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Constructing Development: A Caribbean-centered Approach for Security and Growth

Paula Lynne Lockhart

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Constructing Development: A Caribbean-centered Approach for Security and Growth

by

Paula Lockhart

A Dissertation Presented to the
Graduate School of Humanities and Social Sciences of Nova Southeastern University
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

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This dissertation was submitted by Paula Lockhart under the direction of the chair of the dissertation committee listed below. It was submitted to the Graduate School of Humanities and Social Sciences and approved in partial fulfillment for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Conflict Analysis and Resolution at Nova Southeastern University.

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Chair

Dedication

I dedicate this dissertation work to my parents, siblings, son, husband and family and friends who supported me and encouraged me throughout this process. You have been my strength and rock. Thank you. Let us continue to push to advance peace and prosperity for all in our country, region and the world.

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Table of Contents

List of Tables.....	xiv
List of Figures.....	xv
Abstract.....	xx
Chapter 1: Introduction to the Study	
Introduction	1
The Caribbean Region.....	1
The Character of the Caribbean.....	4
Geography and Topography.....	5
A Unique Brand of SIDS (Small Island developing States)	12
Caribbean SIDS.....	14
Regional Efforts and Integration	16
CARICOM.....	16
A Development-Peace Theory.....	18
Development and Caribbean security.....	23
Case Study Country Profiles	24
Barbados	24
Dominica.....	25
Guyana.....	27
Jamaica.....	28
St. Lucia.....	29
Trinidad and Tobago.....	30
Conclusion	31

Chapter 2. Literature Review.....	32
Introduction.....	32
Sustainable development and the Caribbean Context.....	34
Peace, Security and Development: Addressing Structural Violence	38
The Caribbean Reality.....	48
Global Development Prescriptions.....	55
The Millennium Development Goals.....	55
The Human Development Index.....	63
The Caribbean Discourse.....	67
The Social, Cultural and Historical Context.....	68
Acknowledging Complexity and Difference.....	73
Linking a Cultural Uniqueness and Regional Strategy.....	77
Constructing Theory through Practice.....	83
The Caribbean Consciousness.....	86
Poverty: Finding definition, meaning and measurable criteria.....	88
Poverty and Caribbean Society.....	94
Constructing a Development-oriented Macroeconomic Framework.....	96
The Macroeconomic Framework: Policy Coherence and Economic Growth.....	98
Development Trends.....	103
Theories of Development.....	106
Neoclassical Economic Theory.....	110
World Systems Theory.....	115
Dependency Theory.....	117

Assessing the Dependency Model.....	119
Dependency and Development: from Lomé to Cotonou.....	120
CARICOM Single Market and Economy (CSME)	130
CSME Economic Domain.....	132
CSME Social Dimension.....	135
Ecological and Environmental Domain.....	137
CSME Government and Leadership.....	138
Additional Efforts of the CSME.....	140
CSME Challenges and Responses.....	142
Conclusion	145
Chapter 3: Methodology.....	146
Introduction.....	146
Qualitative Paradigm	146
Rationale for Qualitative Research.....	150
Data Collection and Analysis.....	152
Case Selection	153
Problem Statement.....	154
Purpose Statement.....	155
Research Questions and Hypothesis.....	156
Motivation and Relevance to the discipline.....	157
Conceptual Approach.....	158
Delimitations.....	161
Surveying Development: The Research Process.....	163

The Millennium Development Goals of Development.....	163
The Human Development Index.....	179
The research Logic.....	180
Credibility, Transferability, Dependability, and Confirmability.....	182
Trustworthiness.....	183
Ethical Standards.....	184
Conclusion.....	184
Chapter 4: Results.....	186
Introduction.....	186
The Caribbean Development Standing: The MDG Framework.....	187
The Poverty Indicator	187
Variable 1.1: Proportion of population below \$1.25 (PPP) per day...187	
Variable 1.1 Development Findings Overview.....	193
Variable 1.2: Proportion of population below national poverty line..192	
Variable 1.2 Development Findings Overview	198
Human Security Indicator	199
Variable 2.1: the employment-to-population ratio.....	199
Variable 2.1: Development Findings Overview.....	203
Variable 2.2: Purchasing power parity (PPP).....	204
Variable 2.2 Development Findings Overview.....	210
Education Indicator	210
Variable 3.1: Net enrollment ratio in primary education.....	210
Variable 3.1 Development Findings Overview.....	216

Variable 3.2 Literacy rate of 15-24 year-olds.....	217
Variable 3.2 Development Findings Overview.....	218
Equality Indicator	218
Variable 4.1 Ratios of girls to boys in primary Education.....	218
Variable 4.1 Development Findings Overview.....	224
Variable 4.2 women in wage employment-non-agricultural.....	224
Variable 4.2 Development Findings Overview.....	230
Health Indicator.....	231
Variable 5.1 the under-five mortality rate.....	231
Variable 5.1 Development Findings Overview.....	237
Variable 5.2: Population using improved drinking water sources.....	238
Variable 5.2 Development Findings Overview.....	244
The Caribbean Development Standing: The HDI Framework.....	245
Variable 6.1 Life expectancy.....	246
Variable 6.1 Development Findings Overview.....	252
Variable 7.1 Gross National Income.....	252
Variable 7.1 Development Findings Overview.....	258
Variable 8.1 Mean Years of schooling.....	259
Variable 8.1 Development Findings Overview.....	264
Variable 8.2 Expected Years of schooling.....	265
Variable 8.2 Development Findings Overview.....	271
Conclusion and summary of Findings.....	271
Chapter 5: Discussion, Conclusion and Recommendation.	275

Reflections on Research and Findings.....	275
Research Questions and Hypotheses Addressed.....	279
Limitations.....	281
Field and Theory Related contributions.....	281
Implications and Directions for Future research.....	282
Bibliography.....	284

List of Tables

Table 1. Export of Goods (% of GDP).....	9
Table 2. Import of Goods (% of GDP)	9
Table 3. Merchandise Trade Balance (% of GDP)	9

List of Figures

Figure 1. Barbados Proportion of population below \$1.25 per day.....187

Figure 2. Dominica Proportion of population below \$1.25 per day.....188

Figure 3. Guyana Proportion of population below \$1.25 per day.....189

Figure 4. Jamaica Proportion of population below \$1.25 per day.....190

Figure 5. St. Lucia Proportion of population below \$1.25 per day.....191

Figure 6. Trinidad and Tobago Proportion of population below \$1.25 per day.....192

Figure 7. Barbados Proportion of Population Living below National Poverty Line.....194

Figure 8. Dominica Proportion of Population Living below National Poverty Line.....195

Figure 9. Guyana Proportion of Population Living below National Poverty Line.....196

Figure 10. Jamaica Proportion of Population Living below National Poverty Line.....196

Figure 11. St. Lucia Proportion of Population Living below National Poverty Line.....197

Figure 12. Trinidad and Tobago Population Living below National Poverty Line.....198

Figure 13. Barbados employment-to-population ratio199

Figure 14. Dominica employment-to-population ratio.....200

Figure 15. Guyana employment-to-population ratio.....201

Figure 16. Jamaica employment-to-population ratio.....201

Figure 17. St. Lucia employment-to-population ratio.....202

Figure 18. Trinidad and Tobago employment-to-population ratio.....	203
Figure 19 Barbados Purchasing power parity (PPP)	204
Figure 20. Dominica Purchasing power parity (PPP)	205
Figure 21. Guyana Purchasing power parity (PPP)	206
Figure 22. Jamaica Purchasing power parity (PPP)	207
Figure 23. St. Lucia Purchasing power parity (PPP).....	208
Figure 24. Trinidad and Tobago Purchasing power parity (PPP).....	209
Figure 25. Barbados Net enrollment ratio in primary education.....	211
Figure 26. Dominica Net enrollment ratio in primary education.....	212
Figure 27. Guyana Net enrollment ratio in primary education.....	213
Figure 28. Jamaica Net enrollment ratio in primary education.....	214
Figure 29. St. Lucia Net enrollment ratio in primary education.....	215
Figure 30. Trinidad and Tobago Net enrollment ratio in primary education.....	216
Figure 31. Literacy Rates: Percent of Population.....	217
Figure 32. Barbados Ratio of girls to boys in Primary Education.....	219
Figure 33. Dominica Ratio of girls to boys in primary Education.....	220
Figure 34. Guyana Ratio of girls to boys in primary Education.....	221
Figure 35. Jamaica Ratio of girls to boys in primary Education.....	222

Figure 36. St. Lucia Ratio of girls to boys in primary Education.....	223
Figure 37. Trinidad and Tobago Ratio of girls to boys in primary Education.....	223
Figure 38. Barbados Share of women in wage employment-non-agricultural sector.....	225
Figure 39. Dominica Share of women in wage employment -non-agricultural sector...	226
Figure 40. Guyana Share of women in wage employment -non-agricultural sector.....	227
Figure 41. Jamaica Share of women in wage employment -non-agricultural sector.....	228
Figure 42. St. Lucia Share of women in wage employment -non-agricultural sector....	229
Figure 43. Trinidad & Tobago-women in wage employment-non-agricultural sector....	230
Figure 44. Barbados Children under-five mortality Rate.....	232
Figure 45. Dominica Children under-five mortality Rate.....	233
Figure 46. Guyana Children under-five mortality Rate.....	234
Figure 47. Jamaica Children under-five mortality Rate.....	235
Figure 48. St. Lucia Children under-five mortality Rate.....	236
Figure 49. Trinidad and Tobago Children under-five mortality Rate.....	237
Figure 50. Barbados Population using an improved drinking water sources	239
Figure 51. Dominica Population using an improved drinking water sources.....	240
Figure 52. Guyana Population using an improved drinking water sources.....	241
Figure 53. Jamaica Population using an improved drinking water sources.....	242

Figure 54. St. Lucia Population using an improved drinking water sources.....	243
Figure 55. Trinidad and Tobago Population using improved drinking water sources....	244
Figure 56. Barbados Life Expectancy.....	246
Figure 57. Dominica Life Expectancy.....	247
Figure 58. Guyana Life Expectancy.....	248
Figure 59. Jamaica Life Expectancy.....	249
Figure 60. St. Lucia Life Expectancy.....	250
Figure 61. Trinidad and Tobago Life Expectancy	251
Figure 62. Barbados Per Capita GNI-Current Market Prices.....	253
Figure 63. Dominica Per Capita GNI-Current Market Prices.....	254
Figure 64. Guyana Per Capita GNI-Current Market Prices.....	255
Figure 65. Jamaica Per Capita GNI-Current Market Prices.....	256
Figure 66. St. Lucia Per Capita GNI-Current Market Prices.....	257
Figure 67. Trinidad and Tobago Per Capita GNI-Current Market Prices.....	258
Figure 68. Barbados Mean Years of Schooling..	259
Figure 69. Dominica Mean Years of Schooling.....	260
Figure 70. Guyana Mean Years of Schooling.....	261
Figure 71. Jamaica Mean Years of Schooling.....	262

Figure 72. St. Lucia Mean Years of Schooling.....	263
Figure 73. Trinidad and Tobago Mean Years of Schooling.....	264
Figure 74. Barbados Expected Years of schooling	265
Figure 75. Dominica Expected Years of schooling.....	266
Figure 76. Guyana Expected Years of schooling.....	267
Figure 77. Jamaica Expected Years of schooling.....	268
Figure 78. St. Lucia Expected Years of schooling.....	269
Figure 79. Trinidad and Tobago Expected Years of schooling	270

Abstract

For a long time, the Caribbean has experienced underdevelopment even as there have been improvements in living standards. A region is directly linked to the wider global system with historical significances spanning much of the globe, it is important to address this “mis-development” phenomenon in order to advance development that can sustain human security and peace. The case study method employed in this dissertation allowed the opportunity to assess the progress of the issue of peace and development as it occurs across the region. This study tests the development outcome of a number of cases in light of the Millennium Development Goals and the Human Development Index, two different measures and definitions for development success. It presents an analysis of six members of the Caribbean Community (CARICOM), Barbados, Dominica, Guyana, Jamaica, St. Lucia and Trinidad and Tobago, which are representative of the region’s varied and diverse character.

The work also addresses context-specific data alongside other descriptive and inferential statistics, as the region’s history and socio-cultural reality has directly impacted the Caribbean experiences of peace and development. Researchers in the field of peace studies and development theory highlight the importance of addressing this “development-peace” matrix for the furtherance of global security as it relates to human development, and as nontraditional variables become increasingly linked to the progress of development. Subsequently, the findings confirm that there are intrinsic links between socio-cultural realities, the understanding of development, and the progress of development success and human security across Caribbean societies.

Chapter 1: Introduction to the Study

“If we fail to set our own agenda, then someone else will do so. [...] The [Caribbean] region is only too familiar with the notion that ‘one size doesn’t fit all’ (Richards, 2012).”

The Caribbean Region

The Caribbean region constitutes a group of small states deemed ‘micro-states’ based on their physical size, population make up and economic status. Despite the miniscule nature of the region, however, the Caribbean has historically played a crucial role in driving the global economy forward, as it was incorporated into the globe’s earliest and most dominant mercantile system from as early as the sixteenth century (Boswell and Conway, 1992). The region’s superb maritime accessibility, its bountiful resources and unclaimed wealth made it particularly desirable during Western Europe’s early experiments with mercantilism, trade, commerce and empire. As such, the region’s incorporation into the Western European expansionist model defined its human makeup and exposed the region to perpetual external forces. This included externally driven models for economic, political and social development, for capital flows, and population trends. Today, the Caribbean experience reflects clear links to some five hundred years of external domination by a succession of empires alongside ongoing efforts to forge a Caribbean centered model for development¹ that is sustainable and equitable across the region (Conway, 1997). Besides proximity and a similar historic past and population makeup, the Caribbean islands share comparable topography and geography.

¹ The term development referred to throughout this dissertation correlates to the idea of sustainable and long lasting economic, social and human development capable of ensuring acceptable standards of living that are in line with global standards. The term will be used interchangeably to refer to sustainable development as well as economic growth as it relates to sustainable development.

The region has continuously attempted to draft paths for advancing sustainable economic development and overall human security and has pushed to come together as a block in order to build upon its historical and physical peculiarities in ways that can improve living standards and develop the space, peoples and cultures comprising the Caribbean. This dissertation examines and assesses the quest for peace and security brought about by economic and social development across the Caribbean region. The work specifically surveys, the English speaking former British colonies of the Caribbean Community (CARICOM). The work evaluates the impending need to construct a Caribbean-specific definition of development in order to advance social justice and as a means with which to combat structural violence. The work chronicles and critically evaluates the gains and losses that have resulted from various development schemes, including the regionally devised CSME (Caribbean Single Market Economy). This dissertation evaluates in detail, the region's development standing according to the global framework espoused in the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and the Human Development Index (HDI).

In the analysis of the goals and strategies for development in the region, this dissertation surveys some of the most pressing Caribbean realities, especially as they relate to development and the possibilities and limitations with respect to development, which is regarded as one of the most critical factors for advancing and retaining peace and security across the region. An examination of the region's integration attempt is also presented in order to critically examine some of the choices and strategies employed for development in the region on its quest to security. Various experiments with development outline some of the region's strengths and weaknesses in relation to

sustainable development and the goal of advancing regional security. These experiences and the evaluative assessment of the region's development standing support the theory that the region will benefit from the actualization of a Caribbean-centered model for growth and development in order to preserve and expand regional peace and security.

The use of statistics and quantitative data provides an analytical testimony of the nature and character of the Caribbean's economic and social reality. Further, statistical data and numeric assessments afford an opportunity to better understand the nature of the general problem of economic development in light of how development is defined and understood. The data presented also relays some of the common trends associated with underdevelopment and insecurity in the region. Bart² (2013) remarks that the Caribbean

"can never overstate [its] concern over the insignificant recognition by the international community of the needs and concerns of small, open, vulnerable and highly indebted economies [...] which, by virtue of gross domestic product (GDP) per capita, are classified as middle and even high income countries" (Bart, 2013).

The discussion of constraints related to size, insularity and vulnerability, among others outline some of the challenges and security concerns faced by microstates that find it particularly difficult to have a comparative advantage, as their products are typically uncompetitive on the global market. This directly impacts revenue generation and labor force capacity development, which in turn defines the dependent and volatile nature of the highly open economies of most Caribbean countries. Extreme exposure to external

² Delano F. Bart is the current St Kitts and Nevis Ambassador to the United Nations.

shock is one of the most serious impediments of Caribbean development to date.

Regional integration and the creation of a single market economy in the Caribbean has advanced primarily in an attempt to set up a regional block to strengthen the region's position and to subsequently minimize volatility.

Despite many challenges, evidence reveals that the region has demonstrated a true will to move towards development and security. Consequently, as past research reveals, the region has made remarkable strides in its effort to survive. The data presented in this dissertation further reveals evidence of general peace and security in light of a relatively stable economic environment in the Caribbean, despite difficult odds. The data presented in this work also points to a stable political and social environment with human development measures, such as that related to health and education, relating figures comparable to those of some advanced societies. Despite this, however, as the data and the literature convey, the region remains stuck in a trap of non-development, underdevelopment and poverty, at the same time that the region sees progress and advancement in numerous areas that traditionally signal development success.

The Character of the Caribbean

Without much argument, Caribbean countries can be accurately described as small or even miniscule, in demographic, geographic and economic size. In 2005, the total population of the Commonwealth Caribbean was 16.7 million inhabitants, 42% of which resided in Jamaica, 20% in Trinidad and Tobago, 12% in Guyana, while the other eight countries housed populations ranging between 5,000 and 100,000 persons. Total land area comprises 532,510 square kilometers, of which 79% is in Guyana, 8% in

Belize, and 5% located in the Bahamas, while ten of the other countries comprise less than 500 square kilometers (Müllerleile, 1996).

Geography and Topography

Much like the peoples and cultures of the region, the physical geography of the Caribbean is diverse and varied. The formation of much of the Caribbean islands came about as a result of volcanic activity and consists of numerous land types and land formations. The region also hosts a number of diverse climatic and weather patterns that directly influence the physical geography of the actual physical landforms, which include a varied mix of mountains with cascading waterfalls, forest lands with swamps, as well as volcanoes, lakes and springs (Richardson, 1998). With all this, the Caribbean region comprises areas found in the Greater Antilles, the Lesser Antilles and the Leeward and Windward Antilles, with other states also located on the Central and South American mainland.

The territories of the Caribbean were colonized by English, French, Dutch, Spanish and Portuguese settlers who voyaged to these lands from Europe, on a quest for bullion and subsequently for agricultural products and raw materials such as tobacco, cotton and sugarcane, which would be produced in the Caribbean for consumption on the European continent. On this quest, colonists largely exterminated the original indigenous inhabitants and replaced them with imported African slaves and indentured workers from India, China, and the surrounding areas of the Middle East and Asia. This European, African and Asian populace would infuse the Amerindian peoples to bring to

fruition the Caribbean reality, a melting pot of races, creeds, cultures and classes that today constitute the Caribbean region (Richardson, 1998).

More than population makeup and geography, it is size and insularity which lies behind many of the intrinsic challenges that have historically hampered the region. For instance, a number of Caribbean countries must consider space constraints as they attempt to make decisions regarding the use of territorial land space for different functions such as housing and shelter, crops and cultivation, or commerce and manufacturing. Further, Caribbean countries, including those with an abundance of land and those that are land-scare must also prepare for the task of constructively managing the available land in a manner consistent with environmental considerations and long term development goals (Madramootoo, 2000).

In addition to land management, resource management is critical since there are limited natural resource reserves in the region. Though Trinidad and Tobago is home to expanses of petroleum and natural gas, and Jamaica, home to expanses of bauxite, while Guyana boasts reserves of gold, bauxite, diamonds and other minerals, the reality remains that in the global context, the relative small size of even these Caribbean nations, is minimal at best (Madramootoo, 2000). Further, for most Caribbean countries, the main natural resources are limited to agricultural land and coastal spaces.

To equitably manage these resources, Caribbean countries have typically relied upon skilled contributions in information systems technologies and on diagnostic and administrative management of land used for the purpose of sustainable development. These management and knowledge constraints, directly relate to the challenge of

manipulating scarce land and other resources, and highlight some of the difficult factors impacting Caribbean development (Bourne, 2008). Additionally, Caribbean nations continue to bear the pressures brought on by extreme levels of openness, as their economies depend on trade for virtually all basic goods and living needs.

This miniscule land and resource base has meant that the Caribbean economies have had to remain open in order to survive. The countries of the region have thus always had to be prepared to export the bulk of what is produced and then import most of what is needed for consumption. This setup, however, is not only the result of the size and resource base of the nations, but, is largely the continuation of the trade pattern that was established from the beginning of the region's existence and its incorporation into the European economic development model for the region.

During the colonial era, land was typically considered too valuable to be used for crops other than the cash crop. The islands, therefore, exported their respective cash crops, like sugar cane, and imported food products and almost all of the other necessary goods used on the territories. In time, alternate crops, like bananas and coffee replaced sugar. These changes, however, did not alter the single-product, export-driven economic model. Instead, on occasion, these changes actually "further supported" the model (Hackett & Fraser, 1985 p. 16). For instance, in Trinidad, agricultural production for local consumption declined in the 1970s as the oil boom emerged and as the island transitioned towards focusing on petroleum exports. Similarly, moves towards tourist driven economic systems led to increased imports of goods and services rather than stimulating local demand in any significant way (Hackett & Fraser, 1985).

These and other constraints of size for many Caribbean countries are clearly apparent in their corresponding size of national income. In 2012, for example, the gross domestic product (GDP) per capita (PPP) for CARICOM states totaled US\$ 107,815. As is the norm, the larger countries recorded large portions of this figure, with Trinidad and Tobago accounting for 25% of the region's GDP, Jamaica 23% and the Bahamas 10%, while even Haiti, easily labelled as the poorest country in the region, accounts for 12%. Popular tourist destinations have also fared well with countries such as Barbados accounting for as much as 5% of the region's GDP (Central Intelligence Agency, 2013). The remaining 25% made up the total national incomes of the remaining 11 countries (Central Intelligence Agency, 2013).

The openness of many these countries are evidenced by significant trade imbalances that constitute the norm. Table 1 and Table 2 below detail the imports and exports of goods and services as a percentage of GDP in the six countries examined in this work. Imports and exports make up an enormously high percentage of GDP, leaving the GDP of these countries extremely vulnerable to external events and foreign market conditions. The overall trend in the trade balance presented in Table 3, however, signals an improvement and a decline in the level of openness over time.

Table 1

Exports of Goods (% of GDP)	2001	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Barbados	8.8	8.5	9.7	12.8	12.2	11.9
Dominica	13.4	11.7	11.9	11.4	9.3	9.6
Guyana	68.1	74.6	66.1	41	40	41.3
Jamaica	15.9	15.7	14.7	17.9	18.4	20
St. Lucia	8.2	12	10.5	10.3	9.9	15.3
Trinidad and Tobago	48.5	48	60.2	77	63.8	71.6

Table 2

Imports of Goods (% of GDP)	2001	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Barbados	32.1	38.4	38.4	38	37.4	42
Dominica	35	34.8	40.4	37.9	41.2	47.4
Guyana	75.9	75.6	86.9	55.8	60.9	68.3
Jamaica	33.5	34.7	37.6	42.6	48.4	54.9
St. Lucia	40.9	43.4	49.4	55.3	53.2	55.8
Trinidad and Tobago	40.4	36.7	35.7	35.3	36.5	36.9

Table 3

Merchandise Trade Balance (% of GDP)	2001	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Barbados	-23.2	-26.9	-28.7	-25.2	-25.2	-30.1
Dominica	-21.6	-23.1	-28.5	-26.5	-31.8	-37.8
Guyana	-7.8	-1	-20.8	-14.8	-20.9	-26.9
Jamaica	-17.6	-19	-22.9	-24.7	-30	-35
St. Lucia	-32.7	-31.4	-38.9	-45	-43.3	-40.5
Trinidad and Tobago	8.1	11.3	24.6	41.7	27.3	34.7

Despite this, the region has remained very vulnerable in comparison to the countries comprising the developed world. The United States reported a trade/GDP ratio of between 15 and 24 percent between 2009 and 2012 (World Bank, 2014). In contrast, the economies of the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) have trade GDP ratios between 40 and the 204 percent (World Bank, 2014). The Caribbean case reflects the drastic consequence and reality related to extreme openness and highlights the link between these levels of dependency on the outside, and the synonymous susceptibility to external events. In 2010, Prime Minister Douglas highlighted this predicament, speaking on behalf of the Caribbean and explaining that *“we live in complex times with myriad challenges where, despite our very carefully calibrated macroeconomic policies, fiscal prudence and financial programs, our best efforts and best practices are often undermined by external forces”* (Douglas, 2010)³

This open nature of Caribbean nations has for a long time meant that the economic performance of the islands were directly dependent on, and susceptible to outside influences, including fluctuations of global prices, changes in the preferences of tourists, and changes affecting the regulation of international financial services. All of these, in turn, have had direct effects, negative and positive, contingent upon the particular direction of those changes. While these changes may also impact large developing countries, the effect is magnified in the case of microstates such as those of the Caribbean region. Further compounding the difficulty of size, openness and insularity, Caribbean states find that they have a relatively more difficult task in finding avenues for diversification, as a result of the very nature of being open, insular and

³ Dr. Denzel Douglas was the Prime Minister of St Kitts and Nevis from 1995 until February 2015.

limited in size and resources. Consequently, the economic situation of the Caribbean has been one of structural dependence, relative to the openness of the economies and resulting from the weakness and limits of the structural links between various sectors of these economies (Hackett & Fraser, 1985).

The sugar industry of the region's glory days and the prominence of the banana industry in some countries, for example, did little or nothing in terms of stimulating other industries and other domestic activities. Instead, leading industries tended to impede the development of other sectors. Citrus and copra production that had boomed and fueled rising revenues were marginalized, in Dominica, for example, when banana profits caught the eyes of investors who quickly diverted resources and investments out of many sectors and put them into the banana industry (Watts, 1987). More recently, efforts to boost the Caribbean tourism industry has created many jobs, but, the trend remains, nonetheless, and growth in this sector has provided minimal support for other sectors (Ocampo, 2003). The same is true in the case of the off-shore financial services sector which has funneled in a pool of needed revenue, but which has not supported the creation of long-lasting jobs (Sutton, 2006). The problem in many of these cases is simply that profits tend to only be realized in the short term. Short term and sporadic employment are often created instead of long-term options for occupations and careers that would result in less immediate profits and more aggregate benefits.

Further, the reality of being small, open, and structurally dependent has meant that the Caribbean has been prone to fluctuations in international economic cycles. Recurring patterns of expansion and decline has thus been the norm for much of the Caribbean's history. These particular and rather peculiar issues have rendered the

microstates of the Caribbean a special development problem. It is this development problem that this dissertation has attempted to understand. These islands, as a result of these setbacks, have faced significant difficulties in keeping up with the trends of the new global economy. Indeed, all of the Caribbean countries are small in population and physical space, and all have a long history as agricultural mono-economies, that rely on the export of one, or maybe, a few agricultural products. One would expect the standard of living, therefore, to be generally low, with economic and social structures that are deficient in comparison to that of the developed world.

The dissertation, thus examined an issue that continues to surface, and it has surveyed the development performance of the Caribbean according to the development prescriptions outlined by the United Nation's Millennium Development Goals (MDG) framework alongside the UN's own Human Development Index (HDI) framework which preceded the MDGs as an instrument and criteria for defining and determining levels of development success.

A Unique Brand of SIDS (Small Island developing States)

Small Island Developing States (SIDS), with their special development problem often relating to high vulnerability were first acknowledged as a distinct group of developing countries within the global system during the June 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2013). Two years later in 1994, the Barbados Program of Action was put into place as a support mechanism to assist SIDS with their goals for sustainable development under the umbrella grouping of the United Nations Office called the High

Representative for the Least Developed Countries, Landlocked Developing Countries and Small Island Developing States (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2013). To date, the United Nations Office of the High Representative for the Least Developed Countries, Landlocked Developing Countries and Small Island Developing States lists 51 small island developing states, categorizing them across three geographic regions- the Caribbean, the Pacific, and the AIMS region, constituting Africa, the Indian Ocean, the Mediterranean and the South China Sea (UN-OHRLLS, 2013). Each region houses a regional cooperation body, respectively, CARICOM (the Caribbean Community) in the Caribbean, IPF (the Pacific Islands Forum) and IOC (the Indian Ocean Commission) (UN-OHRLLS, 2013b).

The Small Island Developing States (SIDS) of the Caribbean represents a special case. They make up part of that group of nation states characterized by low-lying coastal areas and geographically vulnerable coastal terrain (UN-OHRLLS, 2013). In general, SIDS, according to the United Nations, tend to face a distinct set of sustainable development hardships, including limited resources, remoteness, and natural disaster vulnerability, at the same time that they house growing populations, that though typically small, confront significant levels of external pressures resulting from an overwhelming reliance on international trade. Consequently, according to reports and studies published by the World Bank, United Nations and OECD, growth and development for SIDS have been historically low and slow. The Caribbean, however, while it undoubtedly typifies the general character and definition of SIDS, has not always, nor has it typically, recorded low or slow growth in comparison to the case of other SIDS.

It is typically expected that the higher the vulnerability level of a country, the lower its economic and overall development performance. Research, however, reveals that in many cases, some of the higher performing Caribbean states are those with some of the highest levels of vulnerability. Antigua and Barbuda, for example, sits among the most vulnerable countries in the region and records relatively high development performance ratings; while on the contrary, countries such as Haiti and Suriname that are among the least vulnerable in the region, according to World Bank estimates, have reported some of the worst development performance indicators. Like the case of size and insularity, vulnerability, cannot then, be regarded as a distinct factor influencing the Caribbean development scene. Researchers and theorists concerned with Caribbean development, must thus look beyond these traditional assumptions to find new regionally specific paradigms that can purposefully influence the definition and understanding of the development issue experienced in the Caribbean region.

Caribbean SIDS

Caribbean SIDS face a number of unique challenges, even in comparison to other SIDS, as they attempt to position economic diversification as the driver of sustainable development in the region. Diversifying Caribbean economies, promises to increase food security, augment self-sufficiency and ultimately promote sustainable livelihoods (Sidsnet, 2013). The story of openness, insularity and vulnerability across the region, nevertheless, continually impede diversification efforts, which are also impacted by global shocks. Consequently, like many other SIDS, the Caribbean SIDS have become

laden with extreme levels of debt, at the same time that they struggle with poverty and underdevelopment, despite some experiences with steady economic growth.

In examining the paradigm of sustainable development as opposed to the historical definitions of economic growth, this study surveyed how the Caribbean has constructed modern development frameworks and how the region has taken significant and meaningful steps towards meeting the requirements for sustainable development, which does not merely reflect mainstream or traditional criteria associated with economic growth, but rather, for long-lasting sustainable development that can sustain peace and security across the region. By attending to a host of dimensions including the economic, social, environmental and governmental realms, the Caribbean region has experienced notable success and has ranked well according to some United Nations development assessment instruments. CARICOM members are ranked as having 'very high' and 'high' human development, while only Guyana is ranked with medium human development (UNDP 2013). Despite these successes, however, the region continues to fall short of the overall development success that can support and sustain long-lasting security. Consequently, the region generally fails to meet the more comprehensive criteria for development success outlined by the global system. Herein lies the problem of the Caribbean and the issue that this dissertation has attempted to address.

