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# RECONCEPTUALIZING SOCIAL INDICATORS IN THE CARIBBEAN: A REVIEW AND DISCUSSION

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# RECONCEPTUALIZING SOCIAL INDICATORS IN THE CARIBBEAN: A REVIEW AND DISCUSSION

#### Introduction

#### The Caribbean development experience: Social data and indicators

The Caribbean economic reform experience has had mixed results. The structural adjustment policies of the major regional economies have resulted in a reversal of the declining Gross Domestic Product (GDP) trends registered in the 1980s. Public sector deficits have been controlled in most cases. The average fiscal deficit for 1994-1996 for 13 countries surveyed by the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) declined by two percentage points of GDP from the period 1987-1989 (ECLAC, p.1). Legislative reform has created an enabling business environment. This, coupled with new opportunities due to privatization, has helped push private sector investment upwards. However, the effects of the improved economic conditions have not translated into enhanced living standards for the majority of the population. Rather, declining social services and transfers, stagnant employment levels and falling real wages have increased the size and characteristics of the population classified as economically vulnerable. In fact, there is evidence to suggest that the consequences of the decline in social provisions are pervasive and long-lasting. Professor Clive Thomas has stated that:

"The 'short-run crisis' has frequently led to generational declines in the capacity and well-being of its members, failure to educate children at the appropriate age thereby permanently affecting their life-time chances of social improvement, declines in the quality of the housing stock and other productive assets under household control to the point where these cannot be reversed during the present generation." (Thomas, 1997; p 41-42).

The results have clearly illustrated that human development and the social well-being of the population are not necessarily automatic outcomes of economic growth.

The decline in human and social development of the Caribbean population has caught the attention of the international community, including many of the multilateral lending agencies which, during the 1980s, concentrated on an almost exclusive economic definition of development. Recognition of the need for an integration of human development with economic strategies slowly informed loan conditions and policy recommendations emanating from donor agencies. As a result, the agenda of many of these institutions now firmly places the eradication or reduction of poverty as an explicit or implied aim. The World Bank has actually stated that effectiveness of the Bank's

programmes will be measured by the impact on poverty levels and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) cautioned that:

"More importance must be attached to equity and the full development of human resources if reform programs are to be viable in the long run." ("Social Dimension of the IMF's Policy Dialogue", Pamphlet Series No. 47, August 1998, p. 1).

Social development is now seen to be as important as economic development and official statements by governments and agencies therefore need to be translated into new approaches and attitudes at technical levels for execution.

Aware of these changes in the development environment at the international level, the Second Caribbean Meeting preparatory to the World Summit for Social Development, held in Antigua and Barbuda, 6-8 December 1994, adopted a Guideline for Action in Social Development in the Caribbean. One of the points of major concern at the meeting was the question of information and data on the poor, in general, and on marginalized and vulnerable groups, in particular. The Guideline for Action noted that this poverty of data needed to be addressed seriously since it was critical to the effective formulation, implementation and evaluation of poverty eradication programmes. Since then, many agencies have made some sort of effort to address the question of data on social development. In this framework, the University of the West Indies (UWI), Mona, and the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), have spearheaded debate and a number of exercises towards the improvement of social indicators with a "human face".

The problem of data is not only confined to collection and analysis for the generation and improvement of social indicators, but also, even when these do exist, to finding the appropriate information at the required time and at the relevant scale of aggregation. This is especially true when attempting to access data from small island States. There may be amounts of data and information residing in any country but locating, accessing and retrieving this data and information is a major constraint to any potential information user. Data and information are scattered among various national institutions: private and public sector entities, private consultant offices and non-governmental organizations (NGOs), regional institutions and institutions outside the Caribbean region. Sometimes data and information are lodged in paper files without procedures and guidelines for storage, retrieval, generation, declassification and release. It is precisely constraints like these, which result in a duplication of data collection efforts by agencies. These constraints can also cause cost increases and the taking of decisions without the necessary information inputs.

Mention should also be made here of the emerging concern - increasingly persistent among scholars - about the need for new social indicators which can provide additional information on social conditions that are emerging in the context of the age of globalization. In this context the rise of social indicators research can be interpreted as an answer to the increased demands for information made by active social policy and by the challenge to operationalize and to quantify its core formula: the concept of quality of life.

The present document is an attempt to approach the question of information and data through a review of social indicators which are presently used in the Caribbean for collection of data published on social development.

Part I discusses some of the issues critical to the use of social indicators in general. These include discussions on their relevance, strengths and limitations.

Part II discusses the relevance and limitations of selected social indicators from the Caribbean and identifies some of the problems which exist when attempting to analyze data from the Caribbean. The indicators were selected primarily because of their relevance to the social ills in the region, and speak to issues of quality, relevance and limitation which affect the ability of policy makers to use the information for planning and action.

Part III discusses issues related to existing social data and concerns about quality and availability of such data for purposes of social planning and implementation of required programmes and projects. Available data on selected areas of the social field are presented as illustrations of the problems discussed in Parts I and II before.

The present exercise is expected to stimulate discussions and further work on the development and construction of social indicators in the Caribbean, since the improvement of social data in the subregion requires the concerted effort of all agencies, institutions, individuals and organizations with relevant expertise. Information and data gathering for this activity has relied mainly on secondary sources, including publications of the World Bank, United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) (especially the Human Development Reports), the population census of the Commonwealth Caribbean and statistical publications of selected countries.

# PART I SOCIAL INDICATORS: CRITICAL ISSUES

Social indicators and indices are used in practically all forms of development work. These tools, which allow us to understand the changing social fabric of society are important to satisfy several objectives, including the following:

- (a) To formulate and evaluate policy decisions;
- (b) To identify socio-economic problems in society;
- (c) To measure social conditions and social change over space and time;
- (d) To facilitate social reporting; and
- (e) To give direction for action on social problems and needs.

The discussion on social indicators is a complex one. (Perhaps there is a need to spell out the difference between the indicator, the index and the data.) An indicator is an indirect measurement of a concept that cannot itself be measured. Such a concept might be, "Quality of Education". A number of measurable contributors are therefore used to represent the concept, and the indicator is basically a definition of what has been measured - for example, "number of persons with primary education". Indicators are, therefore, monitored in the expectation that changes in the direction and magnitude of the indicator over time, will represent changes in the movement and direction of the concept under scrutiny.

Data or statistics are the information or figures collected for analysis or measurement. Data is always available, however the challenge for social scientists is to find the data elements which, apart from having a life of their own as entities, allow by their measurement, inference to be made to a larger or more complex concept.

An index is also an indirect measurement of a concept. It uses a weighted average of a number of measurable contributors (indicators), to represent a complex concept. This is done relative to a base which becomes the standard against which the indicators are measured for the purpose of comparison. Indices are often used to measure concepts such as "Cost-of-living" by measuring the relative movement of a number of indicators and representing the movement of all of those indicators by a single figure.

