diseases	Power Supply	Casualties	Injured	Major damage	Country affected
Debby*	1994	X Banana plantation	X (hundreds)	Occurred but not reported	X	4	24	- silt-covered roadways	St. Lucia
						1		- heavy floods	Martinique
						3		- high water levels	Dom. Republic
		X		Occurred but not reported	X	-	X		Anguilla
Luis	1995		X (70%)	Occurred but not reported	X			- infrastructure - homes - food availability	St. Kitts
Georges	1998	X 50% of sugar cane crop	X (85%)	X - Including communicable diseases - Long-lasting psychological traumas		500	Many	- infrastructure - homes - food availability	Dom. Republic

*Tropical storm

Table XVII
Volume of drug offences in the 1990s in selected Caribbean countries

COUNTRY	YEAR	DRUG OFFENCES
Bahamas	1985	1,161
	1986	1,259
	1987	1,214
	1988	948
	1989	955
	1990	1,172
	1991	NA
	1992	1,135
	1993	1,023
	1994	997
Barbados	1985	259
	1986	274
	1987	401
	1988	NR
	1989	510
	1990	555
Dominican Republic	1985	1,121
	1986	1,358
	1987	1,329
	1988	1,036
	1989	NR
	1990	NR
Jamaica	1983	4,250
	1986	4,123
	1987	4,395
	1988	3,533
	1989	4,086
	1990	5,433
	1991	6,711
	1992	6,298
	1993	6,915
	1994	5,859
Trinidad and Tobago	1995	6,074
	1985	3,162
	1986	2,175
	1987	2,401
	1988	2,473
	1989	2,361
	1990	2,921
	1991	2,706
	1992	2,317
	1993	2,509

Source: Dr Ivelaw Lloyd Griffith. *Drugs and Security in the Caribbean: Sovereignty under Siege*, Pennsylvania State University Press 1997 (295 p.)

Table XVIII
Murder Rates¹ for selected Caribbean States: 1980-1996

Year	Antigua / Barbuda	B'dos	Dominica	Grenada	Guyana	Jamaica	St Kitts/ Nevis	T'dad/ T'go	USVI
1980		6.4			14.2	40.6		4.4	23.8
1981		6.0			13.6	22.4		6.8	24.4
1982		7.2			15.0	18.5		7.3	24.6
1983		5.2	5.2		16.7	18.7		6.8	19.3
1984		5.9	2.6		16.8	21.2		6.3	15.8
1985	7.9	6.2	5.4		17.4	19.0	9.1	8.4	19.8
1986	6.3	3.9	9.5		9.9	19.2	2.3	6.6	17.4
1987	3.1	9.3	5.5		11.8	18.8	4.6	8.4	16.0
1988	7.8	7.7	2.7		11.8	17.6	9.0	7.0	24.2
1989	3.1	6.9	6.9	7.5	13.1	18.5	4.7	8.2	15.6
1990	4.7	11.5	7.0	7.4	12.0	22.6	4.7	6.9	
1991	6.3	7.3	4.2	2.1	26.0	23.0	14.4	7.8	25.1
1992	4.7	7.2	5.6	7.3	13.8	25.7	7.1	8.8	21.9
1993	7.8	6.5	6.9	5.2	15.2	26.4	9.5	8.9	25.4
1994	13.7	6.8		7.2		27.9	16.3	10.6	29.6
1995	6.0	5.3		11.2		31.4	9.3	9.6	19.1
1996		5.7		9.1		36.8			
Avg. Rates 1980s	5.6	6.5	5.4		14.0	21.4	5.9	7.0	20.1
Avg. Rates 1990s	7.2	7.2	5.9		16.8	27.7	10.2	8.8	24.2

Sources: All population data, except USVI, are from the Caribbean Development Bank. USVI data from the USVI Census Data Centre. The Royal Antigua Police Force; The Royal Barbados Police Force; Dominica National Crime Data Survey; The Royal Grenada Police Force; Annual Reports of the Guyana Police Force and the Guyana Statistical Bulletin; Economic and Social Survey of Jamaica; The Royal St Christopher and Nevis Police Force; Annual Statistical Digest; Trinidad and Tobago; Virgin Islands Police Department and F.B.I.

Notes: 1 Per 100,000 population

Table XIX
Rape rates¹ for selected Caribbean States: 1980-1996

Year	Antigua / Barbuda 2	B'dos	Dominica	Grenada	Guyana	Jamaica ³	St Kitts/ Nevis ²	T'dad/ T'go ⁴	USVI
1980		22.1			13.3	35.0			70.4
1981		24.8			14.6	34.5			68.2
1982		22.0			12.4	40.8			76.8
1983		16.3	39.3		11.3	36.5			62.7
1984		24.4	19.9		8.0	39.1			72.6
1985	51.9	16.7	40.3		13.2	37.1	38.6		74.0
1986	56.6	25.2	36.5		13.5	39.0	59.5		49.3
1987	47.1	14.7	49.1		18.1	42.8	69.1		66.0
1988	76.9	23.9	45.3		9.7	47.5	47.3		
1989	67.4	24.6	43.0	10.7	13.9	45.8	65.1		56.6
1990	72.1	27.2	60.1	21.2	10.9	41.9	62.9		
1991	56.3	31.7	76.9	13.7	20.8	44.9	55.0		80.2
1992	82.4	34.2	66.8	11.5	14.6	45.3	73.8		96.3
1993	76.0	37.6	105.8	16.8	22.7	52.5	57.1		73.2
1994	70.2	23.9		22.5		43.3	67.8		63.8
1995	76.8	28.0		21.3		64.5	114.5		54.7
1996		28.7		21.2		71.4			
Avg. Rates 1980s	58.4	21.5	39.1		12.8	39.8	55.9		66.3
Avg. Rates 1990s	72.3	30.2	77.4	18.3	17.3	52.0	71.8		73.6

Sources: See Table 1

Notes:

¹ Per 100,000 population

² Includes indecent assault

³ Includes carnal abuse

⁴ Not reported as a separate category – included in "Other crimes against the person."