Regional Efforts and Integration

CARICOM

The Caribbean Community (CARICOM) was established to exercise that goal of advancing Caribbean development after a 15-year effort to create an integrative regional

forum out of the British West Indies Federation, which was set up in 1958. The plan set up a Federal Government outlined in the Treaty of Chaguaramas that was signed by Barbados, Jamaica, Guyana and Trinidad & Tobago on August 1, 1973. Later eight other Caribbean countries, joined CARICOM, with the last member, Suriname joining the Community on July 4, 1995 (Moreira and Mendoza, 2007). To date, thus, the current members include Antigua and Barbuda, Belize, Grenada, Montserrat, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, Turks and Caicos Islands, The Bahamas, British Virgin Islands, Guyana, St. Kitts and Nevis, Suriname, Barbados, Dominica, Jamaica, Saint Lucia, and Trinidad and Tobago. In addition to these formal members, and in the aim of maintaining a wholly Caribbean Framework, CARICOM comprises a group of observer countries including Anguilla, The Cayman Islands, Haiti⁴, Puerto Rico, Aruba, Colombia, Mexico, Venezuela, Bermuda, Dominican Republic, and the Netherlands Antilles (Chaguaramas Development Authority, 2013).

CARICOM attempted to set the groundwork for the eventual integration of its Members States and their respective economic markets via the creation of a common market. From its inauguration, thus, the Community has promoted serious efforts to strengthen the ties between the islands and mainland by encouraging the integration of the economies of Member States, coordinating regional foreign policy to be implemented by Member States, while also encouraging increased functional cooperation in the area of social and human development across member States. CARICOM, for example, had immediately introduced a plan for a Customs Union, although, with the advent of more pressing social and environmental challenges, economic integration was not prioritized

⁴ Haiti became a full member of CARICOM in July 2002.

on the Community agenda during its early years. In economic terms, thus, the region remained as it had been for centuries, primarily tied to the outside world and former colonial powers, for a long time, even after integration (Caribbean Community Secretariat, 2011).

Notwithstanding integration challenges, from as early as 1965, the leaders of Barbados and British Guiana designed a Free Trade Area for the Caribbean that was later signed by the Heads of Government of Antigua and Barbuda, Barbados and British Guiana in Dickenson Bay, Antigua, creating the Caribbean Free Trade Association (CARIFTA). In order to allow the rest of the region, Trinidad and Tobago and Jamaica and all the Windward⁵ and Leeward⁶ islands to become members of the newly created Free Trade Association, however, the official start of the Free Trade Association was purposely postponed (Tsikata, and Hamilton, 2009). This new CARIFTA agreement finally came into effect on May 1, 1968, with the participation of Antigua, Barbados, Trinidad and Tobago and Guyana. The accession of all territories in the region was accomplished later in that same year with the admission of Dominica, Grenada, St. Kitts

⁵ The Windward Islands are the southern islands of the Lesser Antilles, given this name because they are more windward than the Leeward Islands, since the prevailing winds in the area blow to the north. The name Windward Islands was also used to refer to the British colony made up of small islands, existing between 1833 and 1960, including Grenada, St Lucia, Saint Vincent, the Grenadines, and Barbados in 1885, when it became a separate colony, and Tobago in 1889 when it was joined to Trinidad. Later in 1940, Dominica was included when it was transferred from the Leeward Islands colony to the Windward Islands. The colony was known as the Federal Colony of the Windward Islands from 1871 to 1956, and the Territory of the Windward Islands from 1956 to 1960 (Ryan, 2013).

⁶ The Leeward Islands are the northern islands of the Lesser Antilles. They are called "leeward" because the prevailing winds in the area blow from south to north. The Leeward Islands are, therefore, downwind, that is, on the backside, or leeward from the Windward Islands, the group of islands that first meet the trade winds coming from the south. The Leeward Islands also refers to a British colony in these islands, consisting of Antigua, Barbuda, the British Virgin Islands, Montserrat, Saint Kitts, Nevis, Anguilla and Dominica up till 1940, from 1671 to 1816 and again from 1833 to 1960. The colony was referred to as the Federal Colony of the Leeward Islands from 1871 to 1956 and the Territory of the Leeward Islands from 1956 to 1960 (Ryan, 2013).

and Nevis, Anguilla, Saint Lucia, and St. Vincent in July and Jamaica and Montserrat on August 1, 1968. Belize, formerly British Honduras also became a member in May 1971 (Caribbean Community Secretariat, 2011).

CARICOM, thus, with CARIFTA in place, worked steadily towards the goal of regional integration and cooperation in all spheres, economic, social, and political. In fact, at the seventh Heads of Government Conference in October 1972, Caribbean leaders took the decision to convert CARIFTA into a Common Market and to fully institute a Caribbean Community within which the Common Market would be the driving force and the main catalyst of regional development. From then, Caribbean leaders moved steadfastly towards further regional integration. In the course of a few years, the block made a move towards a single market and economy that hoped define the region's global development standing. As the CARICOM secretariat rightly explains, *"the underlying challenge for CARICOM is to determine how its focus on a green economy, in the context of sustainable development and poverty eradication, can foster regional development and a better quality of life for its peoples"* (CARICOM Secretariat 2012).

A Development-Peace Theory

The significance of the case of the Caribbean region moves beyond happy societies, warm weather and the preservation of rich cultures for those concerned with conflict analysis and resolution, as the Caribbean case presents a rich opportunity with which to study and understand some of the complex links between peace, violence and security within the broader domain of conflict analysis and resolution. While one may easily understand why peace seems to correspond to the field of conflict resolution, the task of

advancing acceptable or standard definitions of peace and by default, that of resolutions to various conflictual situations, may prove more complex.

In that regard, theorists in treating the issue of peace and security, including the resolution of conflicts, outline a number of links between peace and violence and then go further to extend the idea of violence more directly to issues of security and human development. Violence, thus as it relates to peace becomes two-sided and peace itself, defined as the absence of violence also takes on multiple meanings and significance. Peace, in comprising two sides, constitute the absence of personal violence, as well as the absence of structural violence, respectively referred to as negative peace and positive peace (Galtung, 1969).

The terms 'negative' and 'positive' are distinct because one type of peace does not guarantee the presence of the other and does not assure the resolution of all related conflicts. The absence of personal violence, for example, does not assure the presence of social justice, the phenomenon, most closely linked to the idea of positive peace. Similarly, the absence of structural violence (social justice) a positive condition does not automatically equate to the absence of personal violence.

Peace, therefore must be regarded not simply as a matter of control and the ability to handle or evade conflict and violence, but, must also comprise what Galtung (1969) refers to as “vertical development” (Galtung, 1969: 183), linking peace to issues of human capability and human strength and will, and similarly linking the issue of peace and security to conflict theory, as well as to development theory and various ideas of equality. Indeed,

peace research, as this study will reveal must be very nearly linked to conflict research and just as much to development research.

Sociologist and peace theorist Johan Galtung (1969) implores that peace research in the Americas and elsewhere focus on structural violence on local national and international fronts. He proposes a movement away from a definition of violence that only concerns itself with the consequence side of the equation (Galtung, 1969). Much like Galtung, Sen (1999) proposed that freedom, which constitutes freedom from violence, be regarded both as a means and an end of development (Barnett, 2008).

The compelling links established between development and peace by theorists and practitioners like Galtung and Sen necessitate close inspection of these claims by any researcher serious about understanding the difficulties of development in various regions. In recognizing some of the key significances such as cultural relevance and historic understanding that they highlight, it becomes clear that an examination of the case of security and peace in the Caribbean as it relates to development is indeed critical as much as it is essential.

According to Galtung and others, the agenda for those concerned with peace will rest on what peace is understood to be. Relatedly, as Govier (2008) explains, Galtung proposes an extensive agenda for addressing and understanding peace and he outlines a conformingly broad definition of violence (Govier, 2008). According to Galtung, thus, "violence is present when human beings are being influenced so that their actual somatic and mental realizations are below their potential realizations" (Galtung, 1969: 168). Galtung notes that if peace is only regarded as the absence of physical violence, then the goal of peace would turn into "an intellectually and morally impoverished endeavor"

(Galtung, 1985: 9) Besides this, it is clear that a restricted idea of violence would translate to futile and simplistic ideas of peace which ignore more in depth and intrinsic suffering which are often silent and not linked to bodily harm. He proposes, thus, that "an extended concept of violence is indispensable" (Galtung, 1969: 168) and contends that any comprehensive understanding of violence must move beyond the physical, beyond the individual, and beyond the intentional (Govier, 2008).

His structural violence, like personal violence, can be both physical and/or psychological, with the distinction between personal and structural violence resting on the distinction between negative and positive peace, where the absence of interpersonal violence equates to negative peace and the absence of structural violence constitutes positive peace. This conceptual framework provides an advantage to researchers and practitioners and is at the heart of this dissertation which has aspired to venture beyond simplistic conceptions of society and typical or expected social norms.

A more limited framework would tend to skip over many significances attached to area specific social and cultural factors that influence experiences linked to opportunities and costs, deprivations and gains, across a society, people or region, key issues for understanding and treating the case of the Caribbean. This line of inquiry proposed by Galtung and others merits attention and is even more fitting for examining the Caribbean experience, as options for the region are sought.

Galtung (1985) himself contends that peace research constitutes a conglomerate of the social sciences, just like development studies. He proposes that researchers concerned with peace and security and the resolution of conflicts engage in empirical peace research that focus on experiences of the past, critical peace research, evaluating policies and

problems of the present, in addition to constructive peace research, involving the construction of ideas and the development of options for the future (Galtung, 1985).

This dissertation recognizes the need for such peace research to address the prospects for peace and security in the Caribbean region, and as such, engages in each of the three dimensions of peace research proposed by Galtung. The work, by analyzing the experiences of the past, surveying trends at present, and in proposing options for the future proposes to engage in the exact type of critical peace research that Galtung highlights as vital and necessary for the advancement of security across the globe (Govier, 2008).

Indeed, work of this nature has been underscored as particularly imperative and essential for constructing peace and security in diverse areas. Elise Boulding, for example, holds that to deal with peace and engage in peace making includes in large part, dealing “with difference creatively” (Boulding, 1999). That is, she explains, balancing “a deep appreciation of human difference” so as to bring about the right balance for sustenance of peaceful relationships at all levels of society (Boulding, 1999). The diverse nature of the Caribbean region and the difficulties experienced in attaining security on a number of fronts, particularly human security, begs the question of the need to assess possible links between such unique diversity and the opportunities for crafting peace and security rooted in economic and human development.

Development for Caribbean Security

The issue of development in the Caribbean presents a complex and multifarious case, which will ultimately determine the survival and continued existence of the region and its people. As globalization and the interconnected character of the global system persist, it will be imperative for the region to forge pathways for development success, which can afford the region acceptable living standards and adequate regional capacity. This work is organized in a holistic manner with which to present the Caribbean development scene and the development crisis that emerges. The dissertation surveys related research, perspectives and idea, and presents evaluations and assessments of relevant data with regards to the prospects for constructing a Caribbean-centered development paradigm, capable of advancing future success.

The study is organized in five sections. Chapter one introduces the region and its relevance within the broader global context, outlining the historical significance of the region and highlighting some typical development trends that particularly pertain to the Caribbean region, within the confines of a greater global system. The second chapter presents a review of related and relevant literature and examines key theoretical concepts and viewpoints that surround the topic, which often drive discussions and the discourse related to the research subject and that often, also directly impacts of the reality on the ground. The third chapter outlines the general qualitative research methodology and specific case study method employed in conducting the research study and details the data analysis method used to evaluate data and draw conclusions. The fourth chapter presents pertinent and interrelated data grouped according to themes (indicators) and sub-

groups (variables), that the researcher has used to assess the hypothesis and address the research questions. Chapter four also presents general, as well as, detailed findings generated from the data, alongside a critical analysis of those findings. The fifth and final chapter presents a discussion and a reflective conclusion alongside some recommendations for future research and analysis based on the study's findings.

Although the countries of the region seem almost homogenous, there is clear evidence of distinctive differences on many fronts. Topography, peoples, natural and human capital, for example, while in many cases similar, also represent some of the most significant differences across the region. A look at six countries that are representative of the region affords a comprehensive and detailed assessment of the regional development scene and the varied experiences, results and implications in light of the Caribbean development issue.

Case Study Country Profiles

Barbados



Barbados is the most easterly island in the Caribbean chain. The official language is English, and the currency is the Barbadian dollar with an exchange rate of BDS\$ 1.98 to USD\$ 1.00. The country boasts a mild tropical climate with natural resources including petroleum, fish and natural gas. Barbados is relatively flat and has

a population of about 284,000 people, about 80,000 of whom live in or near the capital city, Bridgetown (Central Intelligence Agency, World Fact Book, 2013c). The country is 430 square kilometers (166 sq. mi) and is situated in the western North Atlantic, really making it an Atlantic island rather than a Caribbean island. It sits and is about 100 kilometers (62 mi) East of the Caribbean Sea and about 168 kilometers (104 mi) east of the islands of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines. Unlike most other Caribbean nations, Barbados, like Trinidad and Tobago, is located outside of the Atlantic hurricane belt (Library of Congress, 2010).

Uniquely, Barbados is the only Caribbean nation which did not swap colonial owners during the period of colonization after the British settled there in 1627. After that date, the country was afforded internal autonomy in 1961 and then was granted full independence in 1966. Nevertheless, Barbados has retained Queen Elizabeth II as its head of State. It now ranks as one of the most developed islands in the region and is looked upon for its high level of transparency and political fairness and dignity. Barbados is one of the Caribbean's most popular tourist destinations and has reaped significant economic gains from its continued success with tourism (British Broadcasting Corporation, 2013b).

Dominica



Dominica, different from the Dominican Republic, is part of the Windward Islands in the Caribbean located in the southern area of the Lesser Antilles. The island has seven main volcanic centers, causing it to house the highest concentration of 'live' volcanoes on earth (Honeychurch, 2013). Dominica is 750 square kilometers (290 sq. mi), at 29 miles long and 16 miles in width, housing about 72, 000 people. The official language is English, although French Patois is widely spoken and the currency is the Eastern Caribbean dollar (XCD) with an exchange rate of XCD\$ 2.70 to USD\$ 1.00 (Central Intelligence Agency, World Fact Book, 2013d).

Dominica represents a special case. It is the centermost island in the Caribbean chain and was the last Caribbean island to be colonized by Europeans because of its dense forest and steep terrain compounded by the fierce resistance by the native Carib Indians (Kalinago people) who inhabited the lands. Later, in 1727, the French however, set up a colonial presence and held the island until 1805 when the British took over the island and established British colonial rule, until independence, in 1978, outside of occasional takeovers by the French.

Before independence, however, the island became the first British possession in the Caribbean to house a legislature made up of a black majority (Winslow, 2013). Dominica reflects the story of the typical Caribbean island, a former colony that became dependent on a few agricultural exports, that experienced some growth, but that has remained largely underdeveloped despite some positive development trends at various points in time. The island, nevertheless, is distinctive and has a relatively low crime rate in comparison to the rest of the region. Also, although it is among the

poorest countries in the region, inequality and differences in wealth distribution in the country are not as pronounced as it is in the larger Caribbean islands (British Broadcasting Corporation, 2014).

Guyana



Guyana is situated on the northeast coast of South America and borders the Atlantic Ocean, Suriname, Brazil and Venezuela, but makes up part of the English-speaking Caribbean. It is one of the only Caribbean countries that is not an island. It houses a population of about 762,000 in a territorial area measuring 214,970 square kilometers (83,000 square miles). The people of Guyana come mainly from six ethnic groups including decedents of East Indians, Africans, Amerindians, (the original people of the land), Chinese, Portuguese and other Europeans. The official language is English, making it the only English-speaking country located on the South American continent and is one of two South American member countries belonging to the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) (United Nations Population Fund, 2013a).

⁷ All country maps are intended to provide visual reference to the special and locational positioning of the countries referenced and discussed in this work. They were retrieved from the operation World Project website at www.operationworld.org.

Guyana is ranked as one of the poorest countries in Latin America and the Caribbean, and is categorized as a highly indebted poor country. The country, nevertheless, continues to make progress towards advancing development. The currency is the Guyanese dollar (GYD) with an exchange rate of approximately GYD\$ 205.00= USD\$ 1.00. Guyana has a negative population growth rate measuring at -0.1 per cent per year, as it continues to deal with net emigration and the flood of hordes of people out of the country (United Nations Population Fund, 2013b). Guyana has one of the highest emigration rates in the world, with more than 55% of Guyanese citizens living outside of the country. It is also one of the largest recipients of foreign remittances in the Caribbean region (Central Intelligence Agency, World Fact Book, 2013a).

Jamaica



Jamaica is an island country located in the Caribbean Sea. It is the fifth biggest island nation in the Caribbean region and houses about 2.7 million people on 10,990 square kilometers (4,240 sq. mi) of land, lying about 90 miles south of Cuba. The official language is English, and the currency is the Jamaican dollars (JMD) with an approximate exchange rate of JMD\$ 89.00 = USD\$ 1.00. Jamaica has been labeled a Caribbean small island developing state (SIDS) by the 2011 Human Development Report.

Jamaica was originally inhabited by native Taino people and was colonized by the Spanish and later the United Kingdom, which ultimately exterminated the Tainos people and brought in African Slaves, whose descendants now make up the largest proportion of the island's population (Central Intelligence Agency, World Fact Book, 2013b). In relation to population, the country is said to be in an intermediate stage of demographic transition, as it is home to an ageing population, a decreasing birth rate and a comparatively low death rate. Local Jamaican census statistics report that the population under fifteen, has, for example, declined by as much as 26 percent according to the 2011 figures (Eldemire-Shearer, 2012). Jamaica is ranked 78 out of 187 countries on the human development index based on its life expectancy at birth and expected years of schooling among other variables. Jamaica, however, is also noted as one of the most heavily indebted countries in the world, recording one of the largest debt-to-GDP ratios globally (United Nations Population Fund, 2013c).

St. Lucia



Saint Lucia, like Dominica, is an independent island state comprising part of the lesser Antilles in the Caribbean chain. The island is of 617 km² (238.23 sq. mi) and houses a population of about 174,000. Similar to Dominica, the official language is English, but French patois is also spoken across the island. The people of St. Lucia are very diverse, comprising those of African origin making up about 65 percent the

population, many of mixed decent, as well as, many people of European decent, original Amerindians, East Asians and others. The island's currency is also the Eastern Caribbean dollar (XCD) with an exchange rate of XCD\$ 2.70 to USD\$ 1.00 (Central Intelligence Agency, World Fact Book, 2013e).

Although independent, St. Lucia continues to recognize Queen Elizabeth II, Queen of England, as monarch and head of state, represented by the Governor-General Pearlette Louisy, who resides on the island (British Broadcasting Corporation, 2013c). The country represents one of the Caribbean islands which has been able to make a successful transition from agriculture to the service industry and tourism and boasts a booming tourist industry to date (Anthony, 2004).

Trinidad and Tobago



Trinidad and Tobago, formerly, The Republic of Trinidad and Tobago comprises two main islands and houses a population of about of 1.3 million on 5,128 square kilometers (1,980 sq. mi) of land space. The official language is English, and the currency is the Trinidad and Tobago dollar (TTD), with an exchange rate of TTD\$ 6.40 to USD\$ 1.00. The country is located near the northern edge of the South American continent and is north of the South American nation of Venezuela and south of the Caribbean island of Grenada. It is located right outside of the hurricane belt.

Like many of the other Caribbean nations, it was first colonized by the Spanish and then later came under British rule. The Dutch, British, French and Latvian settlers each ruled the island of Tobago at various points, leaving it with a unique heritage and a cultural diversity that is almost unmatched.

Today the population of Trinidad and Tobago comprises mostly people of African and Indian descent, alongside many other minority groups (United Nations Population Fund, 2013d). According to the British Broadcasting Corporation (2013a), Trinidad and Tobago is one of the wealthiest countries in the Caribbean region because of the country's expanses of crude oil, natural gas and other valuable and high-priced commodity natural resources. Oil exploits and extraction dominate the economy and accounts for much of the GDP and GNI. Heavy reliance on crude, nonetheless, has made the country highly susceptible to world price fluctuations.

Conclusion

The unique and remarkable character of the Caribbean, its undeniable links to the success of global powers and the development of global trade is reason enough to value the contribution and wealth of the area. The plight of the region in forging a secure and stable space, however, despite its longstanding resilience and might, comprises an ongoing dilemma that scholars, practitioners and policy makers must engage. In the wake of complexity and difference, alongside a history found nowhere else, the region must continue to advance towards long term peace and security defined by human development and reflecting hope and a future of prospect and possibilities.

Chapter 2. Literature Review

Introduction

The bulk of the literature treating sustainable development⁸ in the Caribbean offers some examination and perspective on the social, cultural and historical reality of the region, outlining developments and phenomena that have influenced cultural patterns, inspired social trends and links the region's current reality to its historical past. Surveying the social and cultural truths that define and guide life across the Caribbean, offers an opportunity to understand how life choices and lifestyles may impact practices and preferences, which may then lead to long-term trends and related expectations. Further, the focus on society and culture, found throughout works assessing the development plight of the Caribbean succeeds in establishing a clear reason for additional examination of the link between social and cultural trends and the current development situation in the region.

This fact directly influences the purpose of this research, which examines the connection between the social and cultural reality and the development scene across the region. Since the literature itself signals a complex and sometimes discordant region, marked by dynamism and difference, within a pool of similar and shared experiences, it is critical that any review include a variety of textual and non-textual options. Consequently, this work relies on a mix of sources in order to comprehensively examine the influencing factors, including the context, background and history that frame and conceptualize the region's development story.

⁸ Throughout this dissertation, the terms sustainable development and development may be used interchangeably to refer to the same phenomena.

A comprehensive mix of primary and secondary sources that include journal articles, books, conference papers, research reports, technical data, and print media from a variety of entities, including international organizations, national governments, development agencies, public media sources and academic lectures, have been employed to gather the details necessary to understand the region's development struggle. The assessment of varying factors- society, history, culture, politics and economics, among others, through the lens of diverse sources has afforded a holistic and inclusive evaluation for advancing this inquiry of the region's understanding and definition of development, in light of its unique socio-cultural and historico-political experience.

Just as with culture and society, a large proportion of the literature addresses the region's unique historical and political trajectory, which rightfully outlines the context and framework, while also offering a logical starting point for examining the situation of development in the Caribbean. Unquestionably, history influences culture and society, which then often directly impact the political and economic systems that guide governments and their development strategies. A large part of the literature examining the history of the region, thus provides a clear path for examining the link between the past and the present.

In fact, this dissertation reaffirms that it is vitally important for researchers to consider and build upon the existing pool of work on the social, historical and cultural reality of the region. Notwithstanding, the work moves the discussion beyond the mere introduction and overview of the reality in the region. Instead, the dissertation moves past the findings published in existing works, which tend to stop at discussing social theory and cultural phenomena, and establishes direct statistical correlations between

society, culture and history, as these factors relate to the region's development experience and prospects. In so doing, the research project presents a detailed examination of past, present and potential relationships between society, culture and history in light of regional development, examining these links as the researcher examines the standards used to assess Caribbean development (RQ2a), alongside the adequacy and capacity of these measures in assessing the Caribbean region (RQ2b).

Sustainable Development and the Caribbean Context

Though growth may sometimes be a necessary component, it is not a sufficient condition for sustainable development. In fact, it remains very difficult to find an all-encompassing definition for sustainable economic development. Michael Todaro, an American ecological economist provides one of the most comprehensive and respected definitions of the phenomenon. According to Todaro, economic development is a multi-dimensional process that constitutes the reorganization and re-orientation of an entire economic and social system (Todaro and Smith 2009). According to his definition, development must include an improvement in the quality of human lives, as much as it must raise living standards and also generate conditions that allow this pattern to continue⁹.

This suggests that sustainable economic development involves a growth model that while satisfying the needs of one generation, does not unrestrainedly jeopardize the ability for future generations to satisfy their needs as well. Sustainable development also implies an improvement of peoples' self-esteem through the establishment of social,

⁹ Todaro's growth refers to the continued prospects for economic development, that is, the growth of development in itself.

political, and economic institutions that support human dignity and respect. Further, according to him, sustainable development must also relate to increases of the “personal freedom to choose” (Todaro and Smith, 2009, p. 16).

Clearly, sustainable development may be regarded as a normative concept that must be rooted in a society’s plan for the future. ECLAC, the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (2012) describes sustainable development as the “harmonious progress in the economic, social, political and environmental parameters of a society” (Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean, [ECLAC] 2012, p.10-11). Citing that this progress must be coupled with improvements in productivity and changes in the structure of the economy as it moves from less competitive to more competitive sectors, strengthened by increasing freedom of choice, and better healthcare, education and housing, they note that sustainable development must also comprise environmental protections and resource management in order for it to be long lasting (ECLAC, 2012).

Sustainable economic development is thus radically different from mere economic growth. Economic growth corresponds more precisely to classic economic theory and the traditional mechanisms for industrialization and modernization. Economic growth can simply be defined as an increase in a country’s production of goods and services. Growth is merely an increase in the level of output of a country, irrespective of sustainability, long run consequences, or the particular character of the producing economy. Economic growth refers simply to an increase in GDP across a certain time span (Todaro and Smith, 2009). Indeed, economic growth is a much narrower concept than economic development. For example, as they infer, economic growth does not

factor the costs associated with depletion of natural resources which might, in all actuality, reduce the possibility for economic development. This is in fact a pressing reality for Caribbean development, as the critical limits to available land and natural resources are sure to have direct impacts on growth and in particular on sustainable development.

Sustainable development, already difficult to define, will certainly pose another challenge for Caribbean countries as they attempt to forge an exclusive definition that meets the unique needs of the region. Acknowledging the issues related to small size, diminishing preferential partnerships and other favorable ties, in conjunction with environmental and climate constraints, a regional definition of sustainable development must include an adequate balancing of qualitative and quantitative improvements in the quality of life of Caribbean people. In this context, therefore, any sustainable development strategy must underpin an environmental ethic dictated by eco-centricism and must be rooted in ecology, which is perhaps the most viable resource for most of the region. A development strategy for the region must concretely reflect the significance of environmental ethics to mirror the biodiversity and ecological wonders of the Caribbean space. The issue of finding a model for sustainable development in such a unique region is, nevertheless, quite complex.

During the World Bank's First Annual International Conference on Environmentally Sustainable Development in the fall of 1993, the Bank's then vice President, Ismail Serageldin, cried out saying:

“this issue is not just a matter of nuts and bolts. It is a profound matter of dealing with a paradigm of development. It is a profound matter of recognizing that we should leave behind the dichotomies between development and the environment and think in terms of environmentally sustainable development. [...] We need to promote a paradigm shift in the way we think about development, environmentally sustainable development (Serageldin, 1993).”

The Caribbean, like other developing nations whose economic well-being are closely tied to the environment, have typically exploited their limited natural resources, only to succumb to crisis as these sources are depleted and as global economic patterns shift. This experience, though, has pushed the region to recognize the need for sustainable development as opposed to mere economic growth and productivity that tend to promote exploitative patterns. The experience of the region from the days of colonization and beyond, with a type of “denaturing” of many areas followed by a process to “re-naturalize” (Sheller, 2003, p. 60) for further consumption, revealed an express need for the region to find a comprehensive and sustainable plan for development.

In effect, many Caribbean countries know now, from direct experience, that sustainable development in the region can only be attained via a systematic recognition and preservation of the territories’ natural assets. The economic demise of Haiti is a case in point, where it is abundantly clear that the environmental degradation of the country, the worst in the Western Hemisphere, is both a cause and now a revolving effect of the

nation's economic decline. History has proven that environmental risk and economic compensation must be assessed in light of the long-term consequences (Rhodes, 2005). The concept of development must today embody the principles of sustainable development. The Caribbean region, as all the literature, proposes, must embark on a development path that brings together economic growth and social development with environmental preservation, restoration and enhancement, which can be sustained into the future, all the while acknowledging the context of a Caribbean reality.

Peace and Development: Addressing Structural Violence

As the region embarks on this quest, it is fitting for practitioners, researchers and scholars to examine links between regional security and economic development. In fact, for a long time, theorists and practitioners alike have concerned themselves with the potential link between peace theory and development theory and numerous efforts have surfaced linking the theories of development and growth with theories of peace and conflict. (Barnett, 2008). Theorists like Sorensen (1985), for example, have even laid claim that issues related to peace and development may be regarded as “structurally interlocked” (Sorensen, 1985: 70), while others like Hettne (1983) have moved further to examine how development could bring about more peaceful systems defined by strong economic, social and political structure (Hettne, 1983).

Particularly, in the wake of war and in response to wars occurring in the twentieth century, prevalent schools of thought emerged, linking peace and development researchers together on a quest to examine and explain the causes and consequences of various forms of conflict and war. Many practitioners and theorists alike have

subsequently detailed links between peace and security and development (Duffield, 2001; Thomas, 2001) and also between conflict, particularly wars and economic and human development. Research studies and much of the literature detail precise relations between conflicts and the availability of resources, levels of poverty, the maturity of democratic systems, economic and financial access and other development related issues (de Soysa, 2000), (Fearon & Laitin, 2003), (Hegre et al., 2001), (Gartzke & Li, 2003).

This, as the research reveals has particularly been the case in developing nations and has prompted many theorists and researchers to examine and subsequently outline distinct links between development and peace (Barnett, 2008). The themes and issues examined in this dissertation has set a groundwork for further research and study into the conceptual idea of a development-peace paradigm, much like that linked to the existing democratic-peace theory.

According to Weede (1996), the post-Cold War era has brought to the surface clear and undeniable links between peace and development theory, particularly as these connections relate to economic prosperity, political opportunity and social advancement. These findings support the idea of definitions of war, conflict and violence, which extend to development related topics, and that venture beyond narrow definitions surrounding personal and physical violence.

Johan Galtung was one of the first theorists to challenge the prevailing narrow definitions assigned to peace and security and the corresponding narrow concepts of war and violence. He argued that a simple and dichotomous definition of peace was insufficient and proposed a movement away from any overly simplified ideas of war and peace (Martin, 2005). Galtung (1969) proposed a two-fold definition of violence

comprising personal violence and structural violence, where personal violence comprises an actor and/or a tangible action such as a beating, a war, or domestic violence that results in injury. He highlights this as corresponding to the typical and narrow understanding of peace, that is, the absence of war and the absence of forms of direct or physical violence. This absence of direct violence is coined negative peace and purports that violence may still exist in the absence of direct violence (Galtung, 1969).

Further, he proposes the concept of structural violence, comprising violence which may not result from direct physical harm, but, which would be brought on by unequal power structures that render unequal opportunities throughout a society (Barnett, 2008). Accordingly, he explains that the concept of peace involves both positive and negative aspects, arguing that "negative peace is the absence of violence and war and positive peace is the integration of human society." (Galtung, 1964). This equates peace to numerous other affairs relevant in international relations and the increasingly interconnected globe, in addition to the traditional definition of peace, which expressly relates to war.

In Galtung's reasoning, violence that tends to manifest with a clear subject and object is easily understood because it comprises visible action, and often a reaction. This thus corresponds to the typical ideas of violent engagement and it is qualified as personal because there are individuals involved in these violent actions (Galtung, 1969). Without this physical and personal component, however, violence can be regarded as structural and built into a structure or social system.

For instance, Galtung argues that violence occurs in a society where life expectancy is twice as high for individuals making up the upper class in comparison to

those in the lower classes, even though physical actors are not immediately involved in perpetrating an action like in the case of an individual directly attacking another or when one person kills another (Galtung, 1964). This manifestation of violence corresponds to the condition of structural violence and social injustice (Martin, 2005).

Ultimately, thus violence may define impending differences between the potential opportunities and capacity of individuals and societies and the actual capacity and opportunities afforded. Violence, therefore, is imbedded in the link between “what could be and what is” (Galtung, 1969: 168). In Barnett’s (2008) interpretation, Galtung regards circumstances where the potential surpasses the actual as violent, except if the actual is unavoidable. These manifestations of structural violence all result in harm although the cause may not be linked to an identifiable actor or aggressor (Vorobej, 2008).