Although some social phenomena are quantifiable, the measurement of others remains difficult. This includes information having to do with levels of drug abuse among the various sections of the population, child abuse, the extent of domestic violence in various income group households, and levels of marginalization of indigenous persons, to name a few areas. In an attempt to address this difficulty, UNDP has brought together a team of interdisciplinary experts, whose efforts have culminated in the production of a Human Development Index (HDI).

The UNDP Human Development Reports construct a composite index of development, which reflects an overall level of well-being. It is suggested that the most appropriate indicators are: life expectancy at birth; a combination of the literacy rate and the mean years of schooling; and purchasing power-adjusted real GDP per capita (i.e. how many goods and services one is able to buy

for the income per capita). These indicators are meant to assist in the measurement of three of the most essential choices in human life: long and healthy life, access to knowledge and availability of sufficient resources for decent living standards. As an index, the HDI gives comparative values among countries. This is to say that if, for example, the HDI of Barbados is 0.907 in 1997, it is slightly high when compared to Trinidad and Tobago which has an HDI of 0.880 in that year and it is very high when compared with Haiti, which has an HDI of 0.338 in the same year. The problem of data availability is usefully illustrated by the attempt to construct this index since the most complete data set available to UNDP in 1997 was the 1994 data.

# Issues of quality and availability

Since data collection is the foundation on which the creation of indicators and the analysis of concepts are built, it is imperative to collect data with instruments, which accurately capture the required information. The main issue of relevance in this context is a research methodology that carefully defines and conceptualizes the problems, uses a thoroughly prepared and tested instrument and accurately targets the research population.

The quality of the data therefore affects the quality of the indicator. The percentage of persons with primary education, for example, will not be a good indicator if half of the population was not targeted, if the question asked to elicit this data was misunderstood by many and if a qualitative method was used to obtain what is basically quantitative data.

The relevance of the indicator, on the other hand, has to do with its importance to the development of the population involved, as well as its importance to the concept that it is supposed to measure. By the same token, an indicator's weakness or limitation has to do with its incapacity to fully capture the concept for which it was created. In this regard, definition is also a very important aspect of the creation of social indicators since inconsistency and inaccuracy in definition will lead to a misunderstanding of the concept being measured.

When it is noted, therefore, that "no indicator or data exists" for a given concept or phenomenon, this does not mean that information is not available. It may mean that no tool has been devised that can effectively measure and monitor the data in a way that will be reflective of the phenomenon. This is the challenge facing economists and others who still have to grapple with social indicators as a means of measuring and monitoring social progress.

The point has been made that indicators tend to be "value-free to the extent that the variables involved in its derivation can be so described" as opposed to indices which are "value-led". While this may be the case for economic indicators, it is less true for social indicators, which are to a greater extent influenced by politics, world view and culture among other considerations. Their selection, use and even measurement may therefore hinge on factors that are less than objective and which make it more difficult, but not impossible, to achieve some measure of standardization in the definition and naming of indicators. It must be emphasized therefore, that the identification of social

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Lance Busby. April 1998. "Information Architectures: Designing Integrated Social Information Systems/Databases for the Caribbean", presented at UNICEF Seminar on Social Policy, Investment and Monitoring.

problems, the measuring of social conditions and social change and the provision of a medium for social reporting require the presence of relevant, accurate social indicators that can produce comparative data over a period of time. In the case of social issues for which social indicators have not yet been developed, the conduct of field research is very important.

#### Field research

Much of the social research undertaken in the Caribbean is in fact research based on secondary data and on information extrapolated from views and perceptions about social phenomena. Field research and surveys provide the kind of primary data based on actual research on the ground. This kind of research is designed to open and increase knowledge and primary information, which allows for a deeper understanding of reality and therefore of socio-economic problems in society. Sound studies, based on actual social research in the field, contribute to the fine-tuning of existing indicators and the development of new ones. Follow-up work, which produces measuring tools that can capture very specific facts of social situations on a regular basis in the same place needs to be encouraged, stimulated and funded.

Sound field research on social issues takes a long time and requires professional expertise at various levels and drawn from various disciplines. This is usually a costly exercise. The cost of this important type of social research is often a deterrent for governments and donor agencies. Various sets of secondary social research may however cost as much or even more, in the long run, than investment in one sound primary field research.

Research into some social problems may be best conducted using qualitative, rather than quantitative research methods. In some cases a combination of both methods may be necessary. In addition, it is important that a system be put in place that facilitates regular re-visits to the research subject, as is the case with certain components of censuses or surveys. This is where indicators need to remain the same - at least for a considerable length of time - in order to capture movements over time in the phenomenon being observed.

#### The development of a social database

One of the areas of importance in any discussion of quality and availability of data, is the need for the development of a social database, which is able to monitor indicators over time and allow for comparisons within and among countries. In the context of the importance of knowledge in this age of globalization, the design of a database can be seen as an exercise in "maximizing information resources that can be operated on through the medium of information technology". (Busby, 1998).

Any consideration of the development of a social database must include some idea of what data should be captured as well as an understanding of what a joining of databases will require, since this is important for the generation of comparative data across the region. With regard to the latter, standardization of concepts, accurate definitions of indicators, data treatment and basic processing must be agreed upon if the joining of data sets is to yield meaningful results. (Busby, 1998)

# PART II SOCIAL INDICATORS IN CARIBBEAN COUNTRIES: RELEVANCE AND LIMITATIONS

In Caribbean countries, as elsewhere, social indicators are used to measure particular aspects of social development. The issues of relevance, data quality and limitations are exacerbated by insufficient resources and inadequate planning. As a result both within and among countries of the region, social statistics are severely limited and in many cases cannot be used to inform social policy.

There are, however, instances of regular and reliable social statistics in the Caribbean. Across the region, the demographic statistics that appear primarily in the population census is the best example of this. Within some countries there are other smaller statistical publications, such as the Survey of Living Conditions, which are also regular and reliable. These statistics are produced by trained interviewers, well-planned survey administration and adequate funding for the analysis and publication of the resulting data. In addition, consistency in the administration of the surveys over a number of years has resulted in data which is amenable to trend analysis and longitudinal studies.

This section of the paper will focus on some of the problems that are found in the published social statistics of the Caribbean. Using selected indicators of importance to Caribbean countries, the aim is to point to some of the gaps and limitations in these data which could be improved and result in better tools for measurement and analysis of social conditions in the Caribbean. The main areas of focus will relate to the following:

- Availability of data across the region
- Issues of placement and naming
- The need for new indicators
- The role of indicators in social policy

The social categories that will be examined and discussed for this purpose are family, public health, religion, labour force, social communication, social services, security, housing and utilities. Within these categories, there are some indicators that are general to most countries of the Caribbean, while some others are limited to one or just a few countries. Indicators that are common to most countries of the region allow for comparative analyses, which can be very useful. Specific indicators may speak to the particularity of culture or the environment, or may speak to the need for other countries to also adopt such indicators.