Table XX
Robbery rates for selected Caribbean States: 1980-1996

Year	Antigua / Barbuda	B'dos	Dominica	Grenada	Guyana	Jamaica	St Kitts/ Nevis	T'dad/ T'go2	USVI
1980		27.7			186.3	216.0			504.1
1981		93.2			190.1	210.8			559.5
1982		78.2			198.7	165.2			437.4
1983		56.9				176.3			348.1
1984		65.0	2.6		322.1	217.2			288.4
1985	37.3	64.0	5.4		214.5	215.9	13.6		287.0
1986	29.9	61.7	9.5		256.7	202.1	9.2		354.3
1987	44.0	56.5	20.5			208.6	9.2		488.2
1988	56.5	71.8	15.1			188.4	20.3		
1989	42.3	70.8	16.6	18.1	348.7	189.5	14.0		433.2
1990	29.8	130.1	11.2	13.8	249.1	223.1	9.3		
1991	40.7	253.0	36.4	26.4	548.8	230.3	12.0		626.7
1992	60.7	362.6	26.4	46.1	551.2	201.4	47.6	304.9	619.6
1993	76.0	275.1	53.6	62.8		219.1	76.2	378.8	669.5
1994	97.7	183.6		49.1		220.8	84.1	357.7	521.7
1995	111.4	154.3		45.7		177.9	121.5	305.3	439.4
1996		127.0		48.5		178.6			
Avg. Rates 1980s	42.0	64.6	11.6		245.3	199.0	13.3		411.1
Avg. Rates 1990s	69.4	212.2	31.9	41.8	449.7	207.3	58.5		575.4

Sources:

Notes: 1 Per 100,000 population

2 Not reported as a separate category – included in "Other crimes against the person."

Table XXI
Burglary rates for selected Caribbean States: 1980-1996

Year	Antigua / Barbuda	B'dos	Dominica	Grenada	Guyana	Jamaica	St Kitts/ Nevis	T'dad/ T'go	USVI
1980		557.4			296.3	378.6		506.0	3710.1
1981		628.3			294.3	385.2		576.4	4699.9
1982		596.6			314.1	367.8		616.4	4338.9
1983		592.4	731.7		403.3	378.3		637.8	3907.4
1984		816.0	793.4		452.7	369.9		636.4	3857.7
1985	1103.8	721.5	773.2		365.7	377.7	831.8	771.4	3309.6
1986	1051.9	744.5	1040.6		392.6	383.5	659.0	740.6	3112.3
1987	1321.8	715.2	878.6		429.6	335.2	705.1	718.5	3098.0
1988	1508.6	871.9	857.1		517.6	309.2	867.1	771.9	
1989	1512.5	930.0	963.9	431.2	605.4	309.4	832.6	682.3	3637.1
1990	1609.7	1096.3	1019.6	629.5	429.3	330.6	1205.1	617.1	
1991	1734.0	968.7	1072.7	677.2	782.4	333.0	1033.5	591.0	3596.7
1992	2003.1	1204.7	1211.4	776.7	483.4	253.0	1009.5	639.3	3126.8
1993	2018.6	1540.4	1570.1	655.5	628.3	270.0	1297.6	675.8	3112.7
1994	2068.7	1239.7		881.4		271.7	1483.6	610.9	2730.8
1995	2186.7	1017.4		1136.0		231.6	2219.6	517.7	2637.2
1996		930.1		1227.5		190.2			
Avg. Rates 1980s	1299.7	717.4	862.6		407.2	359.5	779.1	665.8	3741.2
Avg. Rates 1990s	1936.8	1142.5	1218.5	854.8	580.9	268.6	1374.8	608.6	3040.8

Sources:

Notes: 1 Per 100,000 population

Table XXII
Crime statistics for selected CDCC countries 1994

Country	Intentional Homicides per 100,000 people	Drug Crimes Per 100,000 people	Recorded rapes (thousands)
Bahamas	85.5	282.6	0.2
Barbados	11.8	217.7	0.1
Guyana	18.0	252.4	0.1
Jamaica	27.1	231.1	1.1
St. Vincent and the Grenadines	9.8
Trinidad & Tobago	6.8	244.0	0.2

Source: ECLAC document LC/CAR/G.580

Table XXIII
Murders in Trinidad and Tobago resulting from domestic violence

Year	No. of victims	Per cent Female	Per cent of Females killed who were spouses	Per cent of Perpetrators male
1996	16	75	50	87.5
1997	12	83.3	50	83.3
1998	23	60.8	39.1	82.6

Source: ECLAC document LC/CAR/G.580