Indeed, structural violence can be silent and may not necessarily reveal itself. It can remain static and inert as Martin (2005) explains. In most societies, therefore, personal violence tends to be easily observed, while structural violence may become a normal and natural part of life. (Martin, 2005). In fact, as Galtung concedes, structural violence often characterizes some sort of normal occurrence, unlike personal violence which is often fluid and random, changing over time. Despite these differences, Galtung underscores the reality and very real presence of violence which impacts individuals and societies by way of direct physical action as much as violence that impacts societies and individuals indirectly through repressive structures (Martin, 2005).

In this vein, peace theory emerges as that which directly relates to both conflict theory and development theory. Peace research is therefore “defined as research into the conditions - past, present and future - of realizing peace,” (Martin, 2005: 183) and it

remains equally linked to both development theory research and development research. This dissertation acknowledges these links as a starting point for the exploration and analysis of the case of development in the Caribbean and surveys evidence that may link the Caribbean development shortfall to issues related to conflict and structural violence.

Indeed, peace may characterize various distinct concepts and meanings derived from various cultures across the globe, and therefore, the idea of peace can easily echo significances and understandings linked to these various cultural and historical realities. In light of this, Galtung suggests that researchers move beyond the Western idea of peace that traditionally, simply equates to the absence of war, to instead consider positive peace, which constitutes a set of relations that reflects and acknowledges social and cultural significances and nuances. These are regarded as significant phenomena that Galtung links to the trajectory of conflicts between societies and nation states over issues such as territory, access to resources, ideology and belief systems (Anderson, 1985). In the end, as Anderson suggests, international crises and conflicts occur in relation to significances and phenomena linked to interests and issues that are considered significant and worthy of waging war or ensuing hostile engagements (Anderson, 1985)

While this extended notion of conflict and violence seems useful with respects to peace research and development theory, however, Galtung's notion of structural violence, has been the subject of many waves of criticism. For his own part, Galtung admits that "there is no doubt a danger" (Vorobej, 2008: 87) that may be present in the expansive and extensive idea of violence which eventually supports a non-extremist strategy for addressing conflict (Vorobej, 2008). He discloses, for example, that both personal and

structural violence, can be" coupled in such a way that it is very difficult to get rid of both evils" (Vorobej, 2008: 87)

Coady, thus, in his 2008 work, *Morality and Political Violence* Coady heralds that Galtung's definition of violence can easily be subjected to a host of absurd counter-examples (Vorobej, 2008). Coady for instance presents the example that according to Galtung's notion, a baby or young child may be regarded as engaged in violence if in expressing its needs, it causes its parents to become tired, while ordinarily, this action would not constitute the definition of a violent child or one engaged in violent acts (Vorobej, 2008). While obviously, this interpretation seems extreme and while Coady ignores the fact that Galtung's notion is directed to the long term and overall consequence of actions, these criticisms highlight some of the possible weaknesses and difficulties associated with a broad and expansive definition of violence and conflict (Vorobej, 2008).

Despite these criticisms, however, as Vorobej, (2008) explains, Galtung resisted claims in opposition of the idea of structural violence in addition to personal violence, holding that any limited notions of violence, limiting definitions only to personal violence and characterizing peace only as the absence of personal violence would lead to too little being rejected whenever peace could be positioned as an ideal (Galtung, 1969). He explains, thus that "highly unacceptable social orders would still be compatible with peace" and that as such, "an extended concept of violence is indispensable" Galtung, 1969: 89).

Even so, Galtung is subject to the criticism of those like Coady who regarded the idea of peace as problematic, regarding Galtung's ideal as aspiring towards a total ideal

comprised of all or nothing (Vorobej, 2008). Still, Galtung acknowledges that actions addressing even the limited ideas of peace merit commendation even as they may focus solely on eliminating various forms of personal violence. He rejects the idea pushed by some of his critics that his expansive notion supports the idea that peace is not worth advancing if it is characterized by the narrower definition that focuses namely on eliminating personal violence.

Instead, he exclaims that the word 'peace,' when used creatively, could in effect influence and insight social harmony alongside peace (Vorobej, 2008). Coady, thus though still convinced of the many difficulties associated with Galtung's extended peace ideal, admits that Galtung's work achieves a greater purpose in bringing attention to the issues of personal violence as well as structural violence which may both result in individuals or societies experiencing the same treatment such as being "killed or mutilated," (Vorobej, 2008: 92) upon which, as Vorobej (2008) puts it, the victim may likely not be concerned with any distinction between personal or structural forms of violence.

In the end, Galtung proposes that by recognizing structural violence as a type of violence that must be avoided as much as personal violence, those concerned with peace and security in various contexts can more comprehensively than before, address a variety of issues related to conflict and violence even though positive peace can be advanced separately from negative peace, and while negative peace can be achieved independently of positive peace (Vorobej, 2008). Critics like Coady, however, contend that the discussion of the various forms of violence should be undertaken separately, citing the

concerns of structural violence constitute a moral and therefore separate issue (Coady, 2008).

This criticism falls along the lines of other similar critics such as Kenneth Boulding a renowned economist and one of Galtung's most vocal and prolific critics. In particular, Boulding (1977) holds that Galtung's work positions him as a structural theorist, a group of which, according to Boulding, tends to think overly in terms of static patterns and forms (Boulding, 1977). As such, he views Galtung's premise as one that unjustifiably evaluates the global system in terms of structures that tend to exist at particular moments in time (Boulding, 1977).

Boulding (1977), therefore, in his criticism, regards Galtung's notions of peace and violence as rooted in structural dialectics, where contradictions are not resolved but instead characterize continuing tensions as opposed to evolutionary dialectics that would more closely reflect reality. Further, Boulding (1977) contends that problematically, Galtung's ideals characterize a significantly normative concept that risks losing touch with accurate links to reality. Though he contends that peace research essentially constitutes a type normative science, he questions the extent to which Galtung's ideals are rooted more on structure and various norms as opposed to being linked to the true evolutionary nature of human science (Boulding, 1977).

According to Boulding (1977) Galtung does not sufficiently consider the extent with which norms may serve to filter out truths and bring to life an inaccurate view of reality. Consequently, Boulding claims that in fact, the structural character of Galtung's work has indeed prevented him on many occasions from discerning apparent social patterns and clear discontinuities (Boulding, 1977). This tendency, Boulding argues,

causes Galtung to misjudge some significant waves of randomness that occur in social systems. These random occurrences or 'system breaks', as Boulding coins them, in his view, constitute an essential part of assessing systems that Galtung almost completely misses (Boulding, 1977). To Boulding, structural thinking does not justify any neglect of randomness, which can easily be added into various structures for the sake of inquiry and for generating more reliable findings.

Besides this, Boulding also takes issue with what he views as an overemphasis on redistribution as opposed to production throughout Galtung's analysis, another factor that he links to the explicit reliance on structural thinking (Boulding, 1977). With all of this, Boulding contends that it is preferable to keep issues related to development as distinct from those related to poverty, peace, violence and even power, since poverty, he says, has traditionally been relieved through increased productivity rather than through power shifts and redistribution. He sees violence as a phenomenon which is gravely separate from that of poverty. For his part, Boulding criticizes Galtung's work as too closely related to a desire for equality.

Like Boulding, a number of other scholars have highlighted negative views of Galtung's premise. For example, in his work, "Violence and Nonviolence," Robert Holmes (1971) takes issue with Galtung's broad definition of violence and contends that definitions of violence ought not to be so broad that they cause substantial deviations from ordinary understandings of violent acts. He proposes, instead, a definition of violence which remains limited to physical force capable of damaging or destroying persons or resources (Govier, 2008). While Holmes (1971) attempts to safeguard an acceptable understanding of violence and conflict, he ignores the idea that various

cultures and societies may assign diverging definitions based on their respective experiences, and that in light of that and with the goal of advancing peace and security, it becomes necessary to construct a broad and relatively fluid understanding of violence that may relate to various regions at least to some extent or another.

Like Holmes, however, both Ted Honderich (2002), a modern theorist and Robert Miller (1971) of an older school of thought, propose ideals that move away from Galtung's premise and propose instead, definitions of violence comprising physical force and great or intense physical force intended to injure, respectively (Govier, 2008). Responding to Boulding and other critics, Galtung (1987) reasserts his commitment to the elimination of structural violence, that he outlines as precursor to achieving what Boulding refers to as stable peace (Galtung, 1987).

Besides this, he agrees with Boulding that indeed, there can be peace in light of the absence of physical and personal violence. Nevertheless, he believes that such peace will remain unstable unless any existing structural violence is addressed. Despite this, he affirms his stance with Boulding in support of Osgood's idea of a gradual reduction of international tension (GRIT) (Galtung, 1987). In the end, the end goal of peace and security remains the concern of Galtung and those who have critiqued his extended notions of conflict and violence.

Despite criticisms, this dissertation finds that the arguments linking violence and development at least worthy of structured exploration. As such, this work, while taking heed of various criticisms has ventured to examine the link between development and structural violence in the Caribbean region. In a region where social upbringing, cultural understandings and historical experiences bear significantly on the way of life and belief

system, it is imperative that research examine these significances alongside related ideas linking violence to development and to structures.

The Caribbean Reality

The genuine experience of the region signals a need for serious evaluation of the frameworks employed for advancing development in the Caribbean region. The testament of the last half-century and more highlight the story of tireless effort, with marginal, although notable success. If not only for these reasons, as Garrity and Picard (1996) explain, an understanding of the Caribbean reality has to occur simultaneously with an understanding of the pre independence era of the 1960s and prior, after which a wave a transformational and catalyzing currents completely overturned the region's political and economic infrastructure, turning it from crown colony to free state.

In this post-World War II era, there emerged a clearly asymmetric relationship between the one-crop-economy Caribbean states and a dominant class of capital holders in Europe. Consequently, this structure brought with it a class of 'reconstituted peasantries', made up of small farming communities, which existed on the fringes of a highly regulated agrarian society where the plantation labor system dominated all aspects of life (Beckles and Shepherd, 1996). On the periphery stood a working-class population comprising professionals and skilled artisans that together pushed to bring about constitutional reform and brought about a systemic widening of the Caribbean franchise (Beckles, 1990).

Amid impending political and independence success, however, the region's economy remained deadlocked in the system of the pre-independence era. In particular, the economic model of the region, remained almost exclusively based on resource

extraction and mono-agriculture, with almost every Caribbean state depending on a sole agricultural or mining product, at the same time that each island depended on a the flow of imported processed and commercial products for daily use, as well as an influx of foreign monetary and human capital, in order to maintain the basic tertiary functions in each state (Beckles and Shepherd, 1996).

The scene in the Caribbean at this point, thus comprised large pockets of extreme poverty, defined by waves of malnutrition, scant and inadequate housing, minimal or no social welfare programs, and a resounding dearth of educational and professional opportunities for Caribbean people. With the coming of independence, the Caribbean region reflected the centuries of neglect, mismanagement and mistreatment that had characterized the era of colonial exploitation and extraction. Neglect and mismanagement turned a land dotted with an abundance of natural beauty and natural resources into a pool of hardship and despair, characterized by increasing losses linked to a once rich and opulent plantation economy. The face of the region thus transformed in a matter of decades from an oasis of lavish fortunes into a pit of economic stagnation with many small and uncompetitive single crop plantations unable to keep up with the winds of change (Lalta & Freckleton, 1993).

In this futile colonial context, colonial home offices moved to minimize the losses associated with what they now viewed as “geographical problem areas”(Conway, 1997, p. 87), that housed an overpopulation of Caribbean peoples, living on inadequate plots of arable lands with little industrial potential, largely dependent on handouts from the colonial mainland (Kuznets, 1960). In that era the region was held together by colonial office administrators who envisaged regional solutions with only minimal infrastructural

facilities through colonial office projects that expensed European monarchs and miniscule regional revenues.

Plans for roadways, power plants and public utilities, although they continued, constituted abysmal and severely derisory undertakings which were directly dependent on foreign capital investments from small private sector donors alongside strict colonial grants with even stricter guidelines outlined by the Colonial Offices which oversaw these initiatives and which positioned itself as the facilitator and coordinator of regional development (Benedict, 1967).

Recognizing and outlining the Caribbean's geographical makeup, it often was the case that colonial offices simply deemed various territories, such as some of the small Windward Islands as "undevelopable," and thus only cautiously allowed the construction of limited facilities to support health, transport and communications (O'Loughlin, 1962). An undeniably dynamic and fluid space, however, those living in the region continued to push nationalist agendas and advanced cries for independence. From the era of the 1970s onward, therefore, the region catapulted into a period of nationalism and socio-political experiments of independence. These movements were tied to external and internal influences and ranged from socialism and communism, to platforms for industrialization and plans for modernization, all in the hope of achieving economic development and social advancement.

While the various experiment models each saw some success, the dominant character of external dependence remained. Such close ties to the outside thus brought about the regional awakening of the 1980s when global recession trends reinforced the reality of external influences and foreign interconnectedness. Economic and social gains

of the late 1970s quickly disappeared, pulling the region into the recession experienced by the rest of the global system and bringing on a long and painful era of social and economic hardship, fueled by rising debt levels and externally-driven international financial schemes that directly impacted the region (Ramsaran, 2001). In this period, clear downward economic trends revealed the story of economic and consequently social distress across the region. At the end of 1983, for example, the economies of Barbados, Dominican Republic, Guyana, Haiti, Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago averaged approximately -17.0 per cent change in real GDP at 1980 factor prices, with Jamaica suffering the most at -27.3 per cent (Bakan, Cox and Leys, 1993).

External pressures, nevertheless, cannot be wholly blamed for the region's plummet into economic and social distress, as decades of internal mismanagement also reinforced downward trends. Many member states maintained significantly unbalanced national accounts that routinely filled large gaps via irregular external financing options alongside exorbitantly high import bills (Ramsaran, 2001). These trends represented the classic story of economic mismanagement in both the private and public spheres at the same time that heightened vulnerability to external forces such as the global recession exacerbated an already grim Caribbean reality. As foreign direct investment (FDI) plummeted across the globe, the dwindling regional foreign direct investment (FDI) scene and the rising flight of capital depicted a picture of regional insecurity in the wake of global interconnectedness. Trapped in a cycle of foreign dependence, therefore, the region experienced sharp declines in exports while world prices for many of the region's products plunged.

Notwithstanding, and reflecting, even more clearly the impact of external forces, the Caribbean suffered as neighboring and other regions including parts of Latin America and Asia strengthened economic alliances with North American and European countries, taking steps to advance their own plight for development and simultaneously minimizing the global competitiveness of Caribbean products and resources for export (Watson, 1995). The global apparatus, thus, effectively stifled the Caribbean's development potential and limited the region's place in the global economic order. Though the region progressively modeled the example of freedom, democracy and political stability that States emerging from the period of colonialism sought in the years following decolonization, and although these nations were able to experience noteworthy increases in standards of living, mirroring their democratic success, the global reality quickly reminded them of their peculiar global vulnerabilities.

Almost all the countries of the Caribbean region witnessed decreases in per capita incomes in the 1980s and in many cases into the 1990s. With the exemption of a handful of countries like the oil producing Trinidad and Tobago and coral rich, white sand Barbados, real GDP growth in the region slowed or declined significantly (Williams, 2007). As experts at the World Bank put it, the Caribbean arrived at a development crossroad as global players no longer viewed the region as a specially designated area, deserving of trade preferences, development assistance or special treatment, as the case was in the colonial days. The region's development model could therefore no longer be aligned with the empathy or goodwill of foreign capital flows similar to those of the colonial period, but rather had to be adjusted to reflect the fluid and dynamic global

system marked by competitive actors, often unsympathetic to limited or specific regional constraints (Arthur, 2000).

In the contemporary sea of change, therefore, the region has witnessed a progressive shying away of the dominant global actors with which the region had retained strategic connections. Gradually, an erosion and slow disappearance of historical ties has become the reality as various old partners have relegated relations with the region and have progressively entered into newly negotiated global partnerships. Likewise, the region has experienced a shift in diplomatic and other relations and partnerships and has witnessed an increase in alliance formations particularly resulting from the region's geo-political location and its physical positioning at the center of the world's premier transit point in the traffic of illegal drugs (Arthur, 2000)". New partnerships, now, thus tend to reflect particular policy aims such as national security, espoused by the parties.

Indeed, the Caribbean Community arrived at a crossroad wherein Caribbean nations were forced to confront the challenges of being small states in a large and often unfriendly ocean of global competitiveness. Undoubtedly, reflection and reassessment that evaluates the historical dichotomy of an externally driven region with a need for an internally coordinated and motivated development framework has become a key priority. As such, the experiences of the 1980s brought about a new wave of deliberation and planning across the Caribbean region as various sectors of society recognized the need for collaboration and innovation on the way to addressing the crisis now reshaping the region. Efforts to diversify and move beyond the mono product economies and bolster non-traditional commodities loomed high, while energies were also geared towards

redefining the import-export sector through export driven industrialization. Plans for developing the tourism sector also surfaced alongside strategies aimed at promoting agronomic expansion for specifically defined markets in and out of the region. (Bakan, Cox and Leys, 1993). New service sectors including financial product markets emerged (Ramsaran, 2001) at the same time that structural changes were infused into a Caribbean wide "new tourism" ideal (Poon, 1993).

The Caribbean region moved to address the issues of the day in the wake of many odds against it and regardless of the acknowledgement of the restrictions that small countries like most of its member states would face. Members of CARICOM remained absolutely convinced of a path for advancing towards development derived from the past experiences which had introduced the region to the realities of the global system and had left a lasting memory of the realities of dire poverty, deprivation and insufficiency. Further, the mistakes of decades past would serve as guiding posts on the way towards an alternative path for development success that could possibly meet the needs of the region. Indeed, there is a development option for the Caribbean region, as all of the accounts of scholars, researchers and practitioners reveal the creativity and resilience of an unrelenting region.

The point where the literature tends to stop, however, merely exploring and examining the region's quest, presents a significant flaw. While it is indeed critical to explore the background and history of the impending development scene, it is even more important to move further to examine and question how this historical scene may be related to, or may influence, the incidence of the region's development story. This literary and research dearth must be corrected by the advent of continued inquiry and

examination that the people of the region unquestionably deserve. Acknowledging, as the literature reveals that the Caribbean has characterized a long standing history of peace and security, in addition to relative prosperity, and recognizing, nevertheless, that adequate development and standards of living have not been realized, further research must critically evaluate the overarching framework of the foregoing development paradigm. More critically, this must occur beyond inquiries and surveys of the past that are absent of the necessary context.

While the literature most often revealed a story of relative development success in the Caribbean, despite the odds, and while many works treating the Caribbean development schemes, highlight the movement of the nations of the region towards integration, the literature does not explore or reveal much detail regarding the surrounding contextual influences that may guide or later impact these choices. In advancing the literature, therefore, research must move to examine how the links and realities that existing works detail may further influence choices and possibilities for the region's future. In order to fill the gap in the literature and to use findings to work towards future options and outcomes, the region must be assessed considering existing findings and against the backdrop of past as well as current development frameworks.

Global Development Prescriptions

i. The Millennium Development Goals

The 21st century ushered in a renewed focus and an unparalleled commitment to addressing poverty, distress and despair across the globe, as actors moved forward to design a comprehensive framework for ending poverty and achieving international development. In September 2000, leaders from 189 nations, including 147 Heads of

sovereign states came together at the United Nations General Assembly to outline what they saw as the most pressing issues of the 21st century. The result was the drafting of the Millennium Declaration that outlined a framework for advancing towards development and ending world poverty, and to instead replace it with peace, security, democracy, human rights and environmental protections (UN General Assembly, 2000). The Millennium Declaration promised to “spare no effort to free our fellow men, women and children from the abject and dehumanizing conditions of extreme poverty” (UN General Assembly, 2000).

Indeed, this has been the goal of many nations across the globe including those of the Caribbean region, and without much doubt, the Millennium Declaration constituted a welcomed framework for a global commitment to the principles of equality, dignity, solidarity and respect that it highlighted as key pillars on the way towards development. As some observers note, unlike the Human Development Index designed by technocrats and policy writes, the Millennium Declaration represents a democratically drafted framework for addressing the development issue. While the United Nations had in the past produced documents and plans for similar action, such as that from the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment in Stockholm in 1972 (UN Conference on the Human Environment, 1972) and the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) that took place in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, in 1992 (UN Conference on Environment and Development, 1992), the Millennium Declaration, in addition to rhetoric, presented a defined plan of action and set a number of determined, as well as determinate goals with a clearly set deadline that calls for progress to be made by 2015.

Sections III and IV of the Declaration, outlined the need for global leaders to create “an environment, at the national and global levels alike, which is conducive to development and the elimination of poverty” (UN Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean [ECLAC], 2004). Global leaders also charted a structure for working together collectively as the first step towards addressing and dealing with the reality of global interdependence financially, socially and environmentally. This set the stage for coming together to outline the major development needs impacting global security and human development overall. Subsequently, a well-defined follow-up framework emerged from the Millennium Declaration and led to the publication of an implementation roadmap for progress. This roadmap presented by the Secretary-General outlined the list of objectives sought in the Millennium Declaration, explicitly labeling 8 distinct goals, comprising a total of 18 targets assessed by 48 indicators, launched with a new fervor as the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The Millennium Development Goals thus further structuralized a targeted agenda for advancing development and coordinated a mechanism for reporting on the Millennium Declaration (Fukuda-Parr, 2012).

Specific quantitative, timeframes were assigned to the targets in order to institute a measurable system with unambiguous standards. It was recognized, however, that quantitative measurements were not realistic in the case of all the targets, as all of the countries signing on to the development task constituted a sea of difference, with respect to their economic, social, political and environmental options. Advancing towards certain goals and measuring various targets could be a task of significantly different magnitude from one area to the next, even while advancing the same goal. Nonetheless,

the system was set up to create an environment defined by action, verifiable gains and measurable goals, that while they may be approached differently, offered the opportunities for countries to have autonomy in determining a preferred trajectory, reflective of the particular experience, plan and capability of the nation. With the opportunity to exercise autonomy over actions, an opportunity was offered wherein various nations could set their own agendas based on their respective development needs.

This translated to opportunities for countries to determine their development path as they moved toward the MDGs. For example, while the World Bank had removed tourism from its list of viable activities for achieving real economic growth and advancing development, many nations have been able to reposition their tourism industries as the driving element behind which they tailored their MDG plans (Bricker, Black and Cottrell, 2013). This promotes the idea that it is in the best interest of countries to develop their respective capacities in response to national needs as individual countries move towards goals in ways that promote and sustain capacity building in various domains. Further, with the ability to effectively manipulate the development agenda in one's home country in pursuit of the MDGs, there emerged a renewed sense of collaboration and support across the globe in relation to meeting a number of the prescribed goals. A number of standardized mechanisms were thus also set up to afford real and accurate portrayals of the scene on the ground. For example, in order to allow for intermittent observation, the year 1990 was agreed upon as the baseline year for calculating real figures and assessing real trends (Manning, 2009).

Nevertheless, the first seven of the eight goals focus on areas that primarily require the commitment of developing nations on the way to attaining satisfactory levels of

development. These first seven goals place an express focus on developing the capacity needed to provide universal access to minimum standards of well-being. The last of the eight goals, however, involves all actors in the international system, and calls for the creation of a coordinated global partnership for development (Fukuda-Parr, 2012). As such, the eighth goal calls for commitment on the part of developed nations in supporting the efforts of developing countries and collaboration with these nations in order to address “international asymmetries” (UN Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean, 2004) that have worked against developing countries and that have thwarted many of the efforts made towards advancing development. Essentially therefore, Goal 8 attempts to improve the practice and process of official development assistance (ODA).

The re-evaluation of the official development assistance (ODA) process could in turn promote a more dynamic and engaging trade and financial system governed by rules that ensure accountability, predictability and nondiscrimination, and that would offer practical alternatives for the already overly indebted developing countries (UN Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean, 2004). The energy and enthusiasm that surrounded the Millennium Development Goals certainly launched a new era of development advancement across the globe. Researchers argue, in fact, that the Millennium Development Goals represent perhaps the most important step towards development in this century and definitely since the institution of the United Nations as a global body (Weiss, Jolly and Emmerij 2009). Unlike previous declarations and plans that are often forgotten, ignored or simply put on the back burner, the Millennium Development Goals have served as a catalyst driving many UN agencies, national

governments and international organizations, and has incited development programs across the globe (Gore, 2010).

Notwithstanding, not all of the literature surveying the Millennium Development Goals are positive. On the one hand, some, particularly feminist organizations and groups voice loud criticism of the MDGs subtle setup as potentially-woman. With the level of leverage and flexibility allotted, it is very possible, they say, for various regimes to adapt policies geared at repressing the place of women or that indirectly marginalize the position of women in society. More directly, as the cite, however, the MDG targets specifically focusing on infant mortality and maternal health are regarded as direct attacks on the equality of women, their health and reproductive and sexual rights (Antrobus, 2005).

Further, recognizing that many of the other targets ranging from sanitation to education, tend to impact women more immediately than men in most developing areas, these critics question the stated aims of an MDG mechanism that does not outline a method for measuring the advance of women towards those goals independently from that of men (Antrobus, 2005). Other researchers and practitioners question the MDGs in light of the misappropriation of the leverage afforded by the framework. Vandemoortele (2009) argues that many countries have chosen to focus on a few goals while they ignore the others, strategically involving themselves with the measures associated with the highest proportions of aid funding. In essence, as he notes, some of the targeted focus on certain goals operate “as a call for more aid or as a Trojan horse for a particular policy framework” (Vandemoortele, 2009). In the end, he questions the capacity of the MDG

agenda, set up as a one size fits all assessment framework, to truly inspire sustainable movements towards long lasting development goals.

Easterly (2007) also rejects the idea that the MDG, can in its current framework, which uses the same targets, goals and measures for global development, and that allots the same timeframe, can actually bring about success. He cites the case of countries across Africa holding that countries with dehumanizing levels of poverty, cannot be expected to meet the same development targets set by the MDGs in the same timespan as other countries with much less severe development circumstances. Consequently, he considers reports of failure to meet certain marks in numerous African countries, despite unprecedented movement towards those targets, evidence of a flawed and reckless system (Easterly, 2007).

The MDGs, despite its critics have become the much consulted point of reference for discussions and actions related to international development. They now constitute the most commonly referenced guidepost for designing development programs as well as for measuring the progress of development programs instituted across the globe and at various levels (Gore, 2010). The United Nations, the World Bank and several other international actors including governments, IGOs and NGOs continue to work steadfastly towards implementing, accessing and building upon MDG progress. To ensure systematic and continued work towards the MDGs a detailed annual report is compiled. Additionally, other critical international organizations such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) methodically include data assessed by the MDG targets in their own periodical country reports.

The widespread acceptance of the Millennium Development Goals as credible and all-encompassing has instituted a sound framework with which to pursue, measure and assess development standards worldwide (Fukuda-Parr and Hulme, 2011). Further, the prevalent acceptance of the basic development concept guiding the MDGs has been responsible for highlighting the urgency required for addressing and ending poverty across the globe. Effectively, the criterion set by the Millennium Development Goals has worked to place the issue of development as a priority on the global agenda. Today, MDG goals are discussed at renowned global summits and meetings such as, the G-8 and G-20 conferences (Fukuda- Parr, 2012). Likewise, the Millennium Development Goals has become an international norm and serves as a roadmap and model for advancing development (Fukuda-Parr and Hulme 2011).

Under the guidelines of the Millennium Development Goals, world actors have embarked on a journey to eradicate extreme poverty and hunger, achieve universal primary education, promote gender equality and empower women, reduce child mortality, improve maternal health and combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases, while they also strive to ensure environmental sustainability. Further, with the MDGs, global leaders have committed to developing a global partnership for development (Manning, 2009).

The Caribbean region including various regional entities such as CARICOM, the Caribbean Development Bank (CDB), the Eastern Caribbean Central Bank (ECCB), CARICAD (Caribbean Center for Development Administration) and the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS) have all implemented strategies and enacted programs that address the MDG targets, and that also coincide with the respective indicators for

measuring progress towards each goal. The survey and examination of the results and implications of these measures across the Caribbean has been critical for the researcher in assessing and addressing regional development, since as the literature reflects, the MDGs, whether it is regarded as good or bad, tend to invoke sharp responses and distinct feelings.

This research project recognizes, nevertheless, that development constitutes a phenomenon which goes beyond the goals derived from the Millennium Declaration and comprising the MDGs. Meeting these goals or ranking high with respect to these goals may reveal development progress, but may not necessarily yield development or a state of being developed and secure. This dissertation, building on the premise espoused in the literature, has evaluated Caribbean development in accordance with the quantitative and qualitative prescriptions of the MDGs. The work thus provides analytic assessments relating how the results of the MDG measures align with other established ideas and measures of development in the Caribbean region. In addition, the dissertation presents an analysis of how these the MDG results that detail success stand in comparison to related findings from other development prescriptions, mindful of the conclusions and criticism like those voiced by Easterly (2007) and Vandemoortele (2009). The work, thus, assesses how the MDG framework suits the Caribbean context.

ii. The Human Development Index

Human development refers to a concept that focuses particularly on the state of human beings, the conditions in which they live, and the levels with which they are able to function effectively in society, thereby leading productive and useful lives. Essentially therefore, human development constitutes the realm of assessing the human condition,

particularly as this relates to the global order and international development. This idea of human development attempts to go a step further than realm of economic development that primarily deals with economic well-being to include conscious concern with other human factors. The phenomenon is credited to Nobel laureate Amartya Sen (1998) who furthered the work of scholars such as Ul Haq, Nussbaum and Robeyns who had begun to call for factors impacting development and wellbeing that went beyond income and economic opportunity (United Nations Development Program, 2013b). These proponents saw the phenomenon as a road with which to allow an expansion of freedoms, that according to Sen (1999), constituted a means as well as an end as human development related to freedom and vice versa (Sen, 1999).

A focus on human development calls for a more holistic prescriptive framework for addressing development and moved to focus on the development of the individual being rather than the economic state of the nation. The concept proposes that those concerned with the development consider factors beyond income, revenue and capital in assessing human living conditions. According to proponents of human development, an adequate living standard must encompass a large part of the choices afforded to individuals and groups on their way to achieving acceptable standards of living. This system which introduces a Human Development Index, and separates classic economic assessments of development, offers a human centered approach that as proponents say, allows developing areas an opportunity to assess the progress towards development through means other than that dictated by the market forces of developed countries (Ul Haq, 1995).

Instead, Ul Haq (1995) argues that the Human Development Index (HDI) affords an opportunity to demonstrate progress in areas that reflect development in ways similar to economic indicators. As those surveying the ideal hold, the HDI represents a mechanism that attempts to highlight the fact that varying societies showcase different strengths and capabilities, and that as such, there should exist the opportunity to assess the development of a country in light of its capabilities and not solely with respect to economic details (Conley, 2011). The basis for measurement thus surrounds three simple areas, life expectancy, knowledge and education, and standard of living, the last of which is measured via the GNI per capita, which allows for a country specific ratio measurement.

As widespread reviews and surveys of the HDI is not available outside of UN Reports, on the question of using the mechanism as a guide for development aid funds, Ul Haq (1995) admits that the framework is “neither perfect nor fully developed” (p. 61). Srinivasan (1994), agrees, and goes farther, blasting the framework as duplicative and only capable of relating proxy details that are already a ratio of the set of circumstances in a particular test country. Some practitioners, including Khan and Riskin (2001), however, regard the system as useful, relatively easy and simple to use in conducting research study and evaluative projects. Similarly, according to some like Malani (2007), who is engaged directly with the fundamental crisis of a lack of human development, the agenda may serve as a framework to find solutions to many of the problems facing humans, as some of the basic tenets are designed to address very basic, yet needed aspects of human preservation, including dealing with infectious diseases (Malani, 2007).