#### Availability of data across the region (general indicators)

Many important social categories include similar social indicators in most countries of the Caribbean. A few examples follow below.

# Family/household

Indicators that appear under the category of family/household usually appear in the census and population statistics. They include:

- Average size of household
- Total fertility rate
- Crude birth rate
- Age-specific and total fertility rates
- Child-woman ratio
- Crude death rates and age-specific death rates
- Cause-specific death ratio
- Infant, neonatal, early neonatal, late neonatal, post neonatal and under five mortality rates
- Life expectancy at birth
- Youth dependency ratio
- Old age dependency ratio
- Ageing of the population
- Population density
- Sex ratio
- Average annual rate of growth
- Index of ageing

#### Health

Indicators available across the subregion include:

- The state of health of the population
- The incidence of major diseases
- Health-care facilities (material, financial, human resource)
- Health care services
- Mortality rates

Within this framework, indicators disaggregate diseases, public, mental and dental health. Indicators also further specify data in relation to death.

# Religions practised

Most countries have indicators on various religions practised. These indicators often appear in the population statistics and include:

- Adventist
- Anglican
- Baptist
- Church of God
- Hindu
- Jehovah's Witness
- Jewish
- Methodist
- Mohammedan
- Moravian
- Muslim
- Pentecostal
- Presbyterian
- Protestant
- Roman Catholic
- Seventh Day Adventist

#### Education

In most countries statistical indicators on education include:

- School enrolment by level of education
- Highest level of education attained including school leaving certificates and certification from technical and vocational schools
- Material means (schools/institutions)
- Human resources
- Costs for educational services
- Repeater rates
- Drop-out rates

The above indicators are not always disaggregated by sex.

#### Labour force

Indicators on social aspects of labour and employment are generally applied in the census, and specifically in the labour force sample surveys. The major categories are usually the employed, unemployed and outside the labour force.

In most countries statistical indicators on the employed population include:

- Occupation, age and sex
- Level of education
- Total hours worked
- Training received

In most countries statistical indicators on the unemployed population include:

- Age and sex
- Duration of unemployment
- Level of education
- Present means of support

#### Social communication

In most countries statistical indicators relative to social communication appear in sections on transport and communications, or sometimes in miscellaneous.

Public transport may include:

- Bus
- Mini bus
- Taxi

Communications may include:

- Radio
- Telephone
- Television
- Postal service
- Telecommunications

#### Social services

The statistical indicators on social services generally measure the accommodation of people within the social security system. Different governmental services provide income security and social need facilities, directed towards particular target groups.

Target groups are mainly:

- Older Persons
- Widows
- Orphans
- Young single mothers (in few countries)

Social security indicators, which provide general benefits, include:

- Accident insurance
- Food aid
- Free legal assistance
- Free medical assistance (Pour Pauvre [for the poor] Cards)
- Invalidity pension
- Illness/sickness benefits
- Maternity allowances
- Minimum wages
- Widows and orphans insurance

# Security

In most countries, indicators on security or public order include:

- Embezzlement
- Robbery and housebreaking
- Larceny
- Assault
- Illegal entry
- Indecent assault
- Malicious damage
- Offences against life
- Reported crimes
- Smuggling
- Swindling and forgery
- Traffic offences

In most countries these general indicators provide data listed under, for example, the following headings:

- Cases reported and accepted
- Crime against persons
- Crime against property
- Other major crimes

Many countries also report on juvenile offenders. Relevant data is generally collected under the following indicators:

- Juvenile offenders
- Destitute juvenile offenders
- Juvenile offenders arrested with a weapon

# Housing

Indicators on housing vary per country. Generally, the indicators are used to provide data about the housing stock, and include year of construction, quality of construction and building plans. In most countries there are similar distinctions with regard to housing and shelter. These include, for example:

- Dwellings in leasehold
- Squatting
- Housing tenure
- Houses with piped water
- Houses without piped water
- Houses with sewers
- Houses without sewers
- Houses with electricity
- Houses without electricity
- Sanitation situation
- Solid waste collection
- Water and sanitation
- Otorization rate
- Demand for housing
- Qualitative and quantitative housing deficit
- Dwelling units by year built
- Dwelling units by type of land tenancy

# **Specific indicators**

Differences in ethnic composition, geographic location, historical occurrences and identification of areas of importance have led some countries to include specific indicators, not generally found in other countries of the region, in the social categories outlined above. Below are some instances of this situation.

#### Public health

Some countries use indicators to present a situation in a particular field for a relatively short period of time. In *Belize*, *Guyana* and *Suriname*, for example, specific data is provided on "reported cases of malaria, by type", over a certain period. These countries also publish data on "Physiotherapy Treatments". This kind of data is not available generally throughout the Caribbean.

Other data not usually found in all Caribbean countries but which are specific to some countries like the *Netherlands Antilles* include:

- Cumulative totals of AIDS patients (for August 1987, September 1988, October 1989, December 1990, August 1992, etc.)
- Geriatric homes (for April 1992)
- Pharmacies, pharmacists and physicians with own pharmacy (for May 1992)
- Number of practising professionals (for April 1992)
- Specialists registered by their specialization (for 1991 and 1992)
- Mortality by cause of death (for 1987)
- Number of acceptor visits to the family planning foundation (for 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991 and 1992)
- Nursing personnel by island (April 1992)

#### Education

Trinidad and Tobago registers "Population by Ethnicity and Highest Level of Education Attainment" and *The British Virgin Islands* publishes data on "Scholarships granted".

#### Labour force

The Bahamas is one of the few countries that makes a distinction between those who are not working because they do not want to work, in which case they would be classified as "outside of the labour force" and those who, though not working, would like to work but are discouraged. They are classified as "discouraged workers" and fall in the category of the unemployed.

The British Virgin Islands publishes data on employed persons in the domestic and household services by earnings, sex and nationality. This is useful and important data about a growing population in most of the countries in the region that is usually lumped together with other categories in most of the other statistical publications in the Caribbean. It also points to the way in which world view can affect the selection of what is considered important social data. One of the possible reasons for the non-inclusion of this indicator in labour statistics is that it is not directly linked to production and, therefore, seen as unimportant.

The Netherlands Antilles includes these data in its labour statistics as follows:

- Unemployed population by most important way of looking for work
- Applications for working permits by occupation
- Applications for working permits by place of birth

*Trinidad and Tobago* is one of the few countries in the region that can be said to be making an effort at including gender sensitive data into its statistical publication. Some of these indicators include:

- Females with jobs by marital/union status and administrative area
- Females with jobs by marital/union status and age group
- Females with jobs by marital/union status and occupational group

# Issues of placement and naming

The placement or location of an indicator, relevant to a certain theme and the names given to such measuring tools tends to be very inconsistent. The following examples illustrate.

#### Social services

Most countries use indicators that speak to the provision of old age pensions and welfare benefits. These indicators tend to appear under different categories and were found in, for example, social security, social security and consumer affairs, pensions and social security and social welfare benefits. This points to the need for standardization in the naming of indicators in order to improve accessibility to data.

# Security

Crime offences also tend to appear under headings with different names in different countries. For example, "Justice and Security", "Public Order and Public Safety", or "National Security and Justice" are different names used by different countries to measure the same phenomenon.

Similarly, various types of offences against life are sometimes lumped together while in some cases the offences are specified and might include, for example:

- Dangerous drugs
- Felonious wounding
- Infanticide
- Manslaughter
- Murder
- Rape and carnal abuse
- Rape and indecent assault
- Robbery
- Shooting
- Suicide

Some countries use specific indicators for certain types of crimes, which are not reported in other countries. For example, the *Netherlands Antilles* uses the indicator, "Offences Against Public Morals" while *Trinidad and Tobago* uses the indicator, "Narcotic Offences" (separate indicator since

1990) and "Possession of Firearms and Ammunition" (indicator since 1990) to record similar data.

#### Utilities

In most countries data on utilities appear under "Public Utilities". However, this information also appears sometimes under "Housing", "Social Services" or even under "Production and Consumption". Under the separate indicator *Electricity*, the following sub-indicators are used:

- Generating capacity
- Availability
- Use
- Expenditure
- Transmission

#### Water

The following sub-indicators are used:

- Production
- Consumption
- Connections
- Distribution
- Expenditure

Indicators on utilities are sometimes also included in Surveys on Household and Living Conditions. In that framework, sub-indicators will also include "Quality of Service".

In a few countries, for example, Jamaica, data on transport also appear under "Utilities" while in other countries, transportation may appear under "Social Communication".

#### The need for new indicators

Changes in the social environment, both nationally and internationally, create the need to revisit social indicators and devise new ones which can adequately reflect changes in the human condition. Attempts to do this might meet with greater success if social categories were selected on a phased basis for re-examination and modification.

Such an attempt was made in the area of family/household in 1993. In an effort to develop social indicators and improve social data on the family, a group of experts of relevant private and public institutions in Latin America met at a meeting convened by

ECLAC, Mar del Plata, 16-17 December 1993. A draft list of indicators on the situation of families was discussed and relevant concerns were expressed in the context of the International Year of the Family. Recommendations of several seminars and workshops held on methodology for analysis of the family were included in the elements of the meeting's work. Consideration was also given to research done on the family in census and household survey documents and databases. The work of the group led to the establishment of a set of indicators on the situation of families. It was envisaged that these indicators would be proposed to governments of the region, taking into account the data that is available in each country. While appreciating the pressure which the construction of new indicators would put on the statistical offices of the countries in the region a listing of new social indicators on the family was nevertheless produced. The meeting agreed that this process is of vital importance in order to improve data and statistics on the family in the region.

The following list of new indicators proposed by the ECLAC Latin American Meeting has been adapted to the Caribbean reality for the purpose of inclusion into the framework of existing indicators on the family.

- Specific adolescent fertility rate
- Births from single women aged 15-49<sup>2</sup>
- Births from unmarried women aged 15-49<sup>3</sup> (single, divorced, separated and in consensual unions [common law])
- Births by marital and union status of women aged 15-49<sup>4</sup>
- Single-person households by sex
- Households by family type (as they appear in the census)
- Non-single women aged 15-24
- Non-single men aged 15-24
- Separated or divorced population aged 15 years and over
- Women in common law unions aged 15-24
- Men in common law unions aged 15-24
- Women aged 15 years and over in common-law unions
- Men aged 15 years and over in common-law unions
- Households where head and husband/wife are economically active
- Households in poverty in rural and urban areas
- Overcrowded households<sup>5</sup>
- Children aged 0-14 years in households with low educational climate
- Population aged 0-14 years in incomplete nuclear households

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Only available from Census data, therefore every 10 years.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Only calculated from Census data, therefore, every 10 years. Alternately from special surveys.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Only calculated from Census data, therefore, every 10 years. Alternately from special surveys.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Only available from Census data, therefore every 10 years. The data can be constructed by checking the Census average number of persons per room or per bedroom, depending on whether the dwelling has partition of space or not.

- Population aged 0-14 years in complete nuclear households with active head and husband/wife
- Population aged 0-14 years in complete nuclear households with heads in consensual union
- Population aged 0-14 years in households in situations of poverty
- Population aged 0-14 years in households on situations of destitution
- Population aged 0-14 years in overcrowded households (see definition)
- Population aged 0-14 years in households with low educational climate (less than 6 years of formal education)
- Persons aged 65 years and over, by sex who do not live alone, nor alone with their partners
- Homeless persons by age and sex
- Number of destitute
- Number of destitute older persons by place of residence
- Number of destitute older persons by race/ethnicity/nationality
- Number of homeless
- Maternity leave provision by law

The above indicators may be particularly relevant for collection of data on specific components of poverty in the family.

# The role of indicators in social policy

Although one of the roles of social indicators is to help in the formulation of social policy, they are not always used in this way. Some indicators assume greater importance than others in social policy, as governments and policy makers grapple with problems that need immediate attention.

# Housing

In the area of human settlement, housing indicators have assumed prominence in social policy at various periods in the history of countries in the region because of issues of squatting, overcrowding, increased demand for housing and reduction of housing stock due to natural disasters.

In spite of this, however, plans and policies that are now in place can be strengthened by a more effective system of indicators that accurately measure housing conditions. Beside 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 the introduction of an indicator that measures overcrowding. Assessment of national disasters can also be speeded up if a system of indicators that monitors housing conditions is already in place.

#### Squatting

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 because, 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 dealt with by policy makers only 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 comprehenive solution can only come over time". (L. Alan Eyre 1997, pg. 99).

There are many names for squatter settlements throughout the region: shantytowns, informal housing, informal settlements, self-help housing, to name a few. In the case of Guyana, self-help housing can take place within the formal structure and with government's assistance. These settlements are said to exhibit four classic forms:

- (a) Shantytowns on captured land which pass through several stages of improvement until they are absorbed into the formal urban fabric.
- (b) Shantytowns on captured land which are aborted and eventually removed by the State or by private owners.
- (c) Shantytowns on rented land where there are severe limitations on physical improvement, since notice can be given at anytime or the land may be sold to another owner.
- (d) Shantytowns on captured land or rented land, where tenure is controversial, restricting improvement and leaving the population in a kind of tense limbo of perpetual uncertainty. (L. Alan Eyre 1997 pg. 79)

A modest look at the experience in a few countries may illustrate. At the same time, attention is given to relevant policies in the respective countries.

#### Jamaica

As in many other Caribbean countries, squatting has become a problem in Jamaica. Research has shown that "the majority of rural Jamaicans and a large proportion of urban residents live in dwellings to which they have contributed all or most of the construction input by self-help methods". The absolute numbers of this method of housing are "rivaled only in the entire region by the vast shantytowns of Port-au-Prince, Haiti and Santo Domingo in the Dominican Republic". (L. Alan Eyre 1997 pg. 77)

The widespread nature of squatting in Jamaica, speaks also to the absence of the

necessary infrastructure that goes along with most housing developments. The poor social conditions that result from this have caused numerous conflicts between squatters and the government, mediated by the police in many instances. In spite of this, there is no comprehensive inventory of "self-help" housing of shantytowns in Jamaica.