The human development phenomenon calls for an increase in the “richness of human life rather than the wealth of the economy in which human beings live.” This, according to Sen “is only a part of life itself.” (United Nations Development Program, 2012). This philosophy rests on the belief that “people are the real wealth of nations, so that human development involves expanding the opportunities and capacities to enable them to live a creative and productive life according to their needs and interests” (United Nations Development Program, 2012b). To this end, the goals of human development, must include a number of core capacities such as enjoying a long and healthy life, being educated, accessing the resources that enable people to live with dignity, and being able to participate in the decisions that affect their lives and the community (United Nations Development Program, 2013). Achieving these core capacities serve as key in the development of humans as these factors afford the opportunity to develop individual and societal capacity. This, will in turn, afford better opportunities for attaining a better quality of life. As the founders of human development have remarked, “human development is the development of the people for the people and by the people” (United Nations Development Program, 2012b).

Ultimately, the idea of human development, as the literature reflects, remains a call to action on the part of entire societies and cultures. Researchers must therefore closely survey the effectiveness of striving towards development from the standpoint of the human development proponents, in addition to the idea of development voiced by the proponents of economic growth models, which focus primarily on macroeconomic development trends as a catalyst for, and an indicator of development success (Streeten, 2004). The goal of research, in this respect, rests upon the assessment of nations and

regions through the lens of the model and then adding to the limited pool of research employing the framework apart from the UN's own annual Human Development Report.

In this vein, this dissertation, closely surveys the experience of development in the Caribbean region through the mechanism and development factors prescribed by the human development framework and the United Nations Development Program's (UNDP) Human Development Index.

The Caribbean Discourse

The discussion and evaluation of the Caribbean region's development experiences and expectations must be undertaken within a designated context, as "every discourse has a context" (Trezelle, 2007) and indeed, the Caribbean development discourse has both context and motive. The critical nature of these discussions evolves from the crisis that persists in light of attaining a sustained or accepted level of development across the Caribbean region. The literature and discourse that has developed in relation to the Caribbean development paradigm comes about in light of a local, regional and international context, which must each be assessed individually, as well as in tandem with one and the other. Just like Auguste Comte (1852), the founding father of sociology believed that the science of society was possible and that this science would reconstruct French society (Compte, 1966), many concerned with the issue of Caribbean development, including myself, hold that the creation of a Caribbean development science, constituting a Caribbean centered model for growth could similarly reconstruct a path towards sustained development for the region.

The Social, Cultural and Historical Context

Some, including Trezelle (2007) and others reflect on related historical trajectories such as the case of 19th century France that with its need to reconstruct French society moved to develop principles that guided the reconstruction of France. According to Trezelle, this must hold true for the Caribbean, which must move to design region specific principles capable of constructing a Caribbean development model that can bring about a satisfactorily developed region.

Sociologists in the Caribbean often reiterate the fact that Auguste Comte was overwhelmingly inspired by a desire to make a contribution to the development of his own society (Compte, 1973), and as such, they hold that sociologists in the Caribbean, must be careful not to overlook the crucial role of sociological discourse (Mintz, 1971). Sociologists including Mintz (1966, 1971, and 1974) and Trezelle (2007) have held that like Comte, sociologists across the Caribbean must place a particular emphasis on making direct contributions towards uplifting the peoples and societies of the Caribbean region. According to them, in order to accomplish this, Caribbean sociologists and other related professionals must move to identify and address the root causes of some of the major problems plaguing Caribbean society, in particular, focusing on the context within which a sociology of the Caribbean is being constructed.

Indeed, Caribbean sociologists can critically impact the construction of development across the region. Nonetheless, in order to accomplish such a goal, these leading figures of the Caribbean social construct must take on a more critical perspective (Trezelle, 2007). In recognition of this fact, some including Holmes and Crossley (2004) have begun to advance research in order to assess how and to what extent social and cultural phenomena can be linked to aspects of development. Holmes and Crossley

(2004), addressed the issue of how local culture, knowledge and values impact capacity development and affect education policy development in the small Caribbean state of St. Lucia. This quest is directly linked to the efforts of this research project in surveying society, culture and history in relation to the construction of development policy across the region.

The critical investigation of the links between St. Lucian education policy development and local culture, norms and traditions revealed that in fact, in St. Lucia, a systematic approach has been employed with which to re-conceptualize the local education system and education policy initiatives by taking steps to more closely reflect “local culture, oral traditions and the postcolonial context” of the *Kweyol*-majority populace (Holmes and Crossley, 2004). The result, according to the authors, has been the emergence of a strengthened ability of policy experts to devise a “distinctive social ecology” considering education policy, reflecting national and regional goals, while remaining internationally competitive and domestically proud. These findings align with the arguments of Trezelle and others including Holmes and Crossley who continue to argue that it is critical that scholars present and share the intercultural knowledge related to the constructed sociological models of the Caribbean. This, they say, must include the creole, plantation society-driven and plural character of the region, alongside various other emerging identities that focus on exogenous and outer-structural features, which also influence the Caribbean understanding, the Caribbean experience and consequently, regional expectations.

This study agrees with the assumptions and conclusions expressed by the aforementioned sociologists and anthropologists. The overarching belief that propelled

this work supports the idea that in order to successfully address Caribbean development, one must first understand that Caribbean society and the term Caribbean itself, goes far beyond a physical region or a group of people within the region. In fact, one of the basic premises guiding the research is that the Caribbean constitutes a way of being and a manner of existing, embedded in the consciousness of those found across the region and in those emerging out of the region. As such, this dissertation dutifully surveys the extent to which these conclusions have and can be adopted in the construction of Caribbean development policy. Further, to the extent that these assumptions are characteristic of a unique Caribbean space, it was the duty of this dissertation to evaluate the success of development prescriptions in light of the extent with which the various frameworks consider and cater to the unique social and historical character of the Caribbean region. Policy experts must continue to attempt to find a balance between the international political economy and the ability to forge targeted and relevant local and regional development strategies.

This issue highlights a peculiar complexity surrounding the reality for the Caribbean region, as the Caribbean context comprises an idea and definition of *Caribbean* that goes beyond the simple exploration of any established social structure, but that rather, encompasses an uncharacteristic and multifarious experience. Scholars chronicling the Caribbean experience often equate the Caribbean reality as that of the stories of various groups of peoples laboring to locate an assured sense of place (Lewis, 1983). The work of Lennox Honeychurch (1994) and others brilliantly outline this complex equation that defines the notion of *Caribbean* as a space, a people, a region and a society (Lowenthal, 1972). Lewis (1983), presents a Caribbean historiography in his

piece entitled *Main Currents of Caribbean Thought*, underscoring the difficulties of building society and coming together as a region, in the wake of European expansion into the Caribbean, and the development of a unique brand of capitalism, which shaped Caribbean society. Outside of this, he says, one cannot begin to understand the region's history which he sees as locked in with the socio-cultural elements of colonialism, slavery and creole culture.

This argument must be seriously considered and closely examined as in Lowenthal's extensive ethnographic study published in his 1972 work *West Indian Societies*. Lowenthal's (1972) work also chronicles the social history and development of the West Indies, only to find that the socio-historical reality of the Caribbean has, without much else, molded the region into what it is. He describes a unique social experiment that has evolved internally in order to survive an externally imposed socio-cultural dynamic that influences politics, economics and all aspects of life. Again, highlighting the need to survey the Caribbean within a socio-historical and cultural context, Honeychurch (1994), in his work, *Caribbean Culture Contacts*, explores the culture of the Caribbean people as practiced and lived by the inhabitants across the region. Honeychurch (1994) underscores the significance of the "complex amalgam of influences gathered together over a period of some five hundred years" (Honeychurch, 1994).

Beyond this, he recognizes that Caribbean anthropologists, as well as Caribbean sociologists, historians, geographers, political scientists, economists and indeed almost every other critic of the region must, more than ever, move to expand their particular disciplines with a conscious overlap of their respective discourse. This would lead to the

progressive assembling of themes and treatise found within the confines of various academic disciplines, that according to him, must come together in order to accurately characterize and interpret the heterogeneity of the *Caribbean* experience and that which defines the Caribbean region (Honeychurch, 2004). Other leading Caribbean scholars including the Cuban born Antonio Benitez-Rojo (1992), even in the post-modernist perspective, agrees that the region's unique "eclecticism" must be recognized and regarded as a strategic resource, rather than a fate that must be conceded. In Benitez-Rojo's words, the Caribbean can be characterized as "a cultural sea without boundaries." As he puts it, "this is why [...] [Caribbean] (sic) analysis cannot dispense with any of the paradigms, while at the same time it will not be able to legitimate itself through any one of them, but rather only in and through their nonlinear sum" (Benitez-Rojo, 1992, 270).

Like many of the other works treating the region, Benitez-Rojo emphasizes, the complexity of the Caribbean fabric, historically, socially, economically, politically and otherwise, well beyond the scope of any traditional schools of thought. It is with this in mind, that one must recognize the themes and motifs that pervade the literature and begin to call for a region-specific strategy for development. One must call for the construction of a Caribbean centered model birthed in the social, cultural and historical truths of the region, and which goes beyond discussion and experiments that attempt to copy or merely adjust traditional models employed outside of the region.

Acknowledging Complexity and Difference

The literature clearly conveys that for a long time now, many have promoted a need for placing the general acknowledgement of the atypical character of the Caribbean at the forefront of any discourse attempting to treat issues pertaining to the region.

Melville Herskovitz, the famed African American anthropologist and Caribbean brother, published research findings supporting this idea after conducting studies among Afro-Caribbean populations in Trinidad, Suriname and Haiti, at the turn of the twentieth century, between 1928 and 1939 (Herskovitz and Herskovitz 1934; Herskovitz 1937). His conclusions garnered the attention of other North American anthropologists including Julian Steward (1948), Michael Horowitz (1967) and Eric Wolf (1966) who further explored the role of cultural ecology, cultural anthropology, and ahistorical functionalism respectively across the Caribbean.

From then and up till now, these and many other scholars hold that social and cultural characteristics of the region could not be wholly explored or understood unless the impact of the forces driving these socio-cultural developments were also considered. Subsequent, re-examination of these works and other recent findings on the unique case of Caribbean social pluralism has led to the conclusion that there exists some type of incompatibility between the traditional objective of many disciplines and the inexorable history of the Caribbean region (Honeychurch, 2004). It is a must, therefore, for today's researcher to closely signal this understanding in any assessment and examination of Caribbean phenomena including Caribbean development.

Recent works such as Sidney Mintz's (1996) critical analysis of his own historic work on the Caribbean region has resolved that the people of the Caribbean region involve themselves in an incessant, historically-entrenched process of reshaping the cultural significances that actually shape the region. According to him, the Caribbean, with its multi-racial make-up, adopted this practice as a way with which to interact with the non-Western world, as well as with the Western world which has found itself

embedded within the Caribbean region. This has become the cultural norm that, according to him defines the social and cultural process of modernity that has taken place across the region from as early as the fifteenth century and even up till today (Mintz, 1971, 1996).

Mintz's decades long examination of this Caribbean phenomenon through ethnographic study and cultural anthropology has illustrated the intricacy and multiplicity within which a Caribbean society and culture exists amid subtle harmony. In his work *The Caribbean as a Socio-Cultural Area* (1971), Mintz explains that

“the very diverse origins of Caribbean populations; the complicated history of European cultural impositions; and the absence in most such societies of any firm continuity of the culture of the colonial power have resulted in a very heterogeneous cultural picture,” nevertheless, “the societies of the Caribbean - taking the word ‘society’ to refer here to forms of social structure and social organization - exhibit similarities that cannot possibly be attributed to mere coincidence (Mintz, 1971).”

The complex issue of identifying and defining a Caribbean identity and then connecting this identity and meaning to the locational space of the Caribbean underscores part of the difficult task of defining a path for Caribbean development and security. Careful exploration and assessment of this dilemma is critical in order to comprehensively address RQ1a which examines ‘what defines or characterizes development’ and particularly in surveying RQ1b- exploring ‘how the definition and understanding of [...] development [can] impact the Caribbean development shortfall.’

This complex and peculiar Caribbean character is cogently explored in many of the powerful works of Derek Walcott. In his poem “A Far Cry From Africa”, Walcott expresses, “I who am poisoned with the blood of both, where shall I turn divided to the vein? I who have cursed the drunken officer of British rule, how choose I between this Africa and the English tongue I love? I betray them both or give back what they give? How can I face such slaughter and be cool? How can I turn from Africa and live?” These words highlight the dilemma at the heart of understanding the Caribbean and directly impact any goal to advance Caribbean development. The socio-cultural rift is clear and must be examined with regards to how these dichotomies and forced juxtapositions may impact understanding, schools of thought, and resulting actions across the region.

In another of Walcott’s famous work *Omeros* (1991), he presents the struggling and weak character that personified the Caribbean and its peoples, existing within a framework of oppression, colonization and external dominance. *Omeros*, the main character, must continuously give up of herself without fuss, just like various islands were being given and exchanged, swapped and pawned. Like the indifferent and unconcerned overseers across the region, her fellow villagers reflected an air of unconcern, disregard and disinterest which in the end led to grief and great loss for *Omeros* and even for the others. This is much like the case of the eventual loss of many Caribbean traditions that overtime became lost in a sea of change and zing.

Walcott (1991) makes reference to what Trezelle (2007) later refers to as a ‘poverty of consciousness’ that can ultimately lead the self toward implosion. Fortunately for the region and its peoples, as the literature reflects, a juxtaposition of sorts

erupted to bring to life a fluid and unique Caribbean culture that emerged from a reality that continuously fought off other competing realities. As these scholars, Trezelle, Walcott, Honeychurch, Lewis and others highlight, this very internal collapse has fueled reconstruction and strength throughout Caribbean history. This, though, further adds to the complexity and the ultimate aberrant nature of the Caribbean development problem.

A seemingly apparent, yet ambiguous dialectical process has moved to define the Caribbean as a space that appears to obstruct its own progress, a space that in many ways may have opposed its own development. A critical understanding of this complex reality will be key for addressing any plan for Caribbean development. It is time thus that scholars and practitioners move beyond acknowledging this need for understanding Caribbean complexity, to now advance policy within a marked framework of intricacy, acknowledging an atypical regional context.

To date, the literature reveals that the reality for the Caribbean seems to be one that traditionally stands against its own objectives and interests and that often acts in opposition to its own self. The region thus, stands as a somewhat troubled space, despite many successes. Despite richness and abundance alongside long periods of growth and progress the region showcases a scene of poverty and lack and a need for a plan towards realizing an ultimate Caribbean reality. All of the research to date reaffirms the need to continue to assess the Caribbean scene, with the aim to understand the meaning of Caribbean, and in order to then use that understanding to define regional development goals from which development strategies may emerge (RQ1b and RQ2a).

Linking a Cultural Uniqueness and Regional Strategy

Assessments of the idea of the Caribbean as a juxtaposed dichotomy, or a complex sort of contrasting contradiction can be linked to valuations regarding how it is that the Caribbean region remains undeveloped or underdeveloped. Many signal a direct link between the region's socio-cultural and historical past and its political and economic trajectory that has in turn weighed heavily on the economic and development prospects of the region. Commenting on Walcott's socio-economic and historical depiction of the Caribbean in his works, Trezelle (2007) labels the Caribbean region, "an invaded space," a space, still finding and identifying itself, while overtaken by the pursuit of capitalism and capitalist goals, at the same time that the region has not enjoyed the benefits of capitalism as it is experienced in the real capitalist (non-invaded capitalist) spaces such as the United States and the United Kingdom. In the end, this multifarious reality highlights the multifaceted 'inner-dynamics of Caribbean development,' which Trezelle quite appositely designates.

Others such as Mark Figueroa (2003), however, believe that there is need to go beyond surface assessments of development dynamics, in order to instead look more directly at the trends and patterns that emerge from this the Caribbean reality. Proposing a similar explanation of the plight of the region, and contending that the region constitutes an end-product, or perhaps even merely a by-product of capitalism, Figueroa calls for an examination of these unique features of the Caribbean alongside concrete steps to build upon those lessons of the past, that not only influence beliefs and understandings, but which sets expectations and easily assigns status quo (Figueroa, 2003). Figueroa builds upon many of the arguments and writings of Lloyd Best who advocated for movement beyond any existing state of affairs in the region. According to

Best (1999) the greatest challenge for the region is the difficulty for Caribbean people to liberate their imagination, display resourcefulness and resilience in the midst of all of this conflictual historical and socio-cultural mix-up, to ultimately rebuild the broken psyche that stems from the colonial experience, and which continues to permeate the social, cultural and economic fabric of the region. Best (2012) insisted that the Caribbean stay clear of what he saw as “the trap of borrowed ideologies and borrowed solutions” (Lloyd Best Institute, 2012), to instead move towards the task of forging a new ‘*Caribbean*’ society out of the many cultural fragments brought to the region during the long period of colonial experimentation and its aftermath.

Figueroa’s work calls for a continued push to move the region forward from where Best left it more than three decades ago. Figueroa, thus, like Best, calls for a dynamic application of Caribbean centered ideas to meet the needs of the region. Beyond this push, however, Figueroa calls for going one step beyond Best’s theory of looking inwards and backwards and learning from the past in order to create a path for the region’s future. Rather, he proposes that beyond learning from the past and present, that the region also look outward and forward in order to extend many of Best’s insights to the current era, recognizing the context of today, while also building upon the historical significances of the past. For Figueroa (2003) and for Best (1999), the perplexity that surrounds the Caribbean derives from the fact that the region has always been connected to capitalism, at the same time that it has not experienced the ideals of capitalism, and while the region does not understand itself, nor define itself as a true capitalist culture or society.

The result has been the evolution of a distorted and contradictory reality that has directly impacted the society, culture and peoples of the Caribbean region. It is from this point, and at the intersection of the socio-cultural and politico-economical crossroads that this research has begun to examine how and why the region remains undeveloped, how development is qualified and quantified, and how the understanding of development may impact the Caribbean region's plight. These issues are closely related to the notion of a distorted Caribbean space comprising an abundance of paradoxes and incongruities that have led notable scholars such as Sir Hilary Beckles (1990, 1996, and 2004) to question the place of the Caribbean in history.

Beckles, the Principal and Pro-Vice Chancellor of the University of The West Indies (UWI), Cave Hill, Barbados, who also serves as Chair of the Social and Economic History department at the University of The West Indies, Cave Hill, is the President of the International Scientific Committee for the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization's (UNESCO) Slave Route Project. Beckles has long been a leading scholar, researcher and voice on the issue of development in the postcolonial context, and as recently as 2012 and 2014 has pushed for decisive and tangible international action by way of reparations for Caribbean slavery. This push has brought about the March 2014, 10-point plan for reparations, agreed upon by CARICOM (Torres-Bennet, 2014). Beckles has for decades questioned the path and plight of the region in relation to its quest for development within the context of its historical trajectory.

In his 2004 Emancipation Day address in St Lucia, he explained that the people of the Caribbean "have to analyze precisely where we are". Insisting that "the situation in the Caribbean is grave," he remarked that the region has not had economic growth in

more than twenty years (Beckles 2004). Moreover, in asking the question, “what are we to make of our history?” Beckles highlights the premise of this dissertation and much of the discourse surrounding the issue of Caribbean development, that of initially understanding the social, cultural and historical context from the midst of which, the nature of the Caribbean development problem emerges. This research affirms the need to recognize and address the nature of the Caribbean development dilemma at the onset of constructing any model for advancing the type of growth and development that can sustain peace and security in the region.

Indeed, the conclusion that these scholars expound firmly support one of the driving theories of this dissertation, that the situation related to development across the Caribbean extends far beyond the boundaries of economics or traditional economic models for growth and development. Instead, the issue of Caribbean development derives from an amalgamation of peculiar historical, psychological and socio-cultural realities that drive the economic reality and all other aspects of existence throughout the region. Non-economic influences must thus comprise a significant part of the Caribbean development equation.

The analysis of one of these Caribbean peculiarities is detailed by Sutton (1995) and Payne and Sutton (2001), in their works surveying some unique and characteristic features of the region, particularly stemming from the Caribbean development experience during colonial rule and in the era of decolonization and independence. Payne and Sutton (1995) focus primarily on the role that the global economy played in shaping the Caribbean development experience. Globalization and the external pressures that have stymied much of the region’s efforts to develop is regarded as one of the most significant

issues confronting the Caribbean development struggle. Payne and Sutton in the work 'Charting Caribbean Development' (2001) outline some of the different economic models for development adopted by many of the national governments of the English-speaking Caribbean. Beyond this, the work carefully details the difficulties that the region faced on the path towards integration and highlights some of the impacts of the unavoidable external links to Europe, the United States and Canada.

The focus on the external events impacting Caribbean development, according to them is most abundantly evident in the case of the banana dispute and in assessing the magnitude of the impact of the actions taken by the World Trade Organization in that case. They clearly outline many of the difficulties and stresses that have become the norm for the story of Caribbean development in light of the international political economy and within the context of a continually globalizing world. Don Marshall (1998) also explores the extremely difficult position that the region finds itself in with the continued progress of globalization and with the external pressures that result.

In his 1998 work focusing on the Caribbean region and the effects of NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement), Marshall (1998) holds that there are multiple events affecting the prospects for Caribbean development, while simultaneously, according to him, there exists a host of symptoms for addressing these problems in the wake of the 21st century. In his analysis, the typical globalizing trends defining much of the world's economies have largely rendered the region's historical economic model obsolete. He suggests, thus that like the move of NAFTA participants, that the region further move towards both political and economic integration and towards a renewed sense of regionalization. Marshall argues that this strategy would best serve the interest

of the Caribbean in the era of diminishing small state influence and the rise of large multinational corporations, powerful lobby groups, and according to him, a WTO commission that often favors corporations (Marshall, 1998).

Researchers, academics and critics such as Marshall, Sutton and Payne, among others, all highlight the critical role played by many of the key external economic actors driving the Caribbean economy, from that of the planters, the merchants and others like the royalists, that in Marshall's analysis, had no real stake, and thus no real reason for concern with the transformation of the Caribbean region, to the former colonial powers and other world powers whose interests tended to differ significantly from that of the region. Marshall (1998) explains that for much of the history of the Caribbean, the transformation of the local economy has been driven by the interest of these actors who focused on related interests that most often did not benefit the Caribbean economies and the development of the region in any sustainable fashion.

In particular, Marshall (1982) treats the issue of the longstanding historical significance of neglect and plunder that characterized the region. As he reveals, it was often the case that in place of developing the local economies, the merchant and planter classes often decided upon an explicit focus on the expansion of the commercial domain, rather than local economies as a whole. This strategy succeeded in more firmly securing their positions of dominance across the region and throughout Caribbean society. Marshall (1982, 1998) labels this unconventional economic development model, that which called for underdevelopment, rather than development, one of the many peculiarities of the colonial economy that defined West-Indian society. He explains that many of the drivers of the Caribbean economy and thus, drivers of the region's

development, often remained motivated by the preservation of the ruling class' dominant status in society, rather than by an increase in capital holdings or by calculable economic and social development and progress.

From the onset, thus, these Caribbean societies weathered the storms of an external domination of the development process, and up till now, globalization continues to fuel this very trend. Across the Caribbean region, much of the economic production and exchange tended to be directed not by a want for income maximization, but more often, by the desire to maintain status and positions of power alongside other non-economic considerations (Lewis, 1993). Any case for developing the region must thus seriously consider all these dynamic forces as, like this work posits, they represent the forces within which the Caribbean reality emerges, and from which a development solution must emerge.

Constructing Theory through Practice

Economist and Nobel Prize winner, Sir William Arthur Lewis and later, many of the distinguished lecturers of the Arthur Lewis Memorial Lectures, held between 1996 and 2005, also acknowledged the important position occupied by non-economic factors directly linked to development in the Caribbean. Sir Arthur Lewis' works continually highlighted these 'extra-economic' issues such as the gains made by the classes controlling the production of primary goods and their related tactics for the planning and management of the economies across the region. In fact, Lewis frequently addressed the manner in which and the reason for which, many Caribbean societies became competitive while others did not. In surveying some of the competitive and sustainable conditions within which business leaders across the region often emerged, he revealed how

extraordinary and how practical this ‘extra-economic’ regional reality remained, developing over the centuries, without any unequivocal theoretical grounds.

Lewis’ works, in fact documented an inadvertent fusion of developing theory, history and statistics (Best, 1999). According to other observers including Best and Tignor (2006), Lewis reveals that from this mold emerges a class of nation builders, rising in the wake of a need for leaders to oversee institutions and take responsibility across the Caribbean region, in partnership with the leading colonial powerbrokers. As the twentieth century emerged, thus, these new actors would, as Best (1999) puts it, “find theory, invent it where necessary,” and move to continue on the road to defining a Caribbean model for development. This new group would ultimately have to fulfill all of the domains related to the development of the region and they would ultimately attend to all corners of the region.

This class that emerged from the chaos of uncharacteristic distortions and peculiarity has without a doubt influenced the emerging character and reality of the region. It is this discord, for instance, that Best (1999) cites as the driving force behind the emergence of figures such as William Demas and Sir Alister McIntyre, two Caribbean lieutenants credited for instilling a passion for the cause of Caribbean integration everywhere across the islands and territories of the region. Further, as Best explains, from the rubble of confusion and complexity emerged a reliable band, upon which the Caribbean was consistently able to rely on to put aside the past experiences of ‘extra-economic’ and crown politics, to instead reflect a sound competence for governing, administrating and constructing a space for the development of a Caribbean society.

This group offered a “selfless and committed service in the cause of Caribbean construction” (Best 1999). It is from the ranks of this transitional generation that a spike of regional integrity and distinction emerges. The result of this took the region triumphantly towards independence, sovereignty, and regional integration. It is in light of these arguments and much supporting evidence, however, that this dissertation questions and further examines how it is that with these successes and with significant literature pointing to progress, that the region remains largely undeveloped and underdeveloped (RQ1).

Onward, and into the twenty-first century, the region experienced an era defined by the rise of independence and self-governance alongside interdependence and the mission to come to terms with the idea of ‘Caribbean-ness’. It is imperative, thus that in assessing the future for development, peace, and stability across the region that this and other research works examine the link between a distinctly defined Caribbean self, society and culture, as this Caribbean-ness tells the story of the past, and may well detail how this distinct regional character may influence prospects for the future.

In addition to the struggles faced by the region on the road to independence, many of the new sovereign lands found that with this new freedom to govern, often came the difficult task of understanding the reality and the makeup of what comprised individual island states, housing heterogeneous peoples, identities and cultures. Frequently, thus, these newly constructed Caribbean states found that what was initially regarded the nation state, often turned out to be a state of nations, and ultimately, on the regional level, a quasi-Caribbean state made up of multiple island nations. It is critical, therefore that researchers also pay keen attention to these continuously emerging, subtle regional

realities that according to most of the literature can have significant bearing on the intended paths as well as on expected outcomes. Since much of the literature links the region's social, cultural and historical experience directly to its development prospects within the framework of external pressures, and embedded in the context of continuously changing dynamics, it is important to assess the resulting experiences from within this lens. That is, research must assess how the Caribbean reality - norms, culture and history, relates to the Caribbean experience to date. The researcher examines; thus, how Caribbean poverty is construed within a context of juxtaposed dichotomies and within a framework of continual marginal persistence.

The Caribbean Consciousness

Without much doubt, the Caribbean reality derives from a broad amalgamation of historical significances, from that associated with a social development model that administers production and trade according to ritualistic laws, kinship and power structures, to that of individual development and value, defined by color, class, social status and historic human experiences. These nuances, in the end, come together to construct a Caribbean consciousness, and devolves a unique 'understanding' and meaning of *Caribbean*. These realities permeate at the core of the issues surrounding development in the Caribbean. There thus exists a profound complexity inherent in understanding the Caribbean, and relatedly in understanding, measuring and assessing the development problem of the Caribbean region. With such a varied and unique character, it is a must for researchers addressing the Caribbean development question to also address how this unique Caribbean consciousness may impact the meaning and understanding of development.

Unlike the typical discussions surrounding development across many other regions of the globe, the economics that remain pertinent to the problem of development in the Caribbean region is not simply that of the economics of marginal utility, but rather, it is linked to the economics of social norms and practices, that of established institutions, tangible and intangible, as well as that of respect and seniority, in addition to that of culture, race, and ideological belief (Best, 1999; Lewis, 1936). Sir Arthur Lewis particularly dealt with the movement away from the traditional principles of economics and economic development and offered insight into this complex equation, while Best (1999) explores some of the resulting realities in developing individual and national identities in the wake of this uncharacteristic economic reality.

Commenting on Lewis' deviation from orthodox economic principles, in his analyses, Best (1999) argues that Lewis has "only taken us taken us half of the way". Best discusses the critical issue of selfhood and self-knowledge and their relation to the economy. He, like another Lewis, Gordon Lewis (1983) acknowledges the significant influence of a Caribbean consciousness and Caribbean thought. Best, thus is in agreement with the writings of Gordon Lewis (1983) who in his work, *Main Currents of Caribbean Thought*, highlights the significance of the Caribbean mind that evolves to creolize European, Asian, African and American ideas, constructing that unique and unmatched Caribbean consciousness, one that transcends space and time and that can exist in remote areas of Brazil as much as on peninsulas in Belize and beaches in Barbuda. As Marlon Bishop (2013) of World Music Production discovered, the Caribbean consciousness that permeates and reflects in all things Caribbean, and that reveals

the common story and common history that binds the difference of many into one Caribbean, comprises a multifaceted and multifarious Caribbean-ness.

Poverty: Finding definition, meaning and measurable criteria

Truly, as the literature suggests, such a deeply rooted and unique character is sure to influence ideas and phenomenon. The idea of poverty, for example, is one of many Caribbean development topics that the researcher must assess alongside the Caribbean experience and in the context of the idea of Caribbean-ness. While global entities may regard poverty as a lack of certain sought-after resources, for example, many in the Caribbean argue that poverty, more than anything surrounds the lack of a sense of belonging and Community that surrounds the idea of Caribbean-ness.

These and other Caribbean centered ideas may directly impact the thoughts, theories and prospects that emerge. On the subject of poverty, some entities, for example focus on the living standards measurements, while others prefer the poverty line instrument and yet others regard the Human Development Index as the most desirable means by which to classify poverty. In particular, the literature on poverty in the Caribbean reflects a certain tendency to further discuss poverty in terms of the individual poor as opposed to the social poor (Jn. Baptiste, 2008). On all accounts, nevertheless, it is the chosen definition and understanding of poverty that signifies the phenomenon. This is the same with the idea of development which is intrinsically linked to ideas and definitions of poverty. Development for the Caribbean, as this research can attest, must start with an understanding of the idea of development as it pertains to the region.

Beyond this point, real poverty has been seen as one of the most pressing issues plaguing humanity. In the case of the Caribbean region, the issue of poverty has particularly been of concern, as for most of its existence, the region did not exercise control over its own destiny, but instead, had to rely on the good graces of colonial overseers. In addition, nevertheless, the issue of poverty has remained taxing in large part because of the difficulty found in defining what constitutes poverty and in finding a standard for measuring what actually determines the condition of being poor (Pribble, Huber, and Stephens, 2006).