#### Trinidad and Tobago

In Trinidad and Tobago, the State has been accused of "reacting only when low-income housing needs have become acute and have manifested themselves in extreme ways, such as widespread squatting." (Linda Hewitt 1997, pg. 161)

In 1992, the government of the day announced the implementation of a settlements programme involving the establishment of two sub-programmes. These were a "Sites and Services" programme and a "Squatter Regularization" programme. Elements of these programmes included the provision of infrastructure including all weather roads, sewers, water and electricity, as well as residential buildings made available to prospective purchasers. A Housing Information System which was to provide specific types of data required for directing programmes in housing and settlement was also planned.

So far the implementation of these programme elements has been described as "a slow and cumbersome process" (ibid.), and in most instances, attempts to provide low-income housing to the poor have often fallen far from the target.

Although the units of measurement vary throughout the data sources available, the following may throw some light on the development of squatting in Trinidad and Tobago over the 1979-1990 period.

Table I
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

Total squatters in 1979 were 7550 households or 33020 people. There was an increase in squatters by the 1990s. Between 1985 and 1990, for example, squatting increased by 5 per cent of the population.

Table II shows the extent of the increase in squatting among households between 1979 and 1990.

Table II

Increased squatting in Trinidad and Tobago

Year	Squatters
1979	7,550
1990	25,000

# Guyana

In Guyana, squatting has not traditionally been the result of rapid population growth, but rather of racial interaction between the two major ethnic groups in the country. In fact, in the early 1960s racial conflict had led large numbers of people to move out of racially integrated districts to form racially homogeneous communities on captured lands. In addition to this, however, other factors have led to further increases in squatter settlements in Guyana in the contemporary period. These include overcrowded households, the inability of government to provide housing since the mid-1980s and increased financial destitution.

In recent times the Government of Guyana has demonstrated the same "see-saw" approach in its attitude towards squatting as is the case with many other governments in the region. While seeking to regularize squatting in some areas already captured by communities, the Government has been moved to bulldoze others from lands that had been earmarked for other development activities.

In the context of research and the development of new indicators, therefore, it is clear that effective housing policies must be supported with, among other things, much more research and analysis, and the development of indicators which can accurately measure the state of housing, in general, and squatting, in particular. It is only when this is done that programmes of assistance can be "fashioned to make a significant impact upon the acute situation which now exists". (Hewitt in an interview with ECLAC for its magazine "Caribbean Action on Population & Development").

#### Policies to increase the availability of housing

The continued reluctance of private developers to invest in low-income housing means that the public sector still plays a major role in the direct provision of shelter to the most disadvantaged groups in most of the Caribbean countries. Numerous attempts by successive governments to provide low-income housing have resulted in situations where the final cost for such housing was out of the reach of the population for which it was targeted. Governments have therefore sought to put in place tighter housing policies and plans to help them achieve the objective of providing housing for its population. The strategies and objectives of Jamaica, Guyana and Trinidad and

Tobago are outlined next.

#### Jamaica

At the Regional Meeting of Ministers and High-Level Authorities of the Housing and Urban Development Sector in Latin America and the Caribbean (Santiago, Chile, 16-20 March 1992) Jamaica agreed that for provision of shelter to all by the year 2000 the following must be done:

- Produce 15000 new housing solutions
- Undertake 9600 upgrades each year

A national shelter strategy was therefore formulated to:

- Provide new and affordable housing
- Upgrade existing housing
- Service lots for low-income families
- Provide core, starter and shell houses for poor families
- Increase private sector participation in developing housing solutions
- Provide basic services (roads, water and sanitation) on land sold to low-income persons
- Upgrade squatter areas through the establishment of appropriate boundaries and provision of starter homes, sometimes core units, in fully serviced lots
- Refurbish prefabricated housing plants
- Construct lower middle and middle income housing units
- Encourage private sector involvement in the provision of low-income housing solutions
- Facilitate the flow of funds from public and private funding agencies to the low-to moderate-income housing market

For the Jamaica Housing Programme 1990/1999 - 1994/1995 specific indicators were used to measure implementation of the plans. These indicators, listed below, are very useful for monitoring purposes.

The number of units addressed by the Housing Programme were measured with the following indicators:

- Upgrading of existing stock
- Squatter upgrading
- Conversion of rentals to sales schemes
- Comprehensive urban development
- New built housing
- Core housing
- Starter homes
- Serviced sites
- Housing assistance programme

- Housing scheme units
- Consolidated development areas

#### Guyana

The building sector of Guyana seriously declined in the 1980s, owing partly to the effects of the country's economic recovery programme. In an effort to address the deficits created during this period, the government has developed the following programmes:

- Self-help housing
- Land development
- Improvement of squatter areas
- Provision of rental apartments
- Provision of houses, with an option to purchase
- Tax relief measures to attract private investment
- New and amended legislation to facilitate the implementation of policy decisions
- Consideration of innovative methods of producing inexpensive building materials

# Guyana's policies for the future include:

- Mobilizing uncommitted funds for housing development
- Attaining higher levels of cost recovery
- Utilizing existing resources and skills in low-income communities, and
- Broadening the range of local inputs for construction

# Trinidad and Tobago

To address its housing problems, the Government of Trinidad and Tobago has adopted a policy framework based on the following standards:

- (a) Shelter is a fundamental right;
- (b) Investment in physical infrastructure and housing will have economic multipliers and create employment;
- (c) Shelter and housing policy will address historical imbalances, gender, politics, religion and vested interests will be considered within a framework of equitable national development;
- (d) Sustainable settlements approach will be the objective of policy rather than limited welfare approaches (Country Report Housing and Settlement in Trinidad and Tobago, 1996).

  Non-governmental housing projects include:
  - (a) The Cachipe and St. Mary's Farmers Cooperative

- (b) The Mount Pleasant Credit Union
- (c) The Caroni (1975) Ltd. Spontaneous Settlement Programme, Central Trinidad
- (d) The Sou Sou Land Programme

The Sou Sou Land Programme is a major attempt at land distribution undertaken by private initiative. It is experimental and involves a revitalization and expansion of rural villages and small townships. One of the aims of this programme is to reverse the trend of rural migration to urban areas in the congested east-west corridor of the country. It is also intended to strengthen local government and decentralize administrative functions to villages and townships. The following are some of the characteristics of the Sou Sou Lands Project:

- Pooling of resources by landless people to purchase land for agriculture as well as housing;
- Properties are on the fringes of residential zones and are usually abandoned agricultural estates;
- The land is provided with basic infrastructure paved roads, water reticulation and earthen drains;
- Upgrading of infrastructure and construction of houses through self-help and assistance from local government and authorities;
- Land acquisitions, which started in 1984 with two projects. Since then 2,000 acres and more have been acquired as planned and the company incorporated in 1984 for the purpose of implementing the plans continues the work quite successfully. (Ministry of Housing and Settlements, November 2000).