Historically, poverty has been linked to the availability of revenue and resources or to the ability to earn income, and for the most part, this remains the case today. Income, therefore, as it relates to revenue and resources constitutes a complex phenomenon that is intrinsically linked to defining poverty, and thus treating development. Subsequently, many scholars hold that resources such as property, income in kind and government payouts or subsidies must be regarded as income in order to accurately measure disposable resource availability (Townsend, 2006). As income is linked to the availability of resources, it is directly linked to one's status as poor. Further, as Pribble et al (2006) propose, poverty is in many cases exacerbated or mitigated by political parties, government regime types and power politics. As such, even these factors may have a direct bearing on accurately measuring and defining poverty. Notwithstanding, many find that, while they may have access to resources, they may have no ownership or permanent links to these pools of income or resources per se.

Brown (2001) argues for example, that in order to address poverty and the bigger picture of development more broadly, that research and related works require some

degree of “precision and exactitude” (Brown, 2001). According to Brown (2001), there continues to be debate across the region and elsewhere surrounding the appropriateness of employing more broad conceptions of poverty and development in assessing Caribbean development policy and the state of the poor across the region. He rightfully highlights some of the concerns that may arise in the wake of differing descriptions and determinants of what constitutes poverty. He explains that in some cases, researchers and practitioners find that “it is not always possible to measure” (Brown, 2001) some of the characteristics and determinants linked to various descriptive categories of poverty and development. Readers may gather, therefore, that how development is qualified and/or quantified can indeed matter (RQ2). Further, Brown reports that in his role to assess and measure the state of poverty in the Caribbean, that not only does the measuring instrument weigh upon the findings, but rather, so too does the unit of analysis. While the understanding of the idea of poverty or development may dictate what factors or variables are assessed, the definition of these factors and variables dictate how questions are framed, how categories are divided and how units of analysis are utilized (Brown, 2001). As the World Bank’s Martin Ravallion (1986) has explained, assessments related to poverty are often clouded by conceptual and methodological uncertainties.

This reality further highlights the difficulty in assessing poverty, clearly defining poverty, and then framing strategies based on definitions that are reflective and measurable. This issue with measurement and methodology must be critically analyzed by researchers, as results could easily differ with definitions that differ, and as the measuring instruments geared to a particular assigned definition or variable may differ as a consequence (RQ1b). With that in mind, this work presents an assessment of the

results linked to various measures of poverty and development, the HDI (Human Development Index) and the MDGs (Millennium Development Goals), as they relate to differing definitions outlining poverty and development. It is in surveying these instruments comprising differing definitions of development that the researcher has derived findings on how different understandings and definitions of development impact the region's development strategies and related levels of success (RQ2a).

Certainly, individuals and groups who lack the resources needed to provide themselves the basic standard of living necessary to participate in society or contribute to society may be characterized as poor. The recognition of the link between individuals, resources, society and poverty has fueled the development of efforts to accurately and comprehensively outline a criterion for assessing poverty and for delineating a standard above which individuals should remain, in order to access basic resources and reflect acceptable living standards (Ravallion, 2010). This formula essentially defines what has been labeled the poverty line.

International actors agree that the poverty line cannot constitute an imaginary figure based on random or capricious assortments of low-income thresholds. Instead, significant testing has been undertaken to come up with a scientific and somewhat systematic criterion, which is independent of income and that can validate where the poverty line and the threshold for poverty should be drawn. The multiplicity and severity of various forms of deprivation are then examined and measured in order to propose the possibility of more representative criteria.

The global community has reached consensus and has ascribed key provisions in defining poverty and in setting a threshold of income and resources, below which people

are found to be deprived, and thus labeled poor. This measure brings together a framework comprising numerous areas of lack and deprivation. Further, there is agreement that this threshold must be quantified based on evidence pertaining to the assigned criteria, which itself may comprise several dynamics affecting daily life- social, economic, psychological, and political. Poverty thus, to this end, moves past a simple economic threshold, to also encompass other variables that directly impact the standard of living for individuals, groups and whole societies.

The focus on a range of factors that impact life and living has afforded the opportunity for poverty to be assessed independently from one region to the next, as different regions can ascribe different levels of significance to varying factors influencing poverty (Chambers, 2006). This methodology is absolutely vital according to Townsend (2006) and other researchers at the London School of Economics who hold that “it is not enough to describe poverty as a condition applying to those whose disposable income is low relative to that of others” (Townsend, 2006). According to them, comparing the poor to the rich is a practice that fails to make any conceptual distinctions between inequality and poverty. Townsend argues that the poor do not simply represent a group of victims who suffer from poor inefficient income distribution, but rather, represent a broader economic and social failing that entire societies, nations and regions must attend to. Poverty can be characterized generally as a condition associated with deprivation and can constitute almost “any situation in which an individual, or group possess less than some standard of living that has generally been defined as acceptable” (Brown, 2006).

This standard, however, can be problematic for many regions, as the perceptions and understanding of what satisfies or what is acceptable may vary significantly. Social

and cultural trends can no doubt influence ideas associated with what groups of people need, want and desire, or what various groups deem acceptable. Despite these socio-cultural differences that define ideas of satisfaction and perceptions of acceptable living standards, disparate values are often pulled forward to measure and access basic human needs, including food, water, clothing and shelter. The difficulty that remains surrounds quantifying or qualifying the level at which these basic needs are deemed acceptable globally, as well as, from one region to the next.

Consequently, global standards have emerged and measurable thresholds for housing, sanitation, water, and food have been outlined by leading global entities and accepted by global actors. To this end, while there may always be competing ideas of what constitutes human satisfaction, and thus, competing ideas of what comprises acceptable standards of living, there exists a number of accepted basic frameworks with which to measure poverty in light of the provision of, and access to basic needs. In assessing poverty, and building on this framework, this work looks beyond perceptions of wealth, want and even ideas of satiety, and surveys the availability of, and access to basic human needs, that in turn afford the opportunity for individuals and groups to live decent lives.

This, however, though it may sound simple, may introduce a discussion that highlights differences in cultural norms, as well as, social and regional expectations. Ultimately, therefore, characteristics which move beyond basic human needs are to be addressed in comprehensively assessing poverty and the determinants of poverty. Given the unique history and social dynamism of the Caribbean region, for instance, it is

particularly important to consider and assess poverty according to how the phenomenon may be understood within the context of a dynamic and heterogeneous cultural reality.

Poverty and Caribbean Society

Venturing even beyond the definition of, and criteria for poverty outlined by the World Bank and UN entities, members of the Caribbean Community have voiced their understanding of the complexity associated with defining poverty, especially for a region and as diverse and complex as the Caribbean. Consequently, the Caribbean Development Bank (CDB), one of the leading entities involved in regional development, has highlighted the complex scene of poverty in the region, and has voiced the need for Caribbean leaders to acknowledge that “poverty is a complex, dynamic, multi-sectorial, multi-dimensional human phenomenon that is difficult to define, measure and eradicate (Thomas and Wint, 2002).”, The bank and other leaders of Caribbean development have articulated that poverty in the Caribbean is a condition wherein Caribbean nationals “lack ...essential assets and opportunity to improve their living conditions and to achieve a quality of life they consider acceptable (Thomas and Wint, 2002).”

The CDB and other regional entities including CARICOM have defined poverty, as not simply an economic condition, or a state of living that can be identified via the assessment of economic and social indicators like the United Nations’ Human Development Index (HDI) or other similar tools. Rather, they reiterate that in order to represent Caribbean poverty in its totality, assessments must include human and social components that are explicitly set within the context of the respective Caribbean nation and the greater region (Thomas and Wint, 2002). Further, the CDB, in conjunction with other regional actors, including CARICOM and the OECS (Organization of Eastern

Caribbean States), in framing an assessment mechanism, have agreed that measures of poverty need to be assessed in two separate categories, income poverty and non-income poverty. Income poverty refers to economic deficiency that can be linked to the inability of a household to access the resources needed for meeting an accepted standard of living.

Specifically, indicators for assessing this category of poverty may include variables surveying a poverty line and/or an absolute or poverty line, such as the World Bank's US \$2.00 per day and US\$1.00 per day threshold, respectively (Rajack and Barhate, 2004). Non-income poverty indicators, although they may often be related to income indicators, include domains such as the prevalence of crime and violence, the availability of opportunities for youth and women's advancement, governance and political participation and civic engagement. Also included are other variables such as the availability of universal healthcare and education, though both education and health can often be linked to the general economic situation in a particular country (Caribbean Development, 2008).

The importance of streamlining a Caribbean centered approach to poverty and development is clear, as in this historically atypical region, even with generally high poverty figures, the Caribbean nations have not generally faltered with regards to the ability to produce wealth. In fact, many who observe the Caribbean region's history may notice that it was the Caribbean region and Caribbean economies that stood as the driving force behind European economic development during the region's early ages and throughout the period of colonial domination. Indeed, the Caribbean region played a significant role in the development of the industrial dominance of Europe.

Many argue, in fact, that the countries of the Caribbean were initially set up to meet the economic development needs of their European colonial holders. According to Beckford (1972), the organizational and institutional mode of the Caribbean colonies represented a systematic attempt to establish these island and mainland holdings as structurally entrenched resource rich feeder units (Beckford, 1972). The history of supporting the outside, while there is a simultaneous weakening of the region's own internal resource base, is indeed the history of the Caribbean. Today, this historical trend seems to continue to plague the region and continues to play a part in determining the social and economic fabric of the Caribbean (Brown, 2006). The result has been a continual stunting of the region's developmental opportunities - economically, socially, and industrially. This history, coupled with the unique geographic reality highlights the need for inquiry and probing in order to understand, how to now shift away from the structurally entrenched mode of relative marginalization.

Constructing a Development-oriented Macroeconomic Framework

Defining and understanding the Caribbean is a key factor in determining how to achieve sustained and equitable development across the region. Proponents of development, including those overseeing and administering economic development programs at the United Nations, the World Bank and elsewhere, have of late promoted the idea of recognizing regional and national context differences. These overseers of development have also recently acknowledged that there are a number of different conditions under which development must occur, despite different experiences and varied expectations. These experts highlight the potential impact of past experiences, cultural relativity, social peculiarities and historical significance.

Economists at the United Nations have suggested, for example, that numerous pathways be considered in order to overcome some of the obstacles impeding growth and development in various regions (United Nations, 2010). While there is growing consensus that development success is augmented when there is some coherence among economic, social and even environmental policies, these practitioners have begun to support the need for countries and regions to take steps to also move to overcome particular constraints related to their particular regional and national context and their lived realities (United Nations, 2010).

In the end, these experts have espoused a policy for development which holds that “national development strategies need to enable policy coherence tailored to country conditions” (United Nations, 2010). Even so, these experts demarcate key elements for sustainable and inclusive development strategies. They highlight the need for across the board development-oriented macroeconomic frameworks, alongside adoption of technological and resource management strategies, with coherent and broad social policies that afford human rights protections and an assurance of good governance.

Despite acknowledging the significance of contextual experiences and lived realities, global development practitioners have not yet moved towards a context driven framework geared towards particular national or regional objectives. To date, rather than explicitly aligning the goals of development with the peculiar nature of the Caribbean region, for instance, international development experts have focused on the construction of a development-oriented macroeconomic framework for the region. Rather than using the regional context in constructing a regional development model, an existing

macroeconomic model has been restructured in the attempt to influence a reconstruction of the Caribbean development context.

The Macroeconomic Framework: Policy Coherence and Economic Growth

In an environment where many voices call for development plans that underscore regional needs and the regional context, but where only a few facets of these development plans actually incorporate a context driven framework, a stymied economic development climate has been the norm. Global trends indicate that economic growth is a vital component of the equation for poverty reduction and ultimately for sustainable development across many regions. Consequently, one of the main objectives of macroeconomic stabilization policies according to development experts must be that of achieving stable economic growth (United Nations Systems Task Team, 2012). According to these experts, this is a crucial policy objective, which must be undertaken alongside aims to stabilize other key variables, such as balance of payments and price stability, which also directly affect investment trends and economic growth.

The difficulty which arises for many regions, including the Caribbean, is in finding the initial flexibility and space required to begin instituting various macroeconomic stabilization tenets. For instance, counter-cyclical fiscal policies and counter-cyclical monetary policies must be appropriately in place in order to satisfactorily impact growth. Similarly, sound investment and exchange rate regimes are necessary as well as a durable financial sector overseen by adequate regulatory and administrative bodies. Moreover, and even more critical, national as well as regional development policies must be such that they are complemented, rather than countered by global trends. Ultimately national policy must sync with regional strategies that must in

turn reflect a keen coordination with global level trends. Essentially, a macroeconomic friendly environment must be in place in order to achieve successes linked to macroeconomic stabilization, economic growth, and ultimately sustainable development.

Past experiences with financial crisis and global economic downturns have often reflected the direct influence that a region's macroeconomic state can have on living standards and on that area's goals for development. Weak or inconsistent macroeconomic variables such significant fluctuations in economic productivity, high inflation rates, unmanageable levels of debt, openness, volatile exchange regimes and financial markets all work together to spur episodes of rising unemployment, declining revenue and increases in poverty levels (Watson, 1994; Cornia, 2002). These factors directly impact many of the goals for growth and development and in particular, directly impede many development targets including those outlined by the Millennium Development Goals (Commission on Growth and Development, 2008). Considering this reality, the depth of macroeconomic stability is regarded as a key component and even a precursor for achieving sustained and inclusive development. The overall aim of macroeconomic policy is to contribute to the economic and social welfare of a developing space in an equitable and sustainable manner by addressing variables such as unemployment and underemployment, which are critical components of macroeconomic policy and significant drivers of poverty (McAfee, 1991).

Development in the Caribbean region and elsewhere must coincide with, and complement global trends and global policy prescriptions for development, since, in today's dynamically interconnected global system, the development success of one area tends to be linked with the trends and policy prescriptions found in partnering areas and

beyond. According to UN country reports, most nations that have realized sustained economic growth are those that have employed a variety of complementary policy initiatives alongside vigorous targeted macroeconomic policy (Sahay, 2005). These experts hold that economic growth has been widely sustained by the use of a range of supportive action, involving a country or region-specific mix of investment and trade policies, social policies, and finance and investment strategies, alongside programs geared at boosting favorable labor and market trends.

Countries and regions that have experienced development success have highlighted the positive gains associated with coherent macroeconomic, industrial, environmental and social policies. Experts including those comprising the United Nations Systems Task Team (2012) argue that only when these policies are positioned to reciprocally strengthen each other can they bring to fruition the type of sustained economic growth that nations and communities desire. The implementation and execution of policies at the national level must therefore reinforce policies already in place regionally and internationally. It is this multi-tiered complementary development policy prescription that will lead countries to success and will support national and regional development worldwide. According to the United Nations Systems Task Team (2012), this synchronized and multi-tiered mandate will afford countries “the policy space to implement their national development strategies (United Nations Systems Task Team (2012).

In addition, however, according to policy experts at the World Bank (1997), the implementation of this multi-level development policy framework must be accompanied by the existence of a stable state that is able to implement the various policy

prescriptions. Competent and effectual action is essential at the national level if large-scale social and economic change is to be successfully realized. Since the state represents the singular institution that can oversee the necessary policy prescriptions with accountability at each policy tier- national, regional and international, it is essential that a capable state system be in place prior to implementing the measures prescribed for development success (World Bank, 1997).

Accordingly, a primary concern must be that of addressing any institutional weaknesses and governance shortfalls. Research reports examining this plight reiterate that in order for a state to be successful in executing the littlest of policies, it must be able to “strengthen its own capacities to promote learning and cooperation and to deepen the institutional networks that are needed by non-government actors to support long-term growth and innovation” (United Nations Systems Task Team, 2012). In addition to recognizing the need for country and region-specific policy prescriptions, a few common trends are apparent and key features linked to development can be identified across nations and regions.

The macroeconomic equation proposed by global development experts often requires some ability to self-actualize, nevertheless, as the economic growth, which is sought, can itself be a precondition for instituting many of the variables aimed at generating growth. At the same time that economic growth and the macroeconomic tenets cultivate the development space and support fiscal policy initiatives, which then afford an opportunity to advance social policy, such as health services and education, these desired outcomes are needed from the onset. Essentially, a certain level of already existing development success is necessary for realizing continued development success.

This initial dilemma lies at the center of the Caribbean region's development struggles as the region has resolved to look outwards to developed partners in ways that have systematically tied its growth to outside pressures. This has in turn bolstered the pattern of outside domination that the region has historically experienced.

McAfee (1991), an acclaimed officer of development education with Oxfam America chronicles various Caribbean development policy experiments and examines the impact on the lives of ordinary Caribbean people. From dependency-type aid models to alternative development strategies fueled by popular political movements, she presents the story of continuous threats and setbacks to potentially promising policy options. Finally, she resolves that the region's biggest challenge continues to be the dominating role of foreign entities in internal affairs, particularly interference from the United States, as the region slowly moved away from Europe (McAfee, 1991). Structural adjustment programs overseen by the IMF and World Bank, for example, reflect a disconnect between the reality on paper and that on the ground.

In the end, she cites a type of recolonization, which in her calculation, continues to occur across the region, as the various states try to retain some of the basic prerequisites needed for advancing macroeconomic growth. In attempting to sustain a basic threshold which can support further options for sustainable development the region has heightened its susceptibility to external shocks. With the prerequisites in place, however, a state may be well on the way to taking the vital steps towards development success, fusing the multi-tiered approach supported by a strong state and stable governance with the proven policy recommendations highlighted as essential for growth and development.

Development Trends

Observing these multi-faceted regional and global trends, policy experts also highlight that in almost all of the areas experiencing sustained development in the past decades, it has primarily been the private sector that has been most linked to spurring investment and supporting growth, advancing the state's development efforts. Further, the private sector remains the driving force behind new innovations and inventions particularly useful to their regions. They thus stand as one of the primary engines for trade (Vos and de Jong, 2003). The private sector must be recognized as an imperative and invaluable part of the equation for fostering growth, and must be regarded as an essential element and stakeholder, another facet of the multi-tiered and multi-sector framework supporting a nation or region's overall development plan.

Indeed, the private sector remains a critical component of any development strategy, nonetheless, experts reiterate that the private sector, without the partnership of government and the public sphere, remains limited and may easily be rendered incapable. The goal of development must thus reflect a delicate fusion of the private and public spheres, as governance and the effective functioning of a state will determine the fate of infrastructure, education and research, access to credit and business services, and even more crucially to health and sanitation that support a ready and capable workforce, up to the task of realizing and advancing development. Even in areas experiencing some development success, difficulties surface when gaps emerge between the needs and capabilities of the public and private sector. Often, differences in development standards become apparent as public sector capabilities change from one area to the next. For example, booming scenes of development, growth and progress are witnessed in urban

centers where public sector performance enhance and support the work and capabilities of the private sector.

In contrast, a lack of public sector capabilities in rural areas tends to coincide with weak and inadequate private sector performance that is then mirrored by inadequate and unsatisfactory development progress (Ramkissoon, 2002). The role of the private sector in advancing development, therefore, cannot be underestimated at the same time that the importance of the public sector must also be recognized. A partnership between the public and private spheres must thus emerge on the road towards advancing and sustaining development (Milne, 2000).

Most observers suggest that policy designers and practitioners pay particular attention to the needs of these varying sectors as much as they do to the various policy tiers. The agricultural sector, public and government run sector, and the social sector, must all be strategically aligned with a context driven plan in order to construct an inclusive development framework (Read, 2001). Ramkissoon (2002) cites the fact that more than half of the labor force in numerous developing regions is employed in agriculture. Farmers, he then notes, tend to work under uncertain conditions, typically with small gains, and often, therefore, collaborating paid work time with private non-paid work on their own small landholdings. From Asia to Latin America, although much less so in Africa, trends reveal that the development of non-farm employment in rural areas and improvements in employment conditions for these laborers, tend to have a significant and immediate bearing on the economic security of these workers and their households (Ramkissoon, 2002). This highlights the importance of the strategic partnership which must be forged between the employment sectors and the public and private spheres.

To deliver support services that can impact small land holders in rural areas, it is imperative for the state to partner with private sector organizations, producer associations, and other non-state entities (Read, 2001). The state must thus be stable and capable enough to make investments in farming research, agricultural development and rural infrastructure. At the same time the state must be able to invest in education and other services such as those linked to the provision or facilitation of credit and agricultural inputs including land and insurance. The direct involvement of the state in local level development policy can enhance the development equation, as state spending in the social and public sector tends to address various aspects of poverty that historically contradict development goals (Read, 2001).

In addition, experienced development practitioners also support the fusion of macroeconomic policies with various sectorial goals. This, they hold can only encourage growth and production that will in turn support the creation of employment opportunities. The proponents of these undertakings voice the importance of dependable countercyclical macroeconomic policy frameworks to lessen the impacts of the unpredictable global economic environment (Looney, 1989). Public sector steps to lessen the incidence of external shocks thus support private sector stability and overall societal opportunities. For example, commodity stabilization funds are cited as a useful tool for commodity-exporting regions and countries such as the Caribbean (McCarthy and Zanalda 1995).

These measures reportedly represent public sector actions that strengthen the position of the private sector within a macroeconomic framework. Nevertheless, for countries with open markets and open capital accounts, such as those comprising the Caribbean region, the entrenchment of real counter-cyclical monetary policies has proven

very difficult (Milne, 2000). Even so, these countries are able to exercise some control, via steps taken to regulate capital flows and the domestic financial sector. The institution of a macroeconomic framework with multi-sector partnership and multi-tiered cooperation, while this may support growth, may notwithstanding fall short of any comprehensive development scheme capable of sustaining long term development goals.

To achieve this type of real development, promoters of this school of thought, also call for an all of the above strategy, where resource allocation decisions, including investments in health, education and even infrastructure, accompany the countercyclical policies. At the same time, they insist on structural change and on the creation of employment opportunities (United Nations Systems Task Team, 2012). Essentially, thus this development process must be extended in support of agricultural and industrial development policies that reflect the actual circumstances of the developing space. Ultimately, as UN experts explain, development policy prescriptions and related actions must work in tandem with the relevant experiences and expectations of the developing space (United Nations General Assembly, 2011).

Theories of Development

Over the years, various theories of development have surfaced alongside the strategies, experiences and trends that characterized the development stories of various regions. In the hope of understanding some of the different development paths, it is essential to highlight competing and supporting theories that influence the goals of development. Specifically, this work will survey three perspectives that closely relate to the Caribbean development experience, neoclassical economic theory, world systems

theory and dependency theory, that have all directly influenced regional development goals.

In addition to the influence on development practice, it is important to recognize the impact that these theories tend to have on the literature and on the discourse and discussion surrounding the case for development in the region. Proponents of neoclassical economic theory, world-systems theory, and dependency theory, often highlight the ideas that may help observers to understand and differentiate the assumptions, positions and policy decisions made across the Caribbean region. Simultaneously, various development policy prescriptions exhibit distinct characteristics, which reflect theoretical differences and diverging assumptions. The respective theories and related practice thus showcase contrasting levels of analysis and distinctive practical valuations and recommendations, based on the interpretations and expectations of the various schools of thought.

As the literature divulges, the region has always been theoretically assessed in conjunction with the outside, since it was regarded by proxy, and by history, a part of the greater area constituting the Americas (Figueroa, 2003). Many of these theories, therefore, while they assess the region within this extended domain, tend to focus on development issues only as they relate to these outside partners. As such, many of these theoretical assessments present a narrow, area-focused regional portrait that extracts a regional development discourse from that of a greater global development context. Further, many of these theoretical assessments tended to only selectively apply various perspectives, merely highlighting some processes of change, while downplaying others. To this end, much of the literature, while showcasing the links between the region and its

partners, present theories that separate the region from some of the theoretical dimensions possibly relevant for assessing regional prospects (Gereffi and Fonda 1992).

The result was an inter-regional development of theories that selectively applied diverging aspects of competing schools of thought based on regional dynamics and the comparative frame of various perspectives (Gereffi and Fonda 1992). There was hope that in selectively employing the most relevant facets of various theories, each region could arrive at the right development policy model (Gereffi and Fonda 1992). Typically, however, an area focused development model coined "the new comparative political economy," would result in the dissemination of test models rather than the establishment principles that can be operationalized and then tested. Further, "emphasis on the role of external as well as institutional factors" would also emerge alongside each new comparative political economy in order to assess and advance development goals at the local level (Gereffi and Fonda 1992). The region's struggle thus was this historic tendency, under the influence of external forces, to observe and measure various aspects of the new comparative economy, and then try to relate these to each other in the construction of a development model. This modeling rather than theorizing meant that the region did not operationalize any theoretical constructs into measured concepts in order to fully understand the relations between observations (Middendorp, 1991).

To date, however, as an extended pool of literature highlights, an overshadowing of the region by external forces was the typical result of regional theory modeling (Figueroa, 2003). The selectively constructed regional development frameworks including the Caribbean's new comparative political economy, which shied away from conceptualization, were easily overrun by theoretical assumptions that were more

relevant to regional partners such as the United States and the former colonial powers. Caribbean development ideals have therefore tended to emerge along historically congruent paths that model and measure rather than to transform theoretical assumptions into measured concepts responsive to regional needs.

The globe has been innately interconnected for centuries and development options therefore continue to involve links to the outside. As a result of this global interconnectivity and because regions tend to comprise entities including non-state actors, also connected to the outside, research findings tend to reflect the use of a comparative frameworks and modeling, rather than emergent theoretical perspectives. This is particularly true of the literature treating regions such as the Caribbean, where multi-sector and multi-tiered frameworks also systematically align with the outside (Ellison & Gereffi 1990). It has become customary to employ various comparative frameworks to assess Caribbean development rather than to allow traditional and interactive methodologies to guide the theoretical conceptualization of emergent development strategies.

While researchers and practitioners can employ concepts generated from within the Caribbean context to progress theory, they have remained trapped in the maze of established global assumptions and have failed to differentiate these from the theoretical activities that have not brought development success to the region. Development practitioners have focused almost entirely on schools of thought that conceptualize development success outside of the constant comparative matrix needed to foster emergent Caribbean development theory (Glaser, 2002). They overlook a variety of

theoretical contexts, especially in a region as dynamic as the Caribbean, within which a Caribbean development construct may materialize (Wagner and Berger, 1985).

Neoclassical Economic Theory

One of the predominant schools of thought influencing the course of development across the Caribbean and much of the developing world from the early 1980s and onwards has been the theoretical underpinnings of neoclassical economic theory. This has particularly been the case because this school of thought has been the driving theoretical motivation behind the policy prescriptions of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the two global organizations allotting most of the readily available loan funds for developing nations. These nations are afforded borrowing privileges with the condition that they move towards economic development strategies that exhibit neoclassical economic theory, including institutional change and monetary and fiscal frameworks that reflect and support laissez-faire economic principles (Easterly and Kraay, 2000).

With these laissez-faire driven directives, borrowing countries are to institute free market trade policies by lowering tariffs and minimizing import controls and export subsidies. Additionally, these neoclassical laissez faire driven directives call for an unrestrained labor market, constant real exchange rate regimes, competitive market forces, no restraints on wages and an overall hands-off attitude from the state vis a vis the economy (Robinson, 1973; Acemoglu, 2009). In addition to these principles, borrowing countries are pressed to adhere to principles supporting the establishment of comparative advantage (Henry, 2012). They thus often move to focus on the export of a particular raw material or natural resource. Alternatively, borrowing countries may be encouraged

to promote labor-intensive production and manufacturing industries that typically force them to shy away from efforts to bolster new light industries, which are driven primarily by new technology. In latter case, however, drawbacks emerge, as technology driven light industries, often associated with advanced industrialization that strengthen existing divisions of labor tend to be missed (Mueller, 1994). Caribbean countries, in particular, also miss out on the intended gains related to the three main tenets of neoclassical economics, that (i) people have rational preferences between outcomes that can be identified and associated with values, (ii) that individuals maximize utility, while firms maximize profits., and that (iii) people act independently on the basis of full and relevant information (Weintraub, 2007).

The well documented socio-cultural and politico-historical Caribbean experience categorically challenges these assumptions. The Caribbean region, as many scholars-sociologists, anthropologists, historians, economists and others argue, comprise a juxtaposed dichotomy, fueled by paradoxes and contradictions that immediately disavow the notion of “rational preferences between outcomes that can be identified and associated with values” (Weintraub, 2007). One can argue that the Caribbean reality has never been rational, especially considering the economic paths taken. The colonial days, for example, showcased desires to stunt local economies and slow system-wide growth in the aim a retaining class and social differences (Marshall, 1982).

The long-lasting effects of these regional experiences have molded the region into a space where even today’s typical Caribbean national will agree that it is not profit, but status, that most often matters more. Likewise, as a special brand of social cohesion and cultural unanimity developed, largely as a mechanism for surviving the reality of island-

style colonialism, it is community and group action, rather than independent actions that are often taken on the basis of full and relevant information. In contrast to the economics of marginal utility, it is the economics of social need which frequently prevails in the place of the explicit goal of profit maximization for firms (Best, 1999; Lewis, 1936).

The case of Jamaica offers a characteristic study of the neoclassical economic experiment in the Caribbean, as Jamaica tried to spur economic growth by instituting neoclassical economic principles prescribed by the World Bank and IMF. The issue that surfaced, however, underscored how factors outside of the neoclassical economic plan can impact the opportunity for a nation to transition from agriculture to industry, and then sustain that industrial capacity. The Jamaican case illustrates that indirect factors such as infrastructure, crime, and education need to be addressed alongside attempts at neoclassical reforms, and before measuring any policy failure or success (Rose, 2002).

Jamaica's experience with neoclassical economic theory and structural adjustment programs, began in 1977 with currency devaluation, when Jamaica entered a two-year Standby Agreement with the IMF and World Bank. This move preceded the removal of some price controls and was followed by public sector cuts, heightened fiscal and monetary policy measures, financial sector deregulation, as well as the deregulation of imports, and the privatization of state-owned establishments (Handa and King, 1997). Despite these moves, however, there was only minimal economic liberalization, as most of the policies tended to focus on fiscal and monetary matters, with only slow moves towards comprehensive market-oriented policies and minimal progress with overall privatization (Anderson and Witter, 1994).

Jamaica, with its desire to institute mechanisms that support sustainable development, found itself reluctantly trapped in the prevailing structural adjustment bubble, defined by neoclassical economic theory and endorsed by the IMF and World Bank. Consequently, as observers explain, the country only succeeded in implementing some phases of economic reform during the early 1980s, and then a few others later in the 1990s, while it completely ignored other components of reform altogether (King, 2001). King (2001) questions the possibility that such a program could ever realize its intended goals in light of the unstructured and unconventional implementation strategy employed. Remarking that, “economic liberalism has not caught the popular imagination in Jamaica,” he explains that beyond haphazard or unconventional implementation, which frankly characterizes the Caribbean, “the fundamental liberal ideas underlying structural adjustment reform are not popular in Jamaica” (King, 2001).

The result of these programs was thus an average annual growth rate of 1.4 percent in Jamaica, as opposed to an average growth rate of 2.2 elsewhere in the Caribbean during the 1980s and even worse during the 1990s, while the rest of the region saw average growth of about 3 percent (King, 2001). Indeed, as surveys of the life structure and the socio-cultural and historico-political Caribbean reality reveals, there is an inherent disconnect between the premise of neoclassical economic theory, with its ensuing structural adjustment frameworks and the traditional Caribbean ideal, inspired by a history of coming together to support success, via an active role of the state and the people (Benn, 1997).

While the neoclassical economic model at the heart of structural adjustment held that the all countries were “susceptible to the same laws of economic analysis and

therefore could be developed by adopting [the same] market-based” (Benn, 1997) principles, as it turned out, the result for Jamaica, was the persistence of poverty, met with an increase in crime and an increase in economic disparities and inequality. The result for Jamaica was social instability that in itself worked against the efforts of privatization and private sector investment (Benn, 1997). As Trevor Munroe, the distinguished Jamaican political scientist and labor activist remarks, the effect of the eventual triumph of this neoclassical market economy in Jamaica, has only been “a weakening of traditional values and a corresponding rise of an unethical, self-interested materialism” (Munroe, 1999).

The experiment with neoclassical economic theory in the Caribbean exposed concerns with instituting a theoretical framework that targets trade liberalization, currency stabilization, and inflation at the same time that state actors must essentially abandon practices that traditionally support long established social and cultural dynamics (Inikori, 1987). Consequently, the Jamaican experiment prompted Caribbean development practitioners to question the opportunity for people to have rational preferences between outcomes identified with values, an essential premise of the theory, when these values are challenged as the state promotes utility and profit maximization, that contradict longstanding social and cultural ideals.

By the mid-1980s, in response to experiences with neoclassical economic theory, leaders across the Caribbean accelerated the pace of regional integration, in order to secure a mechanism with which to counter this economic model promoted by global institutions, which did not suit the Caribbean context (Boxill, 1997). Additionally, as further engagements with the IMF and World Bank brought rising debt at the same time

that the Caribbean nations were to implement neoclassical economic policies, it became evident that the theory, though popular in developed capitalist states, was unable to meet the long term institutional and structural changes that the region sought. Consequently, other schools of thought gained recognition as countries across the region attempted to bring about development success. Development economic theory endorsed by Agarwala and Singh in their 1958 treatise, *The Economics of Underdevelopment*, gained widespread recognition as these nations and other developing countries longed for a development policy mix that combined inward looking import substitution models with some of the aspects of the outward-looking export promotion championed by neoclassical economic policies (Demas, 1996).

World Systems Theory

Wallerstein's World Systems theory is distinctively different from the neoclassical economic school of thought. An ideological perspective that feeds from Marxist assumptions, this theoretical framework gained recognition across developing countries emerging from colonization and gaining independence. World Systems theory supports the idea that the global system comprises a number of categories into which all nations are grouped. These categories are labeled, core, semi-periphery, and periphery, delineating a global hierarchy of nations. The nations belonging to the core group constitute the industrial powers, which dominate the nations belonging to the peripheral group, namely the developing states and former colonies that house labor intensive industries and export driven economies (Wallerstein, 1979). The semi-peripheral nations constitute the set of industrializing nations that demonstrate noticeable economic

strength, but, which continue to harbor certain features characteristic of peripheral nations (Gaspar, 1999).

With this hierarchically structured global system, upward or downward mobility corresponds, according to the theory, with the holding of economic leverage, and is directly linked to resource capabilities. The economies of core nations tend to be dominated, thus, by services and the processing and tertiary development of raw materials obtained from the primary industry economic base of peripheral nations. In light of this arrangement, the theory holds that economic development is conditioned by the resource availability and industrial capabilities of each respective category of nations, core or periphery (Wallerstein, 1989). In this vein, the progress of development for a nation remains nearly exclusively dependent upon its ability to incorporate itself into the capitalist world-economy via an extension or progression from labor intensive to industrial sectors as it develops the ability to process its primary resources. It is this transition or the ability to transition, which will then determine economic development opportunities and outcomes.

The transition and progress of an economy towards development according to Wallerstein's theory would therefore necessitate a complete transformation of an economic system to include changes in the labor structure, which would furnish an improved industrial capacity, and that could lead to a gradual progression from one stage of growth to another (Balassa, Kuczynski and Simonsen, 1986). The capitalist international system that Wallerstein portrays is fluid and changing, transforming slowly with time. Despite this, however, some fundamental factors necessary for development tend to remain constant. Though, according to him, the capitalist cycles continue to

move forward, many of the arrangements established in the past, such as the enrichment of core countries, already define the larger global system. The nations that constitute the core typically found in the northwestern regions of the world, therefore, continue to benefit exponentially from the global capitalist trade dynamic.

Overall, therefore, Wallerstein regards the development of the capitalist world economy harmful and disadvantageous for the goals of the developing countries comprising the periphery and aiming to advance development (Wallerstein, 2011). Grugel (1995), longtime political and economic researcher and observer of the development trends in Latin America and the Caribbean agrees with Wallerstein and goes further, describing the Caribbean development model as “one of peripheral capitalism and external dependence”, remarking that all of the Caribbean nations were simply “outposts of production [...] for external markets” (Grugel, 1995). Consequently, as she explains, the region constitutes a peripheral system that “produces what it does not consume and needs to import what it does consume, ” concluding that, as such, “the region remains “on the periphery of the international system, [plagued by the] influence of external agents” (Grugel, 1995).

Dependency Theory

Dependency theory, which like Wallerstein’s World-systems theory critics modernization and capitalism, emerged primarily during the 1960s in opposition to most of the claims of modernization theory. Dependency theory expands upon the 1949 works of Hans Singer and Raúl Prebisch who argued that the terms of trade for countries in the developing world had all reached a stage of deterioration (Prebisch, 1950). According to them, developing countries tended to import vast quantities of goods and services from

the developed world and only exported small amounts relative to imports (Singer, 1950). These unbalanced terms of trade that clearly benefited the developed world, seemingly at the expense of emerging nations became known as the Singer-Prebisch thesis. This premise and the emerging dependency theory disagreed with the philosophy of the modernization school which held that increased trade and investment partnerships between core nations and states of the periphery was needed to strengthen the economic capacity of the developing states. Instead, the dependency approach placed a particular emphasis on the experience and fate of developing countries, including those of the Caribbean region and their neighbors across Latin America, citing the need to address external variables as well as internal constraints on the way to forging a sustainable plan for development (Valenzuela & Valenzuela 1978).

With the publication of several case studies supporting the theory and assumptions of the dependency theorists, the idea gained popularity and prompted a few Caribbean nations to reconsider their development strategies. Indeed, the Caribbean region constituted a group of newly founded independent states that supplied needed natural resources and a readily available pool of low skilled and low-cost labor for developed countries including former colonial powers. The drive of labor, both skilled and unskilled from the periphery to the core was promoted by labor travel programs that allowed the nationals of former colonies to travel to work in factories and in other low skilled and low pay jobs across Europe and North America (Frank, 1972). To date, this trend continues, although, now, it is primarily the high skilled worker class that is sought after. With this export scheme in place for labor and raw materials, the developed nations, while benefiting from low cost production, also afforded themselves a steady and

reliable market for processed goods, which further supported the standards of living enjoyed in the core states.

Assessing the Dependency Model

According to the literature, the arguments made by the dependency theorists have very often been quite correct. Indeed, most of the newly independent Caribbean states tended to be involved with their former colonial countries, in most cases with quite apparent imperfect terms of trade (Pattnayak, 1995). The very well documented story of the banana trade regimes and the trade wars, which spawned from the preferential trade system between European countries and their former colonies, present an account of dependency and the unbalanced terms of trade that characterized Caribbean development. The tale of Caribbean bananas begins with the region's colonial history and is defined by the close ties established between the post-colonial countries and their former European colonial powers.

With the dawn of the decolonization, former African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) colonies established trade agreements with European colonial powers that outlined the export and import rules governing tropical products, which originated from the colonies, and were introduced to the European markets and to European consumers. Bananas grown in the tropical climate of the colonies assured a steady supply of the fruit at a reasonable rate on the European market. Even though dependent links emerged, as Caribbean development leaders held, this regime offered the opportunity for a sure market for the Caribbean product, and thus for the development of the banana industry in many of these countries. Further, this revenue source offered the opportunity for the development of the local economy after independence, as a sure market afforded a steady

source of revenue and income (The Economist, 1997). As IMF observers reported, across the Caribbean, small-scale banana farms, typically about 5 acres, could be found on hillsides. These were usually worked by a single family who took care of the farm, harvested and packaged the fruit, and then prepared it for export through the local banana associations that would oversee shipping arrangements with European partners to transport the fruit and also pay the local farmers (IMF, 2002).

Over time, a group of entrenched banana republics emerged, with banana exports accounting for more than ninety percent of GDP and more than two-thirds of all employment in a number of these banana nations (Payne and Sutton, 2001). Certainly, the experiences of these islands support the premise of dependency theorists. A close examination of the terms of trade revealed that in these former colonies, there was an extreme reliance on the export of one crop which brought in revenues that dwarfed the amounts spent reciprocally on imports of manufactured goods and services from Europe and the rest of the developed world (Godfrey, 1998). The story of dependence and extreme reliance, just as Singer and Prebisch predicted, did not turn out very well for these islands, that after European integration, were forced to accept new trade regimes that disrupted the preferential market system that they depended on. The system of protectionism had fueled a relationship built on dependency, as the former colonies relied almost exclusively on their former colonial masters for sustenance of their industries.

Dependency and Development: from Lomé to Cotonou

The formal economic relationship between the Caribbean islands and various European nations date as far back as the pre-independence era and continued into the period of European integration and beyond. Outside of freely exploiting colonial lands

and accessing resources and materials from the Caribbean islands as part of the property of the European countries, there were arrangements and agreements made with those living in the colonies vis a vis the import and export of goods to and from the Caribbean and Europe. Even from the time of the inception of the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1957, the Europeans saw the need for instituting a trade regime with the Caribbean islands and other colonial holdings across Africa and in the Pacific.

In fact, the Treaty of Rome establishing the European Economic Community in 1957, expresses the intention of the European nations to maintain solidarity with the colonies and the newly emerging independent nations in order to “contribute to their prosperity” (Treaty of Rome, 1957). While the stated goals may not have been that of generating dependency, it may be argued that the result of these terms of trade and these agreements, was indeed, the creation of a long-standing regime of dependence (Onguglo, 1999). As other such as Oxfam’s Hormeku (2006), concerned with the trajectory of ACP development remarks, though they may be called preferential agreements, when one group of partners, consists of more than half of the 50 least developed countries in the world, and the other partner, comprises some of the most developed, with a GDP more than eighty times that of the partner, it is not hard to envision the domination of one by the other (Hormeku, 2006).

The agreements between the EU and ACP, nevertheless, can be credited with a long and detailed history. The first of these types of agreements between the former colonies, the ACP (African Caribbean and Pacific) countries and EC (European Community) member states was drawn up in Yaoundé, the capital of the African nation of Cameroon, outlining a framework for cooperation among the parties between the years

1963 and 1969 (European Commission, 2012). The agreement, coined Yaoundé I, also outlined a number of regulations and expectations governing the trade partnership between the parties, building on the already existing EDF (European Development Fund) that had already set up a system of colonial assistance between 1959 and 1964 (European Commission, 2012). Later, Yaoundé II was implemented to outline the rules and expectations for this partnership during the period extending from 1969 until 1975 (European Commission, 2012b). Specifically, Yaoundé II outlined a plan for direct financial support for the development of infrastructure in several newly independent French-speaking former colonies (European Commission, 2012b).

Beyond this, the significance of the Yaoundé accords surrounds the precedents that it set for agreements between the ACP and the European nations. The Lomé agreements that followed and defined the details of the Caribbean dependency and development story emerged in the wake of the Yaoundé accords. Just as the Yaoundé accords instituted an agreement with the former French-speaking colonies, the accession of the United Kingdom to the European Economic Community in 1973 meant that similar agreements could be expected for the former British colonies. As such, the broader Lomé I agreement was signed between 46 ACP countries and the 9 member countries that belonged to the European Economic Community at the time.

The agreement outlined a partnership that would be observed between the parties between 1975 and 1980 (European Commission, 2012b). Under British lead, the agreement moved to put in place a special trading preference system for bananas and sugar, the primary export items from the British colonies. This preference system would later be extended to items such as beef and veal, among other goods like cocoa beans and

various other products originating from Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific islands. In addition to securing market access, Lomé I also placed some focus on development assistance, allotting funds to assist with infrastructure development, the building of roads, bridges, schools and hospitals and also to encourage trends aimed at sustainable agricultural programs (European Commission, 2012c).

In the case of bananas, the trade protocol allowed specific quotas of bananas, duty-free entry onto the European market. This essentially guaranteed a market for the small comparatively inefficient farm producers across the Caribbean states. A similar sugar protocol allowed a fixed quantity of sugar from ACP producers to enter the European market each year (Cosgrove, 1994). Like with bananas, this deal guaranteed a market for a certain quantity of sugar each year. Essentially, the European Community had agreed to purchase an amount of bananas, sugars and other products from their former colonies each year, despite world prices or product availability. The Lomé agreement also included a STABEX system that provided compensation to the ACP countries in the event of a deficit in earnings from the exports because of fluctuations in prices on the world market or because of changes in the supply of commodities (European Commission, 2012c).

These arrangements allowed to ACP producers an opportunity to expect a stable price for the particular goods produced. This meant that the producers of many products in African, Caribbean, and Pacific countries did not need to wrestle with the fluctuation of world prices. They were thus, not vulnerable to changes in the world market, but rather, could depend on the prices set on the internal European market for these goods (Hormeku, 2006). With this setup, ACP countries could securely organize their internal

development affairs and could plan according to the revenues that they could expect from one year to the next based on the annual quotas. In hindsight, however, this system offered the producing countries no experience with the realities of the global market and true independent development strategies and introduced a false sense of budgetary realities. With steady a revenue flow, the Caribbean nations set up budgets and spending plans that correlated to their trade regime, all the while failing prepare for impending world events and subsequent changes to the preferential regimes (Busse, Borrmann, and Grobmann, 2004).

This system continued through the end of the 20th century with Lomé II being signed in 1979, outlining the rules of the partnership between 1979 and 1984. Lomé II, at that point, extended the system of preferences to the mining industry for those partner countries such as Jamaica and Trinidad, with large bauxite mining industries, and whose economies strongly relied upon that sector (Mouradian, 1998). Later, in 1984, Lomé III was signed to govern the preferential system until 1990. Lomé III, however, unlike the preceding agreements, began to signal a shift with regards to the idea of trade preferences. Instead, Lomé III placed explicit focus on ideas related to developing self-sufficiency and self-reliance, which could generate food security in the ACP countries (European Commission, 2012b). ACP countries that had no real experience with the real-world market, were now forced with little preparation to fend for themselves and deal with the truly global system. In fact, as many observers argue, some of the policy prescriptions had often prompted countries to strengthen rather than reduce barriers to free trade (Stevens, 2006).

Proponents of World Systems theory argue that this was simply the period wherein the Europeans recognized that they now benefited little from these trade regimes. In an era, where these countries, now already independent for a few decades, tended to take decisions that benefited them internally and regionally, there seemed to be little residual benefit for the former colonial powers in continuing these agreements. Loud supporters of dependency theory who like Walter Rodney, saw colonialism and these residual systems extending from colonialism, as exploitive and ultimately geared towards the repatriation of profits to the colonial power, voice that these policies only moved to further undermine and under-develop Africa and the other regions. He argues, therefore, that ultimately, it is the countries in Europe and then the United States who hold most of the responsibility for the continued underdevelopment of these countries (Rodney, 2011).

Others argue that the members of the European Community simply recognized that there was no longer any real benefit in continuing these programs in the wake of the WTO and GATT rules and the increasing pressures from the US to overhaul the supposed fair trade regimes to bring about a system of truly free trade. Moves to restructure thus ensued, notwithstanding the fact that this move disregarded ACP trade interest, social systems and political outcomes (Watts, 1998). Other observers, mostly from European and American schools of thought, argued that this was a step towards allowing ACP countries to become self-sufficient and self-reliant, and in the long run effectively helping them to develop their economies. This was indeed a manifestation of the global shift towards neoclassical economic theory that as the work of Braveboy-Wagner and Gayle (1997) report had led to the promotion of self-reliance and “de-linking” to spur economic self-sufficiency in developing countries like the ACP (Braveboy-Wagner and Gayle, 1-2).

Mlachila, Cashin, and Haines (2010), in their recent work on the result of changes in preferential market access support the argument of Alexandraki and Lankes (2004) who claim that in the end, the collective loss from the changes were quite small, measuring about 0.5 and 1.2 percent of total exports of the middle-income countries in the ACP. They argue also that, as exports concentrated on only a few products, loss was also concentrated, allowing other industries to somewhat make up for the shortfall (Alexandraki and Lankes, 2004). Notwithstanding, the reality for most of the ACP countries was that they now had to face a largely deregulated global market system despite their uncompetitive, insular, and vulnerable characters, a fact that was magnified in the small island developing states (SIDS) of the Caribbean.

Recognizing the need to ease these countries into the global market system, Lomé IV, was thus signed in 1990 and was the first partnership agreement to span a ten-year period, although a midterm review was set for 1995 (European Commission, 2012). This agreement, however, unlike the others shifted the focus away from trade and onto issues such as the advancement of human rights and democratic systems, promoting good governance and supporting the empowerment of women in African Caribbean and Pacific states (Mahler, 1994). The agreement also placed a specific focus on environmental protections, multilateral cooperation and economic diversification geared at promoting economic development through strengthening the private sector (Dominique, 2000). While these measures seemed reasonable, across the Caribbean, this was regarded as a manifestation of some of the assumptions made by proponents of dependency theory and World Systems theory, in addition to other Marxist theories. When the core nations across the European Union had finished exploiting and using up the natural resources of

their former colonies, and when they had benefited enough from an exponential supply of raw materials, they now had little use for these poor, vulnerable lands that now stood as an expense and an unnecessary problem (Hormeku, 2006). This added to the devastation resulting from measures prescribed for developing the private sector alongside other neoclassical economic reforms promoted by the IMF and World Bank, which had already brought suffering to much of the region (Cosgrove, 1994).

Beginning of the End

On the 23 of June 2000, nevertheless, the Lomé Convention was replaced by the new Cotonou agreement that laid out a newly envisioned partnership between the European countries and the ACP over the next 20 years (Europa, 2011). Unlike the previous agreements, the Cotonou Agreement, although it in some way continues the tradition set up by the Lomé Conventions, tends to shift the focus away from trade and onto economic, social and cultural development across Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific. The agreement highlighted the need for parity between the partners and specifically called for ownership of the development process, meaning that the ACP countries should not expect special treatment from their former colonial masters or from others in the international system, now governed according to the principles of globalization and free trade, as opposed to the idea of fair trade that once to justified the preferential set up with the ACP countries (Von Moltke, 2004).

The central focus of the Cotonou Agreement was therefore divided into two sectors, political and economic. The political dimension calls for multilateralism, peace building and conflict prevention and resolution via strengthening of government systems and an increased focus on corporation with regional and international organizations. This

dimension also calls for a renewed interest in promoting human rights and democratic principles based on rule of law, transparency and accountability in government. The agreement highlights concern with strategies in place for dealing with issues such as crime, the environment, migration and gender equality (Europa, 2011). The economic dimension of the Cotonou Agreement also moved away from the exclusive focus on trade. Instead, the new partnership calls for economic reform and the implementation of macroeconomic policies including sectorial strategies geared towards developing industry, fishing and tourism, and further developing the agricultural sector alongside already established knowledge sectors (Europa, 2011). The agreement also outlines goals for social and human development including the need for partner countries to improve health, education and nutrition systems.

Finally, the economic and trade dimension of the Cotonou agreement expressly highlights its compliance with the WTO (World Trade Organization) rules. Essentially, this meant that any agreement between the partners would require a move away from protectionism and preferential systems. This, it is argued, would allow the ACP countries to independently assimilate into the international trade system. Beyond this, however, the Agreement makes mention of the special case of many ACP countries with regards to vulnerability and insularity which is characteristic of small island developing states (SIDS). To this end, the agreement stresses the need for cooperation and proposes that there be some options for trade assistance for these states (Hurt, 2003). The agreement calls for some special treatment and leeway in assisting with regional cooperation, food security, communications and transport infrastructure in countries that are labeled small

islands, landlocked, least developed, or those emerging from conflict situations (Europa, 2011; Hurt, 2003).

As of today, the Cotonou Agreement dictates the relationship between Europe and the ACP, including the Caribbean. What has been observed across the region, though, is a new and renewed shift towards integration. The fallout from the loss of Lomé has pushed Caribbean nations closer than ever before and has led to the design and implementation of the new Caribbean Single Market Economy (CSME). Though this great integration achievement came at a great price- Caribbean economies skydived with the loss of European markets, the result has been a wondrous strengthening of collaboration and a reassertion of unity across the region. External shock may have finally glued together the melting pot of dynamism and difference comprising the Caribbean. The region has recently discovered the momentum with which to begin to craft its own ideals and its own destiny.

Over the years, Caribbean nations have acknowledged the difficult position of the region, relative to the economic giants dictating world trade and economic development, and as such, the region has progressively taken steps to come together and improve its relative might for the purpose of attaining a sound global economic position, capable of defining growth, development, peace and security. From as early as the years following decolonization, the region has sought to establish a coordinated framework whereby the limited resources of individual states may be expanded and extended via regional sharing and cooperation via regional instruments such as CARICOM (the Caribbean Community) and other regional organizations including the most recent CSME.

The CARICOM Single Market and Economy (CSME)

The CARICOM Single Market and Economy (CSME) is the most recent effort of CARICOM states on the way to advancing sustainable development and shared prosperity via an elimination of trade barriers and allowing the free movement of goods, workers, capital and services within the CARICOM space. The CSME introduced the idea of a Caribbean region absent of barriers and enhanced by a collective pool of resources and opportunities. Tsikata, Pinto Moreira and Coke Hamilton (2009) propose that the CSME will enhance the regions competitiveness, while Hall and Chuck-A-Sang (2007) exclaim that the grouping will take the region into an era of “far-reaching regional social and economic engineering, which” that will take the Caribbean to its development destination (Hall and Chuck-A-Sang, 2007).

It was in 1989 that 13 of the now 15 members of CARICOM agreed on an integrated development plan aimed at confronting the challenges historically faced by the region. This plight has now been intensified by the quick moving speed of globalization, particularly with the dawning of an end of preferential market access in Europe. In the Grand Anse Declaration, therefore, the region’s leaders outlined three key aspirations: i. deepening economic integration by progressing beyond the existing common market towards a Single Market and Economy, ii. enlarging community membership to expand the economic force of CARICOM, and iii. transforming the region into a global-tier trading block by increasing trade relationships with non-traditional trade partners (Government of the Republic of Trinidad & Tobago, 2010).

Overall, the framework is expected to stimulate productive efficiency, increase levels of domestic and foreign investment, expand employment opportunities, and promote intra-regional trade alongside extra-regional exports (Government of the

Republic of Trinidad & Tobago, 2010). With these facets in place, CARICOM has moved forward to implement a Single Market Economy. To accomplish this, the revised Treaty of Chaguaramas calls for the harmonization of laws, policies and regulations in addition to enhanced monetary cooperation, and common external economic policies (Jagdeo, 2003).

The CSME vision for sustainable development is evident in the steps taken to meet the needs of the region through integration. The plan has thus attempted to incorporate economic, social, environmental and governance dimensions, grouping these elements into six detailed frameworks, including: i. self-sustaining economic growth based on strong international competitiveness, innovation, productivity, and flexibility of resource use; ii. the establishment of a full-employment economy that affords an acceptable standard of living and quality of life for all citizens, and that is capable of ridding the region of poverty, while providing sufficient opportunities for young Caribbean nationals, thus presenting an alternative to emigration; iii. spatially acceptable economic growth, conducive to the limits of size of Community members and particularly regarding the growth potential of member states with relatively low per capita incomes and large pools of marginally utilized land and labor; iv. social justice and equity, social cohesion and personal security; v. environmental protection and ecological sustainability; and at the heart of it all, vi. democratic, transparent and participatory governance (Caribbean Community Secretariat, 2011).

The CSME plan has further called for these six principles to also be incorporated under a broader multi-dimensional framework, which includes an economic dimension, a

social dimension, an environmental dimension, and a governance dimension, expanding the free trade area that already exists within the CARICOM group of countries according to the CARIFTA free trade arrangement. The CSME's goal under the economic dimension includes accelerating economic growth via the adjustment and transformation of regional economies, through improvements in international competitiveness fueled by resourcefulness, innovation and productivity growth, and in order to realize high rates of growth in CARICOM economies with the lowest per capita incomes. This will allow convergence within the Community. This is particularly important for the Caribbean countries with vast expanses of unused land and labor. Indeed, these resources cannot be wasted or neglected while others in the Community are impinged by shortages of land and labor (Caribbean Community Secretariat, 2011b).

CSME Economic Domain

To accomplish the goals of the economic dimension, the CSME proposes that the main drivers of economic growth and transformation revolve around clusters of goods as well as around the service industry, particularly the energy sector, forestry, agriculture, fishing, manufacturing, sustainable tourism, and other export services. To meet these goals, common policies in each of the sectors are streamlined to complement the already existing regimes, and to be further harmonize the goals for foreign trade, human resource, transport, investment and financial service, as well as monetary and fiscal policies.

Simultaneously, Member States have moved to advance the region's human and social capital in supporting an entrepreneurial culture at all levels of society, while measures are also being taken to enhance capital market integration, competition, small and medium enterprises, quality regional infrastructure, and corporate governance. A

focus has been placed on the capacity of CARICOM members to implement a viable mechanism for the coordination, management and monitoring of the process of integration. For example, as Girvan (2007) of the University of the West Indies, Mona, highlights, the CSME's monitoring task should include "indicators of production integration [...] [such as] intra-CARICOM shares in total trade in goods, total trade in services, and total cross-border investment flows (Girvan, 2007)." CSME institutions, according to him, must take steps to monitor increases in the number of cross-border investors, increases in ratios of regional assets to total assets for financial intermediaries and other institutional investors, as well as growth of extra-regional exports by pan-Caribbean firms, and the increase in the numbers of Skill Certificates issued (Caribbean Community Secretariat, 2011c)". This will establish protocols for a sound, transparent, and measurable scheme that moves away from traditional paradoxes and complexities, linked to the history of diversity and difference. To the credit of Caribbean leaders, most of these needs have been satisfied under the terms of the Revised Treaty.

Free Movement of Goods, Services and Human Capital

As CARICOM moves towards restructuring and redefining its economic potential through integration, the regulation of goods and services have also necessitated an overhaul. To successfully coordinate the free movement of goods, CARICOM has set up a mechanism to ensure that goods and services are of an acceptable standard. The CSME has established the Caribbean Regional Organization on Standards and Quality (CROSQ) via a separate agreement which has been implemented in the individual CARICOM Member States under the Caribbean Regional Organization on Standards and Quality Act. The CROSQ has been endowed with the task of establishing regional standards to

regulate manufacturing and trade in all CARICOM Members States (Caribbean Community Secretariat, 2011d).

Developing a system to regulate goods and services and to set standards and expectations sets the stage for increased inter-regional exchanges as services will now be streamlined to meet cross-regional needs. This will further advance the flexible movement of labor resources and human capital within the region. Consequently, the CSME has created a regional accreditation body with the goal of assessing qualifications that allow Member States to reach agreements on Accreditation for education in Medical and other Health professions. Again, this advances criteria for measurable, transparent and standardized practices, moving away from the historical character of relaxed and lax operating systems that fail to meet global standards.

Additionally, moving beyond the existing Caribbean Community Free Movement of Skilled Persons Act of 1997, that allowed media workers, sportspersons, artists and musicians to travel freely across the region, the Revised Treaty moved to also allow the free movement of nationals who are self-employed service providers, as well as technical, managerial and supervisory staff, their spouses and immediate family members (Miller, 2007). Broadening the free movement of people, according to Miller (2007), would serve to enhance the region's capacity to share innovations and advances in many sectors.

The revised treaty allows CARICOM nationals to move freely within the Community, and steps have also been taken to enhance the ease with which nationals can engage in free enterprise to further facilitate a space for free trade in services across the community. CARICOM-owned companies can be established and can operate in any

CARICOM country, while remaining subject to the same terms and conditions across the region. Service providers may also offer their services throughout the region, without the work permit restrictions of days past, although there are rules in place considering regional documentation standards (Caribbean Community Secretariat, 2005).

The CSME has gone to great lengths to overhaul the region's economic structure in light of the socio-cultural trends that impact business and the economy. By taking steps to find a mix between the culture of uncertainty and chance experiences and that of a rigidly regulated global system, the framework has put in place some workable options for advancing success. Just as with the efforts to reposition the region's economic character, the CSME has streamlined a set of social policies aimed at reflecting a social climate that is conducive to development success.

CSME Social Dimension

The social dimension of the CSME's plan for sustainable development stands out as a pillar, which is as comprehensive as the economic dimension, legally, syncing all aspects of the region's civil society with a CARICOM charter for civil society. The CSME has also adopted a Regional Human Rights Convention and has established a benchmark for investment in human capital. These key pillars for integration will dictate the quantitative and qualitative requirements for successful performance in the globalized economy, at the same time that it emphasizes the role of Caribbean culture in actualizing the integration process, ensuring that Caribbean identity is infused into all aspects of the region's development agenda. The systemic incorporation of culture into all aspects of the CSME is an attempt to develop and enhance regional identity, promote positive attitudes towards the idea of regional citizenship, and support a respect for diversity

through education, preservation, and presentation of the Caribbean's cultural heritage (Chuck-A-Sang, 2007).

This may indeed bring about the framework for constructing a region-specific path to sustainable development. The initiative of the CSME to highlight the cultural and historical significance of the region's past as a critical part of the development model may be a step in the right direction. As Lewis (2002) highlights in her chronicle of Caribbean integration, from the days of the OECS onwards, one of the most striking elements of the Caribbean integration narrative, surrounds the continual emergence of non-economic justifications for regional integration, particularly stemming from a unity of culture and the high value placed on the region's unique set of shared experiences. As she exclaims, it will be crucial for the region to conceptualize a West Indian identity based on "a shared historical cultural experience arising from slavery" (Lewis, 2002)

Employment in the CSME

In addressing the employment issue, and recognizing that employment is as much a social issue, as it is economic, the CSME framework has also proposed the adoption of standards for adapting best practices related to public policy, labor management relations, health, physical security, justice, local government, and even youth empowerment and gender equality issues. The published documents detailing the standard hold that all of these areas impact the ability to develop a viable and reliable class of employable individuals (Caribbean Community Secretariat, 2005). The standard will introduce a measured variable with which progress in these areas can be assessed.

Additionally, Caribbean leaders have outlined plans for the adoption a satisfactory minimum wage and a common standard to be applied throughout the Community

regarding work conditions in addition to the implementation of a standard for Corporate Social Responsibility that will serve as a guiding principle for all members of CARICOM (Caribbean Community Secretariat, 2011c). Lastly, the social dimension of the CSME intends to designate the Caribbean Diaspora as the fifth social partner assisting with the provision of social capital, skills, free enterprise, and export-marketing that can be added to a Community Social Compact encompassing four principal social partners- governments, business, labor, and civil society.

The Ecological and Environmental Domain

With all of this in place and in recognition of the ecological limits and environmental realities of the region, the CSME has placed great emphasis on an environmental dimension, which will ultimately shadow the other dimensions if success is to be achieved. The first aspect of the CSME's comprehensive environmentally sustainable development machinery includes the adoption of a Common Environmental Regulatory Regime set up to preserve, protect, enhance, and manage the productive potential of the region's natural environment. This serves to ensure sustainable development practice in relation to environmental preservation (Girvan, 2007). Overall, the CSME aims to regulate the activities of investors and other economic agents, as they relate to the environmental needs of the region. This regime, thus, alongside those pioneering in the environmental dimension, has coordinated the preparation and publication of a regular CARICOM Environment Assessment report, which publishes the status of the implementation of national laws and international commitments relating to the environment, specifically focusing on priority issues for the region, such as the marine and coastal environment, and watershed and forestry management (Caribbean

Community Secretariat, 2003). Climate change impact analysis, natural disasters impact and management and waste disposal and recycling issues also constitute areas of particular concern for those involved with environmental oversight and reporting (Caribbean Secretariat, 2011c).

CSME Government and Leadership

To pull all this together, strong government and leadership has been critical. Recognizing this key requirement, thus, the CSME has expanded a governance initiative under the auspices of the Rose Hall Declaration on Governance and Mature. The declaration has called for i. the application of decisions taken by the Conference of Heads of Government, ii. the creation of a CARICOM Commission with Executive Authority to oversee the implementation of decisions, iii. the generation of resources to fund the necessary regional institutions, iv. the strengthening of the functions of Caribbean Community Parliamentary Assemblies, and v. for extending regional governance by officially recognizing various CSME mechanisms including the Caribbean Business Council, the Caribbean Corporate Governance Forum, and the Caribbean Civil Society Forum (Eastern Caribbean Central Bank, 2003). Bringing these facets and dimensions together has undeniably necessitated a host of harmonization measures in individual Member State national policies. To facilitate success, thus, the Revised Treaty has called for harmonized mechanisms in the areas of customs regulations, competition policy, consumer protection, anti-dumping and countervailing measures, banking and securities, intellectual property rights, standards and technical regulations, for regulation and labeling of food and drug, sanitary and psytosanitary measures, as well as for commercial arbitration (Caribbean Community Secretariat, 2011).

A Legal Framework through Court Oversight

Further, in order to accomplish the task of deepening and strengthening, a new Caribbean Court of Justice was installed in 2005 with authority over two jurisdictions, an original jurisdiction and an appellate jurisdiction, which together affords the legal foundation that reinforces the treaty. This highlights a critical step towards the Community's development. The Caribbean Court of Justice has been set up as an international tribunal with compulsory and exclusive jurisdiction in the matter of the interpretation and the application of the Revised Treaty. It is also responsible for hearing and delivering judgments on i. disputes arising between contracting parties of the new agreement, ii. disputes between contracting parties and the Community itself, and iii. disputes between nationals of the Caribbean Community, other contracting parties, institutions forming part of the Caribbean Community and between nationals themselves (Salmon, 2000). The appellate jurisdiction of the court grants it the power to review and issue rulings on appeals involving civil and criminal cases from lower courts falling under its jurisdiction, which comprises all of the Member States of CARICOM that have acceded to the new treaty establishing the Caribbean Court of Justice (Salmon, 2000). This legal consolidation understandably takes a step in the right direction and has the potential to facilitate legal certainty and provide oversight of the many legal measures which must be initiated for realizing the economic, social, environmental and governmental goals of the CSME.

The legislative modifications that have brought the CSME into being have necessitated serious legal planning and review and have encompassed significant revisions of the original treaty. In order to implement the necessary changes for realizing

the CSME and ushering sustainable Caribbean development, thus, most of the treaty revisions have taken the form of amendments to Chapter III of the original Treaty establishing the Community. Chapter III of the Chaguaramas treaty pertains specifically to establishment, services, skills and capital, the areas which bear directly on the implementation of the CSME plans (Girvan, 2007).

Additionally, important treaty revisions have also realigned Chapter Four of the original Treaty, dealing with the legal infrastructure of the region, and as such, have laid the groundwork for the harmonization of legislation. To coordinate the legal aspects inherent in treaty revision and regulation harmonization, and to oversee the implementation of these changes, the heads of CARICOM governments have established a Legal Affairs Committee and a Drafting Facility with the support and funding of the United States Agency for International Development (Caribbean Community Secretariat, 2011b).

Additional Efforts of the CSME

In addition to the implementation of measures to facilitate the legal framework of the plan, leaders across the Caribbean have also sought to attend to simple operational issues that may hamper the progress of the core dimensions of the CSME. The issue of regional transport, including the removal of restrictions in the international transport sector, for example, in addition to other traditional areas such as forging trade partnerships has also attracted the attention of Caribbean leaders. Measures to remove restrictions in the regional transport sector have thus been put into place by i. the granting of air transport service licenses or similar authorization to non-citizens, ii. granting traffic rights, and iii. easing the processes associated with services that are directly related to the

exercise of transport traffic rights in the region (Caribbean Community Secretariat, 2011b). Further, the work on regional transportation facilitation has signaled the need to assure transport safety and security and has therefore also addressed to the issue of regional transport infrastructure and the availability of fair, adequate, comprehensive, and competitive transportation services, including the capacity of regional air carriers that meet up-to-date standards.

As improvements are made in the area of economic competitiveness, enhanced by improved transportation facilities, CARICOM Member States hope to realize a stronger role for trade and trade related economic activity. The revised treaty has therefore afforded CARICOM the opportunity to enter into bilateral and multilateral trade agreements as a unified bloc. Consequently, CARICOM, standing as a regional bloc, under a somewhat supra-governmental set up, has since the treaty's revision become party to the CARICOM/Colombia Trade, Economic and Technical Co-operation Agreement, the CARICOM/Cuba Trade and Economic Co-operation Agreement, the CARICOM/Costa Rica Free Trade Agreement, the CARICOM/Dominican Republic Free Trade Agreement, and the CARICOM/Venezuela Trade & Investment Agreement in addition to numerous other trade partnerships (Caribbean Community Secretariat, 2011b).

CSME Challenges and Responses

Today, although many of the CSME plans that have been implemented in Member States have been successful, the region continues to face challenges in actually

implementing large portions of the CSME at the same time that countries are trying to balance ecological and economic prosperity. Special attention has been placed on the areas of agriculture, forestry and fishing, as well as in manufacturing, as these sectors are directly linked to the environment for their own success. Agriculture continues to face major challenges within the Caribbean Community as with the realignment of the global economy under new GATT and WTO rules, alongside the emergence of regional blocks such as the European Union, the region has witnessed persistent erosion of trade preferences, while it continues to struggle with weak international competitiveness for its traditional exports.

The prevalence of urbanization in response to low living standards in rural areas most suited for agriculture and the exponential increase in food imports generated as populations are more and more exposed to the luxuries of the developed world has further hindered the prospects for agriculture in the Caribbean.

In response, the CSME's Jagdeo Initiative has outlined a regional agriculture strategy that has reclassified the agricultural sector to include "all activities in the value chain, from production of inputs to primary production, to the transformation and sale of value added products (Private Sector Commission of Guyana, 2007)". This strategy proposes to recognize agriculture as a business, an entrepreneurial activity, which must be supported by the provision of incentives, training, technology, finance, and infrastructural support. Under this framework, the goal is to utilize agriculture to meet pertinent socio-economic needs, including poverty reduction and food security particularly in rural communities. At the same time, this will promote equity and competitiveness. Public-private partnership constitutes the basis for implementing the

Jagdeo Initiative, which will also attend to issues regarding land use, water distribution and management systems, investment and financing for agriculture, marketing information in the field of agriculture, and agricultural research and development (Private Sector Commission of Guyana, 2007).

Additionally, the CSME, under the Jagdeo initiative has begun work to address some of the barriers to agricultural productivity, which stem from inefficiencies in infrastructure and transportation access and availability, in addition to other technical barriers such as food safety. In the end, the initiative aims to improve the facilities for intra-regional agricultural trade and transport, and it also aims to reinforce regional partnerships in agricultural research and design via collaboration among national research organs. The goal is to bring about a renewal of the existing sector institutions by offering increased access to funding. The publication of a Food Needs Study and the organization of an investors-donors conference of traditional and non-traditional individuals and groups including commercial agri-entrepreneurs involved with local, national, and regional development are also meant to set up a network for identifying and executing potential agricultural investments (Singh, Rankine and Seepersad, 2005). This will facilitate the prospects for undertaking the most viable opportunities for restructuring and reawakening the agricultural sector.

The CSME Hope

The Caribbean Single Market and Economy has put in place one of the most comprehensive and all-encompassing frameworks for twenty-first century Caribbean

development considering regional peculiarities and global pressures. A properly executed CSME may present the opportunity for attaining the sustainable development and the peace and security that the people of the region have long desired. By catering to a range of region-specific concerns, ranging from the environment, to the economy, health, culture and democratic freedoms, the CSME unquestionably outlines a different vision for development in comparison to traditional economic growth models. The challenge in realizing the potential of the CSME has primarily stemmed from the capacity of the Member States to fully implement the measures outlined by the plan.

Certainly, coordinating policy and regulations present a significant area of work to be attended to by Caribbean leaders and others concerned with regional development. To allow for the implementation and execution of the new Caribbean vision outlined by the CSME, serious harmonization and legal coordination must continue to occur in CARICOM States. This must include efforts to maintain an atmosphere of legal certainty and stability in which the new regulations may be executed. Leaders across the Caribbean must thus recognize the need for legal stabilization and regulatory harmonization, and must allow the Caribbean Court of Justice and other overseeing entities the opportunity to effectively safeguard, regulate and protect the integration process through legal oversight.

Conclusion

The extensive pool of literature examining various aspects of the Caribbean reality, in general, tends to link most matters to discussions related to Caribbean culture.

Existing literature affirms that Caribbean culture, as it relates to the region's unique history, transcends almost every aspect of life in the region and comprises the basis for understanding the region and its peoples. This reality supports this dissertation's assessment of Caribbean development within the context of the Caribbean culture alongside the acknowledgement of the unique and special case of Caribbean development which typical measures of development may miss.

This fate derived from the literature has inspired this inquiry for two primary reasons, 1. because the literature evidences a clear link between a special Caribbean character and the context for assessing any Caribbean phenomenon and 2. because, despite all of the documented links between culture and Caribbean-ness, and much evidence of the influence of this unique Caribbean character in creating Caribbean significance, this phenomenon has only been marginally treated by the literature. Specifically, assessments of sustainable development in the Caribbean have not employed this culturally unique frame for contextualizing inquiry and review. This dissertation therefore has aimed to add to the literature and offer insight and perspective, while also encouraging further evaluation.

Chapter 3. Research Method

Introduction

This chapter provides a synopsis of qualitative research methodology and a description of the qualitative research method used in this study to analyze the research problem and assess the research questions. The aim of this dissertation is to gain insight into why the problem of development¹⁰ persists throughout the Caribbean region, despite periods of progress, and in spite of comparatively adequate standards of living. The researcher has embarked on a quest to understand how the definition and understanding of what constitutes development ultimately impacts development programs, measures of development, and ultimately the advent of a state of development that can sustain peace and security. The qualitative case study approach allowed the opportunity to critically analyze the Caribbean scene. Evaluative pattern matching was employed to guide the process of explanation building as resultant trends allowed for the extraction of themes related to a number of hypotheses made and the general theory espoused in relation to the development phenomenon observed. Several assessment approaches were employed in advancing the qualitative case study research process. These included document analysis, methodological review, analytic assessment and primary and secondary source observation and analysis.

The Qualitative Paradigm

¹⁰ Throughout this dissertation, the terms sustainable development and development may be used interchangeably to refer to the same phenomena

According to Guba and Lincoln (1989) academic research and inquiry is often directed by one of two distinct paradigms, the constructivist paradigm or the conventional paradigm that outlines relevant assumptions and actions (Guba & Lincoln, 1989). A paradigm may be defined as a worldview or a basic set of assumptions that direct the actions of the researcher. Paradigms are therefore modeled according to beliefs and assumptions that are ontological, methodological or epistemological in nature (Guba & Lincoln, 1989).

Paradigms in the human and social science assist with the understanding of phenomena. Paradigms advance assumptions related to the social world and govern how science should be directed. They also assist inquirers with defining what establishes authentic problems, solutions, and they assist with designing criteria for “proof” (Creswell, 1994; Firestone, 1987; Gioia & Pitre, 1990; Kuhn, 1970). Consequently, it is the paradigm that governs the approach, theory and methodology best suited for a particular research inquiry, and it is the qualitative and the quantitative paradigms that dominate the literature surrounding research inquiry (Creswell, 1994; Philips, 1987; Webb, et al., 1986).

The conventional qualitative paradigm stands at odds with quantitative research methodologies as qualitative research aspires to detail and deduce human phenomena, while leaving some room for outside interpretation. Also, in contrast to conventional positivist research, qualitative research proposes no single or universally accepted outcome (Heath, 1997; Morse, 1991). This dissertation therefore utilized a constructivist qualitative paradigm, with which to strategically bind the phenomena alongside key areas related to the multiple data sets are compiled from a variety of sources and collection

processes (Creswell, 1994; Merriam, 1998; Yin 2009). Creswell (1994) characterizes the qualitative study as a process of acquiring knowledge and insight related to a social or human problem, after constructing a composite and holistic ideal from the use of words and the reporting of information in a particular context or setting (Creswell, 1994).

The exploratory nature of the case study qualitative research method allowed for a level of flexibility and maneuverability that afforded the opportunity to go beyond common research trends and to investigate competing data sets related to the phenomenon. The case study method thus afforded the opportunity to investigate a very complex issue with significant implications including impending patterns of behavior and the eventual dynamics of relationships.

The method offered an expository and inductive means to treat a host of indicators and variables individually as well as in relation to each other. The case study brought to light the need to employ a number of assessments that compared, related, examined, explored and combined numerous instruments and techniques, that otherwise could not have been evaluated to such an extent, with the use of other methodologies that tend to require more direct engagement or already existent structures.

Case studies can often employ the basis of various other designs to construct a frame with which to assess and categorize data being evaluated. The methodology supported the use of detailed contextual analysis, alongside descriptive, as well as, inferential statistics. This flexibility grounded the case study within relatable and retrievable structures that has helped ensure the opportunity to confirm and verify the various factors assessed. Additionally, the opportunity to employ multiple sources, varying frames of reference and varied organizational formats made the model useful and

appealing in many ways. Key findings presented in the literature on the case study method suggest that the broad and inclusive nature of the methodology allows for minimalist interventionist studies as well as for exploratory and descriptive inquiry. Merriam (1998), who has written extensively on the case study design, suggests use of the methodology for broad descriptive investigations as well as for narrowly defined inclusive analysis (Merriam, 1998).

According to her, the case study design does not limit itself to any particular data collection requirements, but rather, allows researchers to employ “holistic description and explanation” (p. 29). Merriam’s account of the case study method reveals an unmatched opportunity for varied use of assessment measures, units of analysis and subjects of inquiry. As she remarks, the methodology requires little or no design preparation, and as such there are little constraints related to set up and take down along the research journey. This is particularly, important, because while the design offers broad options for the sampling and structuring of research in general, it does not implore the strict forms of standardized preparation that many other designs require. Instead, the methodology affords the opportunity for the researcher to engage with the data in a flexible manner. Patton (1990) describes this as a unique character of the case study design to allow the researcher to use data itself in manipulating various strategies for organization of the study.

This manipulative character just as Yin (2003) suggested allowed the opportunity to use a mix of individual and collective skills in framing this study and determining the specific criteria for analysis and examination. This, though, as it afforded an intricate and varied option for inductive research, as Yin (2003) also pointed out led to some

ambiguity and convolution of multiple available datasets at the onset of the research process, which could have easily been influenced by bias and expectations. Fortunately, ethics and the high standard desired for the end results, guided the advancement of an acceptable research design and an apt data analysis plan

Rationale for Qualitative Research

Qualitative research methods propose a means by which to gather information that cannot easily or typically be achieved through wholly empirical testing. Qualitative research, for example, is ideal when a researcher wants to convey information related to emotions, feelings and perceptions. The methodology was well suited for researching and assessing various issues related to the Caribbean security-development matrix that presented various forms of data directly related to perception as well as to deferring social, cultural and historical realities.

The qualitative research process offered the opportunity for this dissertation to treat the how and the why related to the Caribbean development phenomenon. RQ1a, for example, proposes an assessment as to why the Caribbean still remains undeveloped, while RQ1b, proposes an assessment of how the definition of development can impact success, RQ2b further explores how the region's unique character relates to development success and security goals. The opportunity to filter out external factors and address critical details and relevant datasets allowed an opportunity for a very comprehensive assessment of the research subject.

Qualitative research methods employ techniques that historically result in personal understanding and reflection (Reichardt & Cook, 1979) of results while there is a broad and contextual acquisition of knowledge related to the research subject (Creswell,

2006). This study was prompted by a desire to acquire a contextual understanding, of the problems inherently linked to Caribbean development, particularly in light of how the definition and understanding of development impact development success in the Caribbean region. The dissertation thus explores and investigates how Caribbean development standards are impacted by international norms and how measures for development influence the way that development is qualified and qualified. As Yin (2003) explains, a qualitative case study design is suitable if the researcher aspires to answer the how or the why related to a particular phenomenon. This methodology, therefore, is wholly appropriate for achieving the goals of this research inquiry.

This dissertation does not seek to compile statistical data for the production of generalizations, but rather, aspires to advance inquiry related to possible options for securing peace and stability in the region via the construction of a Caribbean-centered model for development, that takes into account the region's historic and unique character. The exploratory nature of qualitative research has afforded the opportunity for comprehensive investigation at the same time that it has allowed the researcher to address assumptions, which though they remain at the center of discussions on Caribbean development, are rarely advanced or pursued. Although many discuss the experiences, character and potential options for the Caribbean, few or none take up the task of using these details to probe and deconstruct the possibility for a unique Caribbean-centered development phenomenon.

A key advantage of utilizing the qualitative research frame is that the qualitative paradigm offers the opportunity for an all-inclusive synthesis of the many facets impacting the research topic. The qualitative approach allowed the researcher the

leverage needed to comprehensively assess the impact of social, cultural, political and historical dynamics particular to the region. Patton, (1990) highlights the importance of impact assessments related to location, time frame and special realities (Patton, 1990). The qualitative case study research methodology employed comprised the gathering of evidence from a number of sources, including records and documents, primary and secondary resources, data instruments, data transcripts and observations, among others sources characteristic of the research process (Merriam, 1998; Stake, 1995; Yin, 2003). While for the purpose of this dissertation, new interviews have not been conducted, a variety of these data sources were employed to direct the data collection process, as well as to construct a measurable framework for advancing an analytical inquiry. This has ensured that the study was conducted in the type of “dynamic, contemporary context and setting” that Yin encourages (Yin 2009).

Data Collection and Analysis

This dissertation presents analysis of data from (1) primary sources including: reports and public statements from national governments, regional governing bodies, the United Nations, CARICOM, the World Bank and the Caribbean Development Bank, in addition to other Caribbean national government sources. (2) secondary sources, including: books, journal articles, working papers and conference papers, published interviews, and news articles from local, national, regional and international news organizations.

In the initial phases primary sources were used to assess the current development scene in the Caribbean as well as to construct an overview of regional development efforts. These sources provided relevant details related to the policies adopted by

government entities at different levels and has shed light on the results of development policy, as well as, on how well these policies were implemented. Subsequently, the assessment of the data from these sources offered insight on the expected outcomes of the policies implemented. These details allowed the researcher to initially set the scene and map the trajectory of Caribbean efforts, while detailing some of the determining factors related to success or failure from one country to the next.

Case Selection

The use of the case study research methodology necessitated some level of delimitation in selecting the case units to be studied (Jones, Torres, & Arminio, 2006). In fact, Stake (1995) explains that one of the principal reasons for selecting a case is to maximize what can be learned (Stake, 1995). As such, the cases, resources, and research materials utilized were all selectively chosen, in order to provide a comprehensive and accurate picture that efficiently and effectively present a broad overview of the research problem (Creswell, 2006; Stake, 1995) in addition to detailed results easily derived from the case choice.

Careful and purposeful case and data selection has afforded the opportunity to survey and evaluate the most appropriate data sets and subsets of the cases (Hedrick, Bickman, & Rog, 1993). This dissertation explored the complex scene characterizing Caribbean development and assessed indicators and their respective variables with implications for local, national, regional and international development trends and outcomes.

Consequently, the selection of cases included units that would allow the most complete examination of the variables assessed in order to present details related to the

general regional situation as well as overall trends and common patterns if indeed they existed. The six CARICOM nations employed as referential cases for this research study include Barbados, Dominica, Guyana, Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago and St. Lucia. These cases were selectively chosen in order to reflect the physical, social, economic, and resource specific dynamism of the region. These nations reflect the stunning differences in population, location, territorial space, language, culture, economy, and political reality characterizing the Caribbean region.

Problem Statement

Despite overall growth, the Caribbean region remains confined to a perpetual state of under-development. Although the region has witnessed many periods of continuous growth, modest increases in living standards and global development rankings that list many of its nations, as high and middle income countries, the region has never been able to attain a level of development that affords a long lasting and secure peace.

Though the region boasts sound political institutions, developed civil societies and dynamic social and cultural realities, and while many countries have experienced some degree of peace and security, alongside some of the highest recorded levels of happiness, life is often characterized by chaos, instability, poverty and overall hardship. Amid a culture of carnival and revelry, desperate development realities continue to progressively render corresponding social woes and increasing levels of insecurity, including rising levels of various types of crime and violence.

Further, despite some evidence of development success, the region continues to struggle to meet that sought-after status of being developed. Many questions surround the

fate of Caribbean development -for example, -what actually constitutes development? How and when will the Caribbean get there? Can the universally prescribed definition of development meet the needs of a unique region? This dissertation treats questions similar to many of these that are continually posed across the Caribbean as individuals, policy experts, professionals, and researchers attempt to understand this complex fate of the Caribbean.

Purpose Statement

The purpose of this dissertation is to explore local, regional, and international factors that may impact development or lack of development in the Caribbean region. The study also seeks some explanation as to why in some countries, underdevelopment has persisted despite years of what may be regarded as development success. The dissertation has attempted to holistically assess the struggle with acquiring security and the status of being developed for the Caribbean region. On this quest, the research process has included analysis of the socio-cultural and other related anthropological peculiarities that may provide explanations or possible ideas related to h this inherent crisis. Further, the dissertation examines some of the most notable, as well as, some of the less common historico-political dynamics that influence the context within which the discussion of Caribbean development must occur.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

1. 1. How is it that with so much progress, the Caribbean region still remains undeveloped or underdeveloped?
 - a. What defines or characterizes development?
 - b. How does the definition and understanding of what constitutes development impact the Caribbean development shortfall?

2. How is development qualified and quantified?
 - a. What standards are used to assess Caribbean development and are these measures adequate?
 - b. How does the regions' unique character mandate a different or region-specific definition of development?

Hypothesis

Hypothesis 1: The CARICOM region will record different results related to development as the definition and measure of development changes.

Hypothesis 2: CARICOM countries will reflect different measurable outcomes when different variables are employed to assess identical domains and determinants of development such as health or education.

Hypothesis 3: the CARICOM region will attain the status of developed with the adoption of a Caribbean-centered model for development that defines development according to the needs and circumstances of the region.

Hypothesis 4: Caribbean-centered development plans such as the CARICOM Single Market Economy (CSME) will advance the region's and its member country's rank as developed.

Motivation and Relevance to the Discipline

Understandably, questions may arise regarding the significance of minute microstates to the greater global system and to the field of conflict analysis and resolution. And indeed, at first glance, it may be hard to fathom how the economic destiny of this miniscule region can actually have a bearing on the globe or discipline at all. As individuals wonder about the significance beyond academic interest and a short sighted search for original inquiry, the researcher and expensive goals of existing literature can highlight the fact that the region has played a substantial role in the development of other areas both near and far that must not be overlooked nor underestimated.

With such a heritage, it is imperative that the region's social, economic, political, and environmental character be preserved. Regional behavior must also be evaluated as these behavioral patterns relate to the Caribbean space itself, and as they extend to other partners and actors in the global system. Discussions of the traditional theoretical nature is not enough to relay the significance that lies in the fluid, dynamic and largely progressive character of a region, that in itself, characterizes a continuous movement and steadfast transition. I point, therefore, to a vacuum in almost non-existing pool of regional literature and discourse related to this character of dynamism as it impacts

development, in addition to the development literature more broadly as this relates to an ongoing and kinetic synthesis of operative variables.

While in the Caribbean, there exists an intersection between economic policy, colonial legacies and social structure that inherently dictates policy and economic activity, the classical economic and political theory tends to lack substantial critic of the rather common dichotomy that characterizes many of the countries emerging from Huntington's second wave of democratization (Huntington, 1984). To an extent, some of this void is addressed by this dissertation's emphasis on the existing link between the social, historical, and cultural Caribbean perspective, as a critical component and contributor or barrier to development at the local, regional and global levels.

The critical analysis of the significance of the Caribbean socio-cultural and historico-political phenomenon on local and regional development, as well as on the development of an exclusively dynamic space encourages further analysis related to how innate social realities can impact various global initiatives. Generally, the study points to the need for a more 'regionally-guided' approach to advancing Caribbean development, recognizing and building upon a context specific Caribbean reality and understanding the role of the region in light of the larger global framework for development.

Conceptual Approach

This dissertation puts forward research related to human development and social justice as these concepts directly relate to the general quest for peace and security within the broader field of conflict analysis and resolution. I approach this discussion as a peace researcher with full acknowledgement of the power of narratives to evolve into methodological instruments that can advance meaning within sub-disciplines. (1)

Recognizing that the sub-frame characterizing structural violence coexists with social injustice and advances human insecurity, and thus positioning peace studies and conflict resolution at the center of efforts to mitigate structural violence via the advancement of sustainable development. (2) Advancing the belief that development is directly related to human security, lasting peace and conflict evasion or resolution, thereby meriting a directed assessment of possible measures for confronting negative piece, social injustice and structural violence via a fusion of development and conflict theories.

Relationally, I posit that in order to advance an adequate and holistic region-specific paradigm, the constructivist ideal similar to that advanced by Bruner (1990), be intrinsically infused into the development-peace theory design. Constructivist ideals and the related evolution of instruments that advance meaning will create opportunities for narratives and experiences across the Caribbean region to evolve into a subset of instructional practices which may subsequently be used to infer meaning to the case of the Caribbean region. Constructivist methodology affords a medium within which practitioners may progressively relate meaning to the Caribbean development experience as it serves to connect the interrelated theories of peace and development studies.

Constructivism is most often defined as a philosophy as much as it comprises a set of instructional practices (Bruner 1990). As a philosophy, constructivism proposes that while the world and its global functions are real, there emerges no inherent or intrinsic meaning until and unless there is specific human interaction and understanding (Palan, 2000).

Consequently, one may espouse that significance and meaning must be derived from a context driven phenomenon. The advancement of a Caribbean development

model derived from experiences and related meaning must, therefore drive a regional based framework which supports development, rejects social justice and advances peace. Such a context-driven phenomenon must also progressively reflect the dynamism and continual change that characterizes the Caribbean region. As meaning is imposed by people and cultures, a true development framework must emerge from that very understanding of what encompasses Caribbean development and what the current regional needs and circumstances dictate.

A real time construction of the Caribbean-centered development paradigm must ultimately rely upon sound context-related experiences rather than on abstracted or artificial development simulations that better suit other areas of the world. As constructivist theory generally proposes, the related knowledge and understanding must not be imposed from the outside, but must instead encompass internal (Jackson, 2004), or in this case, regional and Caribbean-specific reflections and experiences. In so doing, regional policy makers may find emergent successes in the wake of combining region and context-specific information alongside that which has already been passed on through past experiences, as they construct a working model that advances regional development for the benefit of the region and beyond. The constructivist frame will allow regional policy makers the opportunity to make adjustments and accommodate peculiar Caribbean experiences.

With an acknowledgment of the premise of constructivist theory, which holds that understanding and success in international relations only emerges when relevant parties actively construct their own understanding (Houghton, 2007), it will be feasible to advance a Caribbean development standard capable of ushering in real success for peace

and development in the region. It is the region and its peoples who must directly discover and transform the complex Caribbean reality to advance the region's own conceptualizations and resolutions that address its own development problems. As regional policy framers interact with matters and events and gain knowledge and understanding of the significance of these events, they will become better positioned to conceptualize and frame policy options best suited the region.

Delimitations

The countries that make up the Caribbean community (CARICOM) have long and deep histories making each one worthy of complete and exhaustive study. The treatment of these very distinctive nation states largely as a regional group is typical in scholarly circles and emerges from a geographical, historical and political tradition that cannot absolutely reflect some of the deep and thick description necessary for comprehensive review (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Nevertheless, as a result of the incomplete and limited pools of data available, often stemming from the region's complex geo-climatic and colonial legacy, the study can only rely upon and reflect the information and data that these states utilize and share.

This dissertation therefore presents the details and data of several individual states as it attempts to provide a comprehensive and substantive study of the Caribbean region, all the while recognizing that statistical shortfalls exist, and compensating for this with some reliance on group data. Particularly, as it relates to presenting data initially gathered and disseminated from national country statistics offices, this dissertation relied upon the most comprehensive, adequate, and accurate sets of data available. In some instances, therefore, indicators may be detailed and assessed with data sets obtained from

foreign sources, although the researcher has maintained a certain level of consistency in order to present the most accurate and reflective data possible.

It must be underscored, however, that the task of collecting and gathering some pools of data for some of the cases sometimes proved futile and impossible. As such, the study presents data sets which are most reflective of the variables and indicators measured, using the particular descriptive format that affords the most clarity, and which allows readers to clearly make inferences. This means, that the researcher did not aspire to utilize the same graphical styles throughout the document, but instead, has relied upon graphical images that most clearly relate the data. Also, in one or two cases, the researcher must simply relate that certain portions of various data sets are non-existent. Overall, however a comprehensive pool of data is employed to relate a very detailed and picturesque assessment, affording reliable and reproducible descriptions, interpretations and explanations.

Beyond the limits of data collection, although the goal of considering and incorporating the human, cultural and ethnographical context lies at the heart of constructing a meaning and understanding of development, the region's extensively diverse heritage makes it unfeasibly varied and creates numerous functional barriers that limit the extent of the study's ethno-cultural surveillance. Likewise, while the cultural and ethnic colonial legacy could be significant in some cases, such influences, though addressed, will not be exhaustively pursued. Rather, this dissertation focuses principally on the conceptualization of development within the Caribbean context, according to different global models that qualify and give meaning to a host of economic and non-economic indicators.

Surveying Development: The Research Process

i. The Millennium Development Goals of Development¹¹

On the way to accessing the successes and limitations of the development scene in the Caribbean, the researcher has paid close attention to several variables that independently impact development. Each case (country unit) has been accessed in light of multiple variables in order to afford some idea of the state of development in the Caribbean region. Specifically, the researcher has assessed each case's experience with five key indicators- poverty, human security, education, equality and health, each defined by two variables and source data extracted from the United Nation's Millennium Development Goals matrix. The researcher has succinctly selected variables from across the MDG target list and has grouped them representatively for defining and scoring the key indicators.

The Poverty Indicator will comprise the MDG target 1.A to halve, between 1990 and 2015, the proportion of people whose income is less than one dollar a day. More precisely, the poverty variables will include Variable 1.1: the proportion of the population living below \$1.25 (PPP) per day and Variable 1.2: the proportion of the population living below the national poverty line.

¹¹ All of the MDG variables tested and assessed are derived from the MDG formulation and methodological prescriptions and descriptions outlined by the United Nations which may be retrieved at <http://mdgs.un.org/unsd/mdg/Metadata.aspx>.

The Human Security Indicator will comprise the MDG target 1.B: to achieve full and productive employment and decent work for all, including women and young people. Specifically, the human security variables will include Variable 2.1: the employment-to-population ratio and Variable 2.2: the purchasing power parities (PPP) conversion factor, local currency unit to international dollar.

The Education Indicator will comprise the MDG target 2.A to ensure that, by 2015, children everywhere, boys and girls alike, will be able to complete a full course of primary schooling. More precisely, the education variables will include Variable 3.1: Net enrollment ratio in primary education and Variable 3.2: Literacy rate of 15-24-year-olds, women and men.

The Equality Indicator will comprise the MDG Target 3.A: Eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education, preferably by 2005, and in all levels of education no later than 2015. Precisely, the Equality variables will include Variable 4.1: Ratios of girls to boys in primary, secondary and tertiary education and Variable 4.2: Share of women in wage employment in the non-agricultural sector.

Lastly, the Health Indicator will comprise the MDG Target 4.A: Reduce by two-thirds, between 1990 and 2015, the under-five mortality rate. Specifically, the health variables will comprise Variable 5.1 the under-five mortality rate and Variable 5.2: the proportion of the population using an improved drinking water source.

These indicators and variables have been strategically chosen as they offer key details on the assessment of living standards and the related goals of sustainable development. These variables also afford the researcher an opportunity to test the main

indicators via the use of standard measurements and procedures employed in computing the respective variable data. The United Nations publishes a comprehensive log of the metadata used to generate and collect these data sets. This affords the researcher a dependable, trustworthy, confirmable and credible source for accessing and testing data.

Despite the clear advantages of employing these particular variables and indicators in testing the researcher's hypotheses and addressing the research questions, the researcher acknowledges that in each case, there may exist limitations and weaknesses related to the variable choices employed. Nevertheless, the researcher sees more value than loss in choosing to evaluate these data sets.

Poverty Assessment

The \$1.25 a day poverty line stands as an important threshold below which individuals are considered poor. This figure corresponds to the value of the poverty line in some of the poorest areas across the globe and so provides a comparative indication of poverty. The measure presents a standard for assessing extreme poverty that allows comparisons to be made across countries when it is converted using PPP exchange rates for consumption. A standard poverty measure calculated according to a global standard presents an opportunity to put a real value to the poverty line constant over time. This assists with the measurement of progress in the way of fighting poverty.

The poverty line measure is relayed in percentage form and is calculated using either consumption or income data, collected from national household surveys. Consumption is regarded as the preferred figure as opposed to income for measuring poverty since income is more difficult to measure precisely and since it can vary over

time even if the standard of living may not vary with it.

The formula for calculating this indicator is:

$$P_0 = \frac{1}{N} \sum_{i=1}^N I(y_i \leq z) = \frac{N_p}{N}$$

where P_0 represents the headcount index.

Measuring poverty requires measurement at the very micro level and as such the data is gathered using household income or consumption expenses and is gathered from national surveys and only nationally representative surveys that provide adequate information that can relay a complete income figure is used. Despite the important data obtained from this measure, the researcher recognizes various limits linked to the use of this indicator in assessing the situation of poverty and development in the Caribbean. For example, while the poverty rate is a useful tool for policy makers to employ as a guide for development policy, this measure does not reveal the complexity of poverty and fails to reflect the fact that some individuals and households may be living just below the poverty line while others live far below the poverty line. Nevertheless, the researcher recognizes this measure as a universally accepted threshold which allows for comparing the situation in the Caribbean to that elsewhere in the world.

Recognizing that the proportion of the population in each country profiled living below the \$1.25 (PPP) per day global poverty line only tells one side of the story, it is important that the researcher assess the proportion of people living below each country's

(case unit) national poverty line. This variable will assess the proportion of the national population living below the national poverty line set in each country, according to national trends, and in the case of this research project, the poverty line set for the CARICOM region.

This indicator will be expressed as a percentage and will reflect local and regional perceptions of the level of consumption or income needed to stay out of poverty in the Caribbean. National poverty figures are key measures for setting national and even regional policies for combating poverty and for observing the effectiveness of policies put in place. The proportion of the population living below the poverty line in each country is calculated using either consumption or income data that is collected via nationally held household surveys. The United Nations explains that whenever possible, consumption data is used as the preferred data set as opposed to income data for measuring poverty.

The formula for calculating the proportion of the population living below the national poverty line is also known as the headcount index and is:

$$P_0 = \frac{1}{N} \sum_{i=1}^N I(y_i \leq z) = \frac{N_p}{N}$$

where P_0 is the headcount index.

Like the measure of the proportion of a population living below \$1.25 (PPP) per day there are also limits with the amount of information that can be derived from the data related to the proportion of the population living below a national poverty line. For example, according to the UN, national poverty lines are used to measure poverty

estimates that are only consistent with a particular nation's specific economic and social environment and therefore, it is not intended for international comparisons or even for regional or cross regional comparisons. Particularly in the case of the region as diverse as the Caribbean, there can be flaws in accessing one nation's poverty rate in comparison to another. Nevertheless, this measure has afforded the researcher valuable information regarding the situation of poverty and development within the respective countries comprising CARICOM.

Human Security Assessment

The researcher, in accessing the development situation across the Caribbean, remains mindful of the role of employment in any country. As such, a key variable for analysis will comprise the employment-to-population ratio. The employment-to-population ratio measures the proportion of a nation's working-aged population actually employed. This indicator is expressed as a percentage and provides researchers and policy experts critical data regarding the health of an economy as this relates to the ability for an economy to provide employment for those who desire work. In calculating the employment-to-population ratio analysts survey the number of persons employed in relation to the number of working-aged people making up a country's population. The data is calculated by measuring the number of persons employed divided by the working-age population and then multiplying that figure by 100.

$$\textit{Employment - to - population ratio} = \frac{\textit{Persons employed}}{\textit{Working age population}} \times 100$$

In order to calculate this figure data is gathered from national population censuses, labor force surveys and other household surveys, in addition to various other establishment surveys, administrative records and official estimates obtained from national and local sources. According to the United Nations, however, it is important that both the employment and population figures come from the same source.

As with the measures assessing poverty, the researcher realizes that there are limitations associated with assessments of the employment-to-population ratio. For example, this particular indicator may only provide data about those who are formerly employed, leaving out those employed in formerly and those who may be self-employed. As such, the data may not portray a wholly accurate picture. Further, experts highlight that this measure, while it provides details related to the number of employed persons, it does not provide details related to the quality of work or the conditions of employment, factors that may affect overall living standards and that may also directly influence the choices made in relation to securing work or remaining unemployed.

Beyond the employment to population ratio, therefore, the researcher will also assess levels of security by the survey and analysis of data related to the purchasing power parities (PPP), as this will detail patterns of private consumption across the region surveyed. The purchasing power parity reports the units of a particular country's currency that an individual will need to buy the same amount of goods and services in his respective domestic market, as a U.S. dollar would buy in the United States. This dissertation has relied on the United Nations MDG database recording the global

consumption PPP rates obtained from estimates from International Comparison Program (ICP) surveys.

PPPs for consumption are computed as a component of GDP, with the sources and methods used to compile GDP-PPP, remaining similar to that used to compile consumption PPP in general. PPPs comprise expenditure-weighted averages of the relative prices of an extensive number of goods and services on which people spend their incomes. Calculations of PPPs therefore require two sets of data including the GDP expenditure divided into 155 comprehensive components in addition to the national annual average prices of a sample of comparable items representing these goods and services. Data on basic categories of goods and services and their prices are collected within countries and are then aggregated at the regional level. Using consumption estimates the PPP conversion affords the opportunity for national account aggregates in national currencies to be compared according to the respective purchasing powers of the currencies in their relevant domestic markets. This affords a more accurate measurement as it evades issues related to differences in price levels across countries and across time.

Despite this, the researcher recognizes the limitations that assessments employing PPP may pose. Particularly, the researcher is mindful of the fact that purchasing power parities constitute mere statistical estimates, and as such, these values fall within some margin of error related to any unknown values or any unreliable or skewed expenditure weights and price data gathered. Additionally, the researcher understands that consumption patterns may fluctuate across time and across regions and that further, consumption patterns may not truly represent the consumption ability of individuals. Moreover, because the time series employed for PPP conversion factors are obtained by

deducing benchmark year data to other years, values deduced from one base year to another could possibly be quite different from those related to the base year survey. Even with these potential flaws, however, the purchasing power parity has afforded the researcher an opportunity to survey the ability of individuals across the Caribbean region to purchase and access needed and/or desired goods and services, which according to national or international standards is associated with acceptable standards of living.

Education Assessment

The state of education in a country can often reveal some of the key issues surrounding development and the opportunities for development in that country. Standards of education and literacy are often related to other factors associated with poverty. Education also influences other poverty related variables such as health, employment and income. The researcher therefore has surveyed the information gathered across the Caribbean related to the net enrolment ratio in primary education.

The net enrolment rate (NER) in primary education, according to the United Nations constitutes the ratio of the number of children of official primary school age who are enrolled in primary education program in relation to the total population of children of official primary school age across the country. This figure is then expressed as a percentage. Net enrolment ratio in primary education may be used to evaluate and gauge the progress of country has made toward realizing the goal of achieving universal primary education (UPE). The measure considers the fact that net enrollment only refers to students of primary school age as opposed to gross enrolment that constitutes students of all ages. To calculate this figure, the method of computation calls firstly for detail

regarding the population of official primary school aged students living in the country .The number of students of primary school age enrolled in primary school education is then divided by the population for the same age-group and the result is multiplied by 100.

$$NER_p^t = \frac{E_{p,a}^t}{P_{p,a}^t} \times 100$$

where :

NER_p^t = Net enrolment rate in primary education p in school year t

$E_{p,a}^t$ = Enrolment of the population of age group a in primary education p in school year t

$P_{p,a}^t$ = Population of age group a, which officially corresponds to primary education p in school year t

The flaw and limit in this calculation includes the fact that in many countries across the globe, and as is the case particularly in the Caribbean, many students enter primary school early and advance to secondary school before they reach the official upper age limit of primary education. This is problematic as the NER does not account for these students. Recognizing that education can be key for advancing development, particularly in the case of a region as complex as the Caribbean, the researcher finds the need to evaluate education beyond the first grades of school. As such, case units will be surveyed in light of the literacy rates of 15 to 24-year olds, including women and men.

The literacy rates of 15 to 24 year olds, including women and men across the various countries of the Caribbean reveal the proportion of the population between the ages of 15 and 24 years who are literate and can read as well as write and who can understand a short simple statement related to typical life. This essentially measures the literacy rates of youth and therefore reveals valuable information regarding social progress and related economic improvement. This criterion measures the complement of the illiteracy rate, however, and so does not provide information about functional literacy

in terms of that needed to participate more fully across broad spectrums of a society. The youth literacy rate therefore is measured by computing the number of people between the ages of 15 and 24 who are literate divided by the total population comprising that same age group and multiplied by 100.

$$LR_{15-24}^t = \frac{L_{15-24}^t}{P_{15-24}^t} \times 100$$

where:

LR_{15-24}^t = Literacy rate of age group 15 - 24 in year t

L_{15-24}^t = Literate population of age group 15 - 24 in year t

P_{15-24}^t = Population of age group 15 - 24 in year t

Equality Assessment

A key indicator of development surrounds the opportunities available for women and girls in a particular society. The researcher has thus will assessed the *ratio* of girls to boys in primary education, comprising the Gender Parity Index, in order to evaluate the state of equity across the region. This will highlight trends related to equity considering the significance of equity and gender parity on development. The ratio between the Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER) of girls and the Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER) of boys, in primary education will reveal the trends across the region.

This measure is of particular importance, as gender parity in accessing and participating in educational activity is one of the primary steps on the way to gender equality in education and beyond. Researchers acknowledge that eliminating gender disparity at various levels of education can directly result in recorded and apparent improvement in the health and well-being of women. This in turn serves as a long-term

gain in strengthening families and strengthening the position of women in their families and societies. Additionally, there emerges direct link between gender equality and the incidence of economic opportunities, civic engagement and political participation.

Without a doubt, a mother's level of education can have a direct positive influence on her children's own education and her family's health in general.

The GPI figure is calculated by dividing the female GER by the male GER at various levels of education after initial calculations of the official school aged population is done. After this figure is established, the number of pupils enrolled in each level of education is divided by the official school age population for that level of education, and the result is then multiplied by 100. To conduct this test, data on school enrolment is typically obtained from a department or ministry of education or may come from national surveys and censuses. The GER for male students and female students must be assessed independently in order to obtain an accurate result using the formula:

$$GER_k^t = \frac{E_k^t}{P_{k,a}^t} \times 100$$

where:

GER_k^t = Gross Enrolment Ratio at level of education h in school year t

E_k^t = Enrolment at the level of education h in school year t

$P_{k,a}^t$ = Population in age group a which officially corresponds to the level of education h in school year t

Another key indicator of the role of gender equity on the way to advancing development includes a close look at the share of women in wage employment outside of the agricultural sector. This variable provided the researcher with data regarding the degree with which women have equal access to paid employment in areas such as

industry and services. As recent years have shifted work and production away from farms and towards service and industry, it is critical to assess if women have made that shift alongside men in a society. The opportunity for women to participate in various sectors also sheds light on how much labor markets are open to women as equal participants in the industry and services job market. This then reveals data related to the opportunity for equal employment for women and the opportunity for such activity to influence households and communities.

In order to assess this data, the share of women involved in total employment, those unemployed and those considered economically active must all be taken into account so that the share of women in wage employment in the non-agricultural sector can be calculated as equal to the total number of women in wage employment in the industrial and service sectors, divided by the total number of people in paid employment in that same sector, multiplied by 100. National census figures will typically be used to obtain the various sets of data for computation of the formula:

$$\text{Share of women in non - agricultur al wage employment} = \frac{\text{women in non - agricultur al wage employment}}{\text{Total people in non - agricultur al wage employment}} \times 100$$

Like in the case with many other variables, the researcher recognizes that there are obvious limits linked to the story that these figures tell. For example, though the data sheds light on the number of women accessing employment outside of agriculture, it does not reveal any information on the quality of employment, the real wages earned, or the conditions of work endured.

Health Assessment

Health has been widely regarded as a telling determinant of development since, a healthy population can impact the scene characterizing the capability and capacity of an entire workforce. Similarly, the incidence of a healthy population directly impacts some of the realities linked to education across a society, including civic and political participation and the overall human capacity of a populace. With that in mind, the researcher has assessed several factors related to health and the survey of health as a determinant of development.

This variable, the Under-five Infant Mortality rate considers the probability for a child born in a particular year to die before reaching the age of five years old. This indicator is expressed in terms of the number of deaths for each 1,000 live births related to the period in question.

The variable is assessed simply by calculating the number of deaths of children under five years old of a particular year divided by the number of live births in the same year and then the figure is multiplied by 1,000. The formula employed is:

$$U5MR(n) = \frac{D(0-4,n)}{B(n)} \times 1,000$$

where U5MR(n) is the under-five mortality rate for the calendar year n; D (0-4, n) is the number of children aged 0 to 4 during year n and who died during year n; and B (n) is the number of live births occurring during year n.

Data for these calculations is collected from the vital statistics and registration programs across countries, localities and regions of the globe. Data is also obtained from a number of national population censuses and numerous household surveys conducted by various global programs. Several limitations are nevertheless, recognized, as the researcher understands that some of the data used for compiling the information on under-five mortality may be incomplete and untimely.

Indeed, health constitutes a key indicator in surveying well-being and development. In assessing the health as a factor influencing development, the researcher has also evaluated access of the respective populations to clean drinking water. The MDG indicator employed in surveying access to water in the case units is described by the United Nations as the proportion of the population using an improved drinking water source. The measure calculates the percentage of the population who use any of a variety of water supply options for drinking, including piped water into a dwelling, yard or plot of land; access to a public tap or standpipe; or access to a well or spring, and even access to reliable collections of rainwater or bottled water. The measure of water access under the MDG framework does not include unprotected wells and spring, nor water provided by carts, tanker trucks, or from surface sources such as rivers, ponds, dams, lakes or streams.

The variable is measured by computing the ratio of the number of people with improved access to drinking water sources in relation to the total population and is expressed as a percentage. The data employed is derived from nationally representative household surveys and national censuses that can sometimes be adjusted to facilitate

comparability among data and over time. The matrix includes survey and census data for urban as well as rural areas, which is plotted onto a time scale evaluating the period from 1992 to 2012. A linear trend line that employs the least-squares process is employed with the data points in order to estimate urban and rural coverage for the baseline year of 1990 and for the year related to the most recent available estimate.

While this indicator appears simple, the researcher acknowledges that there are weaknesses in these calculations. Particularly, the measure does not reflect the availability and access to water suitable for drinking. Further, the measure employed does not take into account the time and resources employed in getting access to these improved water sources. Additionally, as the United Nations itself highlights, the figures reported from notional governments, only provide data for these sources based on construction of sources from government related programs or water utilities. It could, therefore, not reflect new access put in place by private individuals. This measure, nevertheless, as it employs the same measure to report and record data over time, has been useful in showing changes in water access and thus in health, based on the data available.

ii. The Human Development Index

In order to comparatively examine the success of development relative to its definition, the model employed for defining development as proposed by the Human Development Index has also been assessed by the researcher. The United Nations has measured the Human Development Index (HDI) of its member states for almost five decades. The framework proposes to measure the development progress of nations

according to a baseline formula for referencing development, by assessing three main components, life expectancy, education and income.

This methodology utilizes these indicators of development by way of an index scoring system that positions the score of the units and subjects assessed relative to a minimum and maximum figure, setting a goalpost to show where each country ranks relative to a standard in each category.

To calculate the three dimensions the following methodology is employed:

In measuring life expectancy, a minimum of 20 and maximum of 83.2 is employed and the calculations are computed as follows:

Life expectancy:

$$= \frac{LE - 20}{82.3 - 20}$$

To measure education the formula tests the average number of years of education attained by people who are 25 years and older, using a minimum value of 0 and a maximum of 13.2. The calculations are computed as follows:

$$\text{Mean Years of Schooling Index (MYSI)} = \frac{MYS}{13.2}$$

$$\text{Expected Years of Schooling Index (EYSI)} = \frac{EYS}{20.6}$$

$$\text{Education: } = \frac{\sqrt{MYSI \cdot EYSI}}{0.951}$$

Lastly, for measuring income, the formula uses a minimum value of 163 (PPP USD) and a maximum of 108211 (PPP USD), in assessing an index of the gross national income (GNI). The calculations are computed as follows:

Income:

$$= \frac{\ln(\text{GNIpc}) - \ln(100)}{\ln(107,721) - \ln(100)}$$

The research Logic

The researcher recognizes that the definition and idea of development is a critical influencing factor in terms of measuring development success. In order to test this theory, the researcher has surveyed two different global measures and definitions of development, that prescribed by the Millennium Development Goals and the other assessed by the Human Development Index. In addressing this, the researcher proposes hypothesis (H1) which asserts that the CARICOM region will record different results related to development, as the definition and measure of development changes. H1 attends to RQ1b: How does the definition and understanding of development impact the Caribbean development shortfall? H1 also treats RQ2a: What standards are used to assess Caribbean development and are these measures adequate?

The reality of employing various indicators and variables in both measures used to assess development globally introduces an opportunity for variance findings, relative to the variables measured, in accordance with the actual methodology, HDI or MDG used. To survey this issue, the researcher poses H2 and asserts that: CARICOM

countries will reflect different measurable outcomes when different variables are employed to assess identical domains and determinants of development such as health or education.

The unique character of the Caribbean region and its invariably different component states may result in perpetually different results for identical policy options implemented to advance development. This line of inquiry relates to RQ2b: How does the regions' unique character mandate a different or region-specific definition of development? This issue is particularly important as the researcher has attempted to survey options and paths for advancing a regional development strategy. Examining the patterns and experience of the region in relation to various development approaches will be key for advancing the right strategy for realizing the regions development goals. The findings in this regard will provide critical analyses relevant for choosing and designing development policies, and for choosing various variables mapping paths to development success. Ultimately, thus the research proposes the H3, which treats the overarching motivation of the study, proposing that: the CARICOM region will attain the status of developed with the adoption of a Caribbean-centered model for development [...]. More specifically, the researcher proposes H4 that: Caribbean-centered development plans such as the CARICOM Single Market Economy (CSME) will advance the region's and its member country's rank as developed.

Credibility, Transferability, Dependability and Confirmability

The scale and scope of this research study required that the researcher pay particular attention to issues related to credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability which ultimately determines whether the researcher, the research process and research findings are regarded as trustworthy (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Credibility has been established as the researcher's judgment is recognized as sensible and reasonable in light of the operational links established between the purpose of the study, the methodology employed, the data collected and explored, and the overall presentation of findings (Jones, Torres, & Arminio, 2006). In order to present an inclusive overview that recognizes the importance of presenting a credible, accurate, dependable and confirmable assessment of the Caribbean development situation, and of the opportunities for the future, the researcher has purposefully selected the case units, resources for analysis, and the modes of analysis for testing the hypothesis and answering the research questions.

Transferability has been accomplished through the provision of thick and rich description (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Merriam, 1998) and via a concerted effort to present thorough accounts that shed light on the situation and experiences being detailed, documented and discussed. The researcher has attempted to thoroughly detail the scene comprising the Caribbean development experience, the historical significances impacting development, and the unique characteristics that hinder or help in defining the overall context. Ultimately, the researcher aspired to present a context driven research study that can influence the development of a Caribbean constructed framework for assessing and mapping Caribbean development.

On the quest towards advancing a study that reflects and affords confirmability, the researcher has maintained a number of written and electronic resource maps that serve as a cross-referencing log of the journey undertaken throughout the research process and which can be audited and reviewed (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The researcher also maintained a journal throughout the data selection and collection process, in order to map the various sectors, levels and cross-sectional frames which are required for presenting a complete picture of the subject and its related sub-categories. The journal was used to track progress, record thoughts, experiences, considerations, observations, and concerns related to the research topic and the actual study. It has been used as a directional guide, ensuring the assessment of a broad spectrum of possible data and detail. This served as a physical, usable chain with which to link the research questions, data gathered, and evidence assessed by the researcher, ultimately allowing the research project to advance towards a conclusion (Yin, 2003).

Trustworthiness

The steps undertaken to ensure credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability has effectively assured trustworthiness within the context of the qualitative research method employed for the study (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Simultaneously, the steps taken towards advancing and ensuring confirmability and dependability have advanced the goals of attaining transferability and credibility.

Ethical Standards

Ultimately, it was the job of the researcher to ensure that high standards of ethics were adhered to throughout the research process. Ethical considerations must be at the

heart of the qualitative research process and qualitative researchers are to remain dedicated to promoting ethical research standards, keeping ethics in mind at all points of the research process (Marshall & Rossman, 1995). The manipulation of data in the assessment of variables has been done in an efficient and effective manner that minimizes any tainting or skewing of information. Similarly, the provision of descriptions and informational overviews reflect an accurate picture of the reality assessed. The researcher has therefore worked hard to provide complete and accurate representations of the information gathered and the data assessed. Further, the researcher has ensured that ethical principles have been adhered to when discussing the research subject with data analysts and sources concerned the data during the data collection phase. These data collection discussions were all precluded with the understanding by all involved, that the researcher was involved in a research process and sought to acquire information to gain insight and further understanding of the research subject.

Conclusion

The flexibility and manipulative character of the case study research method has permitted this dissertation to assess each of the cases in a manner that allowed for both inductive and deductive inquiry. The methodology allowed the researcher the opportunity to assess criteria related to a host of topics in order to arrive at a comprehensive picture that took into account the peculiarities of the region, its historical significance, as well as its current experiments and attempts to craft a successful development destiny. The opportunity to employ thick description as well as empirical data afforded the structure that this research project required.

Chapter IV: Results

Introduction

This chapter will present the results and findings related to how various frameworks that measure development may influence the understanding of development, and thus, may define development. The researcher has first presented findings related to the framework for defining development posited by the Millennium Development Goals. Details and findings are then presented for assessing development according to the Human Development Index framework. The researcher has gathered both visual and textual descriptions of the results of each of the variables related to the five MDG indicators surveyed for each of the six countries assessed in the case study. Subsequently, visual and textual descriptions are detailed for the results of each of the HDI variables assessed for each of the six countries.

In presenting the data, the researcher has used the results gathered to extract patterns and trends that offer explanations of what each variable reveals in light of each country's development success, as measured by the particular variable and the respective indicator and determinant of development. In each case, the researcher highlights patterns found across the countries as per a particular variable and indicator. Further, the researcher highlights corresponding, and complimentary trends and patterns found between the MDG and HDI frameworks, which ultimately determine how development may be understood and defined.

This chapter primarily relies upon graphical images of the data collected in order to present the results in a manner that not only clearly reflects trends and patterns, but which also offers an opportunity to easily recognize patterns wherein a country may

experience increases or declines in terms of a particular variable. Graphic descriptions have allowed the opportunity to easily examine and compare data gathered. These visual datasets are thus used to support the textual summaries made as the researcher has attempted to assess and extract patterns and connections that can generate explanations.

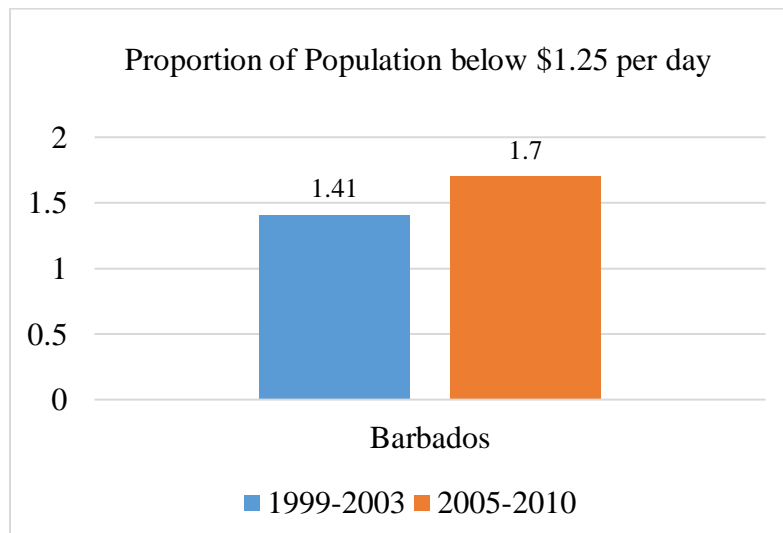
The Caribbean's Development Standing: The MDG Framework

I. The Poverty Indicator

Variable 1.1: Proportion of the population living below \$1 (PPP) per day

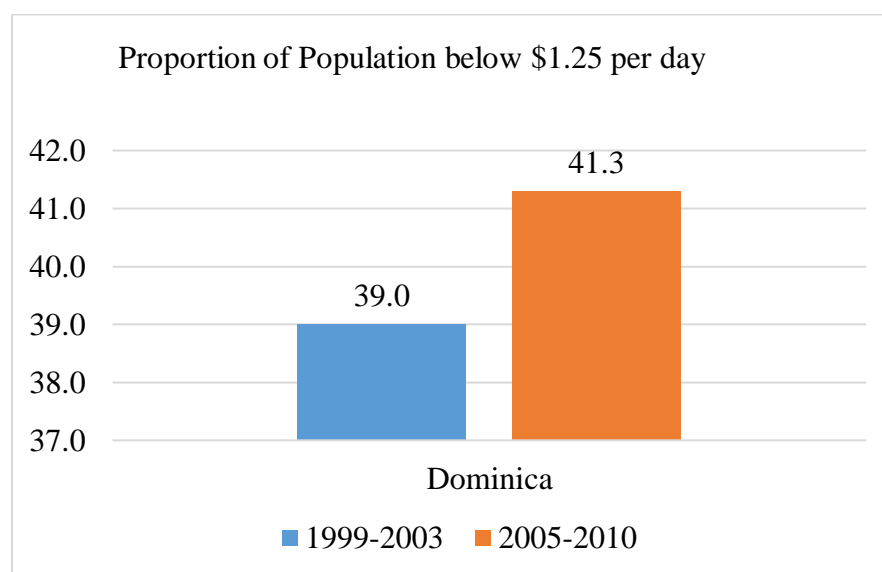
The results below detail and document the levels of poverty in each of the six cases measured by the population living below \$1.25 (PPP) per day.

Figure 1.



In Barbados, as in many other countries in the Caribbean, data detailing the proportion of the population living in poverty is compiled and collected alongside other census data and is reported in incremental periods such as between 1999 and 2003 and between 2005 and 2010. The case of poverty as reflected by the proportion of the population of Barbados living below \$1.25 per day details an increasing trend, wherein the number of people living below \$1.25 per day increased from about 1.41% of the population to approximately 1.7%. While the figure is near 0, and while the increase constitutes an increase of less than 3 percent, the trend continues to support the upward moving pattern for poverty across time in Barbados, much like the case of several other Caribbean countries.

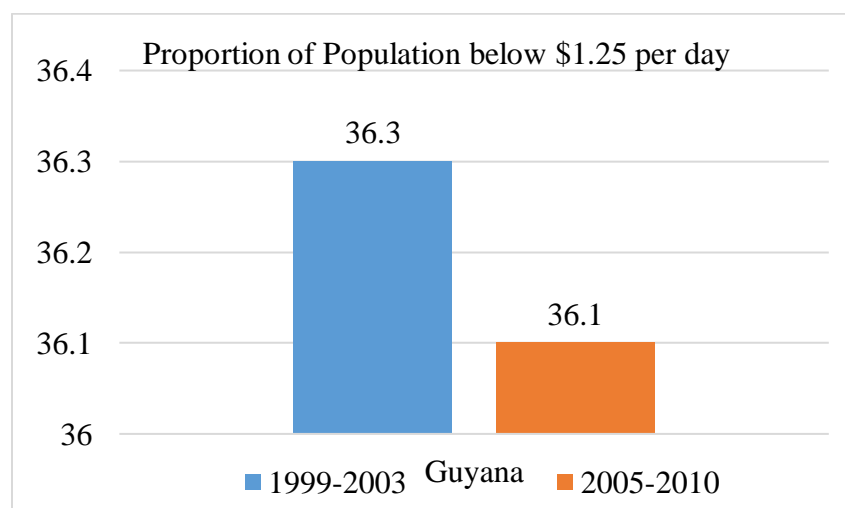
Figure 2.



Like in the case of Barbados, Dominica compiles and reports data regarding the proportion of the population living in poverty alongside other census data and it also issues statistical reports in incremental periods. The story of poverty as measured by the

proportion of the population of Dominica living below \$1 .25 per day is like the pattern observed in Barbados. Dominica reports an increasing trend, with the number of people living below \$1.25 per day poverty threshold increasing significantly from about 39.0% of the population to approximately 41.3%, an increase of more than 2%. With a relatively high rate of poverty in Dominica, a figure, almost nearing half of the population, any increase may threaten stability and invite conflict. This signals the need for continued efforts to address the issue of poverty.

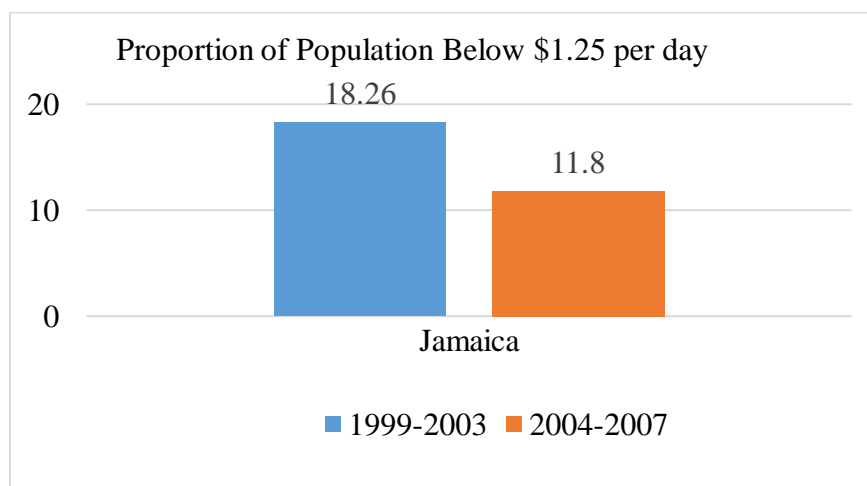
Figure 3.



Guyana, a South American mainland CARICOM state, also relays data related to measuring poverty via an assessment of the proportion of the population living below the \$1.25 per day mark, in periodical increments. Guyana has shown a positive downward trend in the proportion of Guyanese living below the \$1 .25 per day threshold. This slow-moving decreasing trend remained constant between 1999 and 2010 with the number of people living below \$1.25 per day decreasing slightly from approximately 36.3% of the population to 36.1% of the Guyanese population. After wrestling for decades to bring