The strategies and policies outlined above illustrate the complexity of the task facing governments in the provision of housing, particularly low-income housing, to their populations. Many of the strategies involve long-term planning and multisectoral involvement. Most important however, is the need for research in order to identify target populations, availability of funds and best practices in the construction of low-income housing. Data is also needed to monitor growth in the demand for housing as well as to monitor the condition of existing houses, all of which are crucial to the formulation of policy.

#### **Indicators**

Housing is just one example of the kind of area in which important policies are being formulated in the absence of adequate, accurate and regular data. Notwithstanding the existence of some housing indicators, experts in the field agree that there is a need for the development of new indicators in order to effectively and comprehensively capture the conditions in this area.

# PART III CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### Social data

While social indicators have provided some sort of tool for measurement of development so far, complaints about inadequate or inappropriate measurement persist. In fact, this reflects the poverty of the social data rather than that of existing social indicators. Unlike the long and widespread tradition to collect and improve economic data, social data have, perhaps with the exception of traditional areas such as education and health, hardly been collected, organized or fine-tuned for use in measuring social development in general and specific areas, in particular. Therefore, the availability of social data and of systematic collection of reliable social statistics is also limited. The relevance of any social indicator and the quality of the Human Development Index are dependent on the accuracy of the social data.

In several countries, much information is periodically collected, but is lost because it is not readily accessible or available in print. In some cases it is not processed, in other cases administrative, financial and human resources obstacles render the data inaccessible. Much data is collected, but once collected is simply piled up and stored away. It also needs to be recognized that classic social problems are multisectoral in character. Their assessment, therefore, includes the application and use of indicators which are not always purely social. They may have to include, for example, economic, environmental and technical elements as well.

#### Who needs the data?

Surely social data is needed for purposes of planning, research, policy formulation and implementation. While data is primarily for any development activity, it too often occurs that the information does not reach those institutions, individuals and groups which operate in social development sectors. The challenge of producing data should be to create data collection and processing systems that would allow the strategic organization, involved in development work, to have at least a minimal flow of information or easy and regular access to the data. In many cases, teachers, social workers, physicians, judges, attorneys, etc., continue to work blindly; often the only concrete data they receive is related to new budget cuts. Schools, health centres, local authorities, development corporations and banks, professional organizations and many other organizations often fail to meet their objectives and to provide their services because of the inability to access the data required.

# Methodology

The review of indicators should inform the presentation of data. The method used is based on secondary sources of data available at the Caribbean Documentation Centre in Port of Spain. It should be noted that the sources and the data suffer from limitations which affect the information and analysis presented in this document. Nevertheless, the exercise is important and justifies considering the need to address the issue of social indicators and social data in the Caribbean.

#### The indicators

Not all established social indicators known to exist in the Caribbean appear in this document. Some appear in other ECLAC publications, for example, in the field of population and development. The absence of some others is due to structural limitations as referred to above. As said before, this document is not meant to be all-inclusive. Its main objective is to discuss and review some social indicators with particular relevance to social development concerns today.

#### Improving data availability in the Caribbean

The first imperative for data availability is more in-depth field research in the Caribbean. Much research is needed on social issues, groups and sectors in the local environment. It should also be recognized that there are certain circumstances in Caribbean countries which require pragmatic approaches. In some cases the *how* to take action in the social development arena in order to reach greater efficiency and effectiveness is more important in the specific social and cultural context of a society than only to know *what* needs to be done.

Currently available methodologies produce indicators which are sometimes too general and which are unable to identify the source of problems relative to, for example, persistent school dropout rates, adolescent pregnancies, child abandonment, unemployed youths or crime and violence. It will be necessary to examine how to identify target populations, how to obtain information in a rapid and valid way, and how to reach beneficiaries.

Furthermore, sectoral approaches persist although there is sufficient proof of their limitations. The need for multidisciplinary, intersectoral and interinstitutional approaches cannot be overemphasized.

Another major limitation stems from the fact that there are major differences among countries in terms of recording data. For example, the size of households is an important factor in assessing social development in any country. Yet, most countries in the subregion do not publish this data. Then while, for example, in the section on housing in one publication on social indicators, one country provides data on the number of persons living in households and on the incidence of overcrowded households, another country would mainly concentrate on household consumption and publishes no data on the size of households in a section on housing within a Survey of Living Conditions in particular years.

Data availability is problematic for several reasons referred to earlier. For the purpose of this document, while some countries have been able to provide data which was otherwise not readily accessible, other countries have not been in a position to do so. Limitations have also arisen in terms of including data so received, because of incoherence and difference in the conceptualization of indicators in various countries.

Finally, consideration of the need for qualitative research is advisable. Qualitative research serves to complement quantitative data, as it allows for an understanding of both factors which cause and those which could alleviate poverty from the perspective of the poor themselves as well.

The listing of social areas of concern in the Caribbean could be extended with the following:

- (a) Social experiences of people with HIV/AIDS for which area collaboration could be cemented with CAREC;
  - (b) Measures of plurality, and/or of linguistic, ethnic, racial and religious diversity;
- (c) Governance in the context of accountability, transparency, participation and empowerment;
- (d) Gender balance in social development, and several other issues of contemporary relevance.

A national model of governing needs active, social policy and, by extension, information which enables it to recognize problems early, set priorities and monitor and control the success and the impact of its policies.

The development of social indicators as a means of informing the society, in general, and social policy makers, in particular, about the condition of society is important. The rise of social indicators research signals a response to increased demands for information made by an active social policy. It is also a response to the challenge to operationalize and to quantify its core formula, "the concept of quality of life".

Increasingly, traditional indicators such as those of social service delivery, for example, are failing to adequately depict the actual quality of the services being rendered, as well as the reality of the impact of these services on various groups within the society. The challenge, therefore, is for the development of improved measures of social phenomena and for more creative ways of collecting and reporting on this data. It is important, in understanding the role of social indicators, that it is not merely for the development of an information base of social phenomena, but rather, it also seeks to monitor social change and measure welfare within the society. In this context, changes in indicators must be able to be interpreted quite clearly as an improvement or deterioration of welfare, or of the quality of life. "Social reporting"  $\Box$  the analysis and presentation of the data - is therefore as important as is collection and measurement.

#### **Concluding remarks**

The task of reconceptualizing social indicators and social data in the Caribbean has been stimulated, in part, by the recognition of social policy makers, international organizations and various individuals of the need for more precise tools of measurement. This document, in its contribution to the ongoing discussion and research, has identified some of the issues of importance which must be dealt with in order to achieve the objective of new and improved social indicators.

At a very basic level, there is a need for all of the countries in the Caribbean to come to a common understanding of the role and meaning of social indicators as tools to measure and monitor social conditions. Such an understanding will aid in the development of indicators which are logically placed and named and which are also commonly defined.

The document also speaks to the need for further field research, using longitudinal and other kinds of research techniques, in order to develop new indicators of relevance and to fine-tune and test indicators which are presently being used.

With regard to the need for policy makers, professionals and other stake-holders to be able to rely significantly on social indicators to inform their decision-making, this document has pointed to the need, not only for greater availability of data, but also for greater clarity of presentation and a recognition of the effectiveness and importance of a multidisciplinary and multisectoral approach in the conceptualization of indicators and the collection of data. This, of course, raises the question of new approaches in the field of social indicators research which may help in the resolution of some of the limitations which are presently being encountered.

# New approaches

In modern social indicators research, a new development has emerged in the 1990s which introduces a distinction between *objective* and *subjective* social indicators. The idea is to combine one concept of welfare - using objective indicators, which is defined as the extent to which a person has command over resources in order to control and guide his or her living conditions, with another concept of welfare - using subjective indicators, which is defined as a person's satisfaction and happiness with his or her living conditions. Despite the criticisms of each individual approach, the consensus is that both indicators should be used, given that similar living conditions can be evaluated quite differently. The combination of objective conditions and subjective well-being enables the construction of a classification of welfare positions which may be useful for guiding social policy.

#### **OBJECTIVE SOCIAL INDICATORS**

Represent social facts independently of personal evaluations – examples:

Unemployment rate Poverty rate Working hours per week

#### SUBJECTIVE SOCIAL INDICATORS

Based on an individual's perception and evaluation of social conditions

Life satisfaction Job satisfaction Class identification According to this approach, good living conditions and positive well-being, which is the preferred combination, is called "well-being". Bad living conditions and a negative well-being on the other hand, is described as "deprivation". When good living conditions are combined with dissatisfaction, this is described as "dissonance", and speaks to unmet expectations. "Adaptation", is the combination of bad living conditions and satisfaction. The latter group is a particularly interesting one since it represents the reality of powerlessness and social retreat. It is this group which adapts to the deficiencies in the delivery of social services and which is often overlooked.

The challenge to the development and modification of social indicators is to find ways, as in the use of the analytical tool described above, to better monitor change and measure welfare so as to inform social policy on ways to divide the pie among the different groups in society.

Table III

Categories of individual welfare

Objective Living Conditions	Subjective Living Conditions			
	Good	Bad		
Good	Well-being	Dissonance		
Bad	Adaptation	Deprivation		

The view exists that although social reporting is largely retrospective at present, it can and should be developed into an instrument that anticipates the future. Some social scientists believe that through the application of scenario techniques and projections, the potential of social indicators as a tool for prognosis is very possible.

The perspectives for further developments in social indicators research and social reporting reveal a multitude of avenues for change. A review of the usefulness of concepts of welfare and quality of life seem necessary in light of the changes that are taking place in society today.

Data as collected and compiled on the basis of particular indicators used by countries in the subregion or by external institutions studying these countries, are presented in the Annex to this document.

# <u>Annex</u>

# Table 1 Vital Social Statistics in the Caribbean

Country	Population	l	recent was		Infant Mortality	Crude Birth Rate
		(most recent years)			Per 1000 live	1991
	1990				births (1990)	1991
	1990	Male	Female	Year	Ulturs (1990)	
Antigua and	64	69	72	85-90	19c	20
Barbuda						
Aruba	67					
Bahamas	255	68	75	89-91	24	24a
Barbados	257	67	73	80	13	17a
Belize	189	70	74	91	14	35
British Virgin	16	66	75	85-90	10	19
Islands						
Cuba	10625	72	76	85-90	10c	17
Dominica	72	64	70	85-90	15	25
Dominican Republic	7170	68	72	90-95	42	27
Grenada	91	68	74	85-90	28	26
Guyana	796	62	68	90-95	45c	24
Haiti	6486	55	58	90-95	86b	35b
Jamaica	2415	71	76	90-95	18c	25
Montserrat	11	64	70	85-90	19	20
Netherlands Antilles	188	72	78	81-91	11c	18
Puerto Rico	3527	70	79	90-92	12c	22
St. Kitts/Nevis	42	65	70	91	20	28
Saint Lucia	133	68	75	86	20	24a
St. Vincent and the	107	67	72	85-90	21	22
Grenadines						
Suriname	404	68	73	90-95	34c	20
Trinidad and Tobago	1215	68	73	90	13	

Sources: Demographic Yearbook 1995; Regional digest of Selected Demographic & Social Statistics 1960-1994, LC/CAR/G.456 a=1990 b= 1990-1995 c=1989-1994

Total fertility rates in selected Caribbean countries

1970-1990

Table 2

COUNTRY	1970	1980	1991
The Bahamas	4.1	3.2	2.5 <b>d</b>
Barbados	3.0	1.9	2.0 <b>d</b>
Belize	6.3	5.6	4.5
British Virgin Islands	3.6	2.8	2.0
Cuba	3.5 <b>a</b>	1.9 <b>b</b>	1.8 <b>d</b>
Dominica	6.6	4.2 <b>c</b>	3.1
Dominican Republic	5.6 <b>a</b>	4.4 <b>b</b>	3.7
Grenada	4.3	3.4	3.4
Guyana		3.2	3.1 <b>d</b>
Haiti	5.8 <b>a</b>	5.1 <b>b</b>	6.4 <b>d</b>
Jamaica		3.5	2.9 <b>f</b>
Montserrat	4.1	2.4	2.6
Netherlands Antilles	2.7	2.3	
Puerto Rico	3.0 <b>a</b>	2.6 <b>b</b>	2.3 <b>d</b>
St. Kitts/Nevis	5.4	3.4	2.7
St. Lucia	6.3	4.0	3.2
St. Vincent and the	6.1	3.9	2.9
Grenadines			
Suriname	5.3 <b>a</b>	3.6 <b>b</b>	
Trinidad and Tobago	3.6	3.2	2.4 <b>d</b>

Sources: Social Indicators for Development 1996;

Regional digest of Selected Demographic & Social Statistics 1960-1994, LC/CAR/G.456

a=1970-1975; b=1980-1985; c=1981; d=1990; f=1989

Table 3 Live births to teenagers in selected Caribbean countries

COUNTRIES	1980		19	84	1988	
	<15	15-19	<15 yrs	15-19	<15 yrs	15-19
	yrs	yrs		yrs		yrs
Antigua and	10	365	12	277	10	220
Barbuda						
Bahamas	22	1085	58	821	23	814
Barbados	29	924	12	822	9	520
Belize	15	1396	17	1101	12	1174
British Virgin		33	1	26		30
Islands						
Grenada*	11	677				
Jamaica	405	15331	358	14554		
St. Lucia	10	1122	23	1069	10	791
St. Vincent & the	9	894	17	857		
Grenadines						
Trinidad & Tobago	73	5356	88	4847	75	3393

Source: National Statistical Reports
\* In 1980 Grenada registers 11 live births for ages 15 and under and a total of 677 live births for ages 15-19 yrs

Table 4
Live births by age of mother in Montserrat, 1990-1994

AGE	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994
13	0	1	0	0	0
14	1	0	0	0	0
15	0	2	2	1	1
16	1	4	3	4	2
17	10	8	10	5	3
18	12	7	7	7	2
19	13	11	8	9	7
TOTAL	37	33	30	26	15

Source: Statistics Department, Montserrat, West Indies, October 1995

Table 5

Classification of Caribbean economies
By income, 1995

LOW INCOME	MIDDLE LOWER	MIDDLE UPPER INCOME	HIGH INCOME	NOT CLASSIFIED	
	INCOME				
<ul><li>➢ Guyana</li><li>➢ Haiti</li></ul>	<ul> <li>Belize</li> <li>Cuba</li> <li>Dominica</li> <li>Dominican Republic</li> <li>Grenada</li> <li>Jamaica</li> <li>St. Vincent &amp; The Grenadines</li> <li>Suriname</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>Antigua/Barbuda</li> <li>Aruba</li> <li>Barbados</li> <li>Netherlands</li></ul>	> Bahamas > U.S. Virgin Islands	<ul> <li>British         Virgin         Islands</li> <li>Montserrat</li> </ul>	

Source: Social Indicators for Development 1995, World Bank

Table 6
Social expenditure (% GDP) in three sectors
Selected Caribbean countries

Country	Fo	od	Hou	sing	Transport &		
				_	Communications		
	1980-	1989-	1980-	1989-	1980-	1989-	
	1985	1994	1985	1994	1985	1994	
The Bahamas	7.4		13.8		10.2		
Barbados	22.4		11.7	i	4.3		
Belize		24.2		9.8		10.7	
British Virgin Islands				ł	-		
Cuba				I	-		
Dominica				-	-		
Dominican Republic	37.6		12.4	I	3.3		
Grenada	28.6		15.1		8.1		
Guyana				-	-		
Haiti				I			
Jamaica	27.2		11.0	I	12.0		
Montserrat				-			
Netherlands Antilles				-	-		
Puerto Rico				I	-		
St. Kitts/Nevis							
St. Lucia	28.2		11.5	-	3.9		
St. Vincent & the		39.7		12.1		2.5	
Grenadines							
Suriname	27.8		6.1	-	4.9		

Source: Social Indicators of Development, 1996

Table 7

Percentage of central government expenditure in four sectors

Selected Caribbean countries

Country	Education		Health I		Housing and Community Amenities		Social Security & Welfare	
	<b>1980</b> <i>a</i>	<b>'92-'95</b>	<b>1980</b> <i>a</i>	<b>'92-'95</b>	<b>1980</b> <i>a</i>	<b>'92-'95</b>	<b>1980</b> <i>a</i>	<b>'92-'95</b>
Antigua & Barbuda								
The Bahamas	20.8	18.7	13.8	14.6	0.1	1.3	6.7	4.1
Barbados	19.5	-	10.8		6.0		14.3	
Belize	15.8	16.4	8.9	15.9	3.1	9.5		3.5
Cuba		-						
Dominica								
Dominican Republic	13.9	9.6	9.7	11.3	6.1	14.9	7.5	4.2
Grenada								
Guyana	10.2		5.7		0.3		3.0	
Haiti								
Jamaica								
St. Kitts/Nevis								
St. Lucia		i						
St. Vincent and the	15.6	15.9	10.0	12.5		1.9		6.4
Grenadines								
Suriname								
Trinidad & Tobago	11.2		5.9		11.4		6.4	

Source: Human Development Report, 1997 a – data refer to 1980 or a year around 1980.

Table 8
Social expenditures in the Netherlands Antilles
1980-1991

Years	Health & Housing	Transport & Communication	Public Order	Social Security
1980	2.0	1.3	2.3	4.0
1981	2.0	0.8	2.8	4.4
1982	2.0	0.9	3.1	4.7
1983	2.1	0.8	2.9	2.5
1984	2.3	0.9	3.2	4.9
1985	2.1	0.7	2.9	4.8
1988	1.5	0.7	2.4	4.1
1989	1.5	0.7	2.2	3.9
1990	1.5	0.7	2.3	4.0
1991	1.6	0.7	2.5	4.1

Source: Statistics Department, Netherlands Antilles, 1995

Table 9
Illiteracy in selected Caribbean countries 1970-1994

Country	% of population aged 15+		% of population aged 15+	l .	% of population aged 15+	% of females aged 15+
	1970-1975		1980-1985		1989-1994	
Antigua & Barbuda					5	
Bahamas					2	2
Barbados	1				3	3
Belize	9				9	
Cuba			8	9	4	5
Dominica	6				6	
Dominican Republic	33		20	22	18	18
Grenada	2				3	
Guyana	8		5	6	2	5
Haiti	79		52	58	55	58
Jamaica	4		2	2	15	11
St. Kitts/Nevis	2				10	
St. Lucia	18			<u></u>	10	
St. Vincent & the	4				18	
Grenadines				! !		
Suriname			7	8	7	9
Trinidad & Tobago	8		4	5	2	3

Source: Social Indicators of Development, 1996

Table 10

# Average household size (number of persons per household) Selected Caribbean countries

COUNTRY	1970	1980	1990
15 1 1			
Antigua and Barbuda	4.3 <b>a</b>	•••	
The Bahamas	4.2	4.3	3.8
Barbados	4.0	3.6	3.3
Belize	5.2	5.3	5
Cuba	4.5 <b>a</b>	•••	
Dominica	4.6	4.2	3.6
Dominican Republic	5.3	4.8	
Grenada	4.7	4.2	3.9
Guyana	5.4	5.1	4.7
Haiti	3.6 <b>a</b>		
Jamaica	4.0 <b>a</b>	4.3	
Montserrat	3.5	3.1	2.8
Puerto Rico	4.2 <b>a</b>	3.7 <b>b</b>	
St. Kitts/Nevis	4.0	3.7	3.4
St. Lucia	4.6	4.6	4
St. Vincent and the	5.1	4.8	3.9
Grenadines			
Trinidad and Tobago	4.6	4.2	4.1

Sources: Social Indicators for Development 1995;

Regional digest of Selected Demographic & Social Statistics 1960-1994,

LC/CAR/G.456

a=1970-1975 b= 1980-1985

Table 11

# Pregnant women with anaemia % of population (15-49 yrs.) Selected Caribbean countries

COUNTRY	1975-1991
Antigua & Barbuda	
The Bahamas	12
Barbados	29
Belize	65
Cuba	
Dominica	28
Dominican Republic	
Grenada	63
Guyana	58
Haiti	
Jamaica	62
St. Kitts/Nevis	57
St. Lucia	22
St. Vincent & the Grenadines	20
Suriname	
Trinidad & Tobago	

Source: Human Development Report, 1997

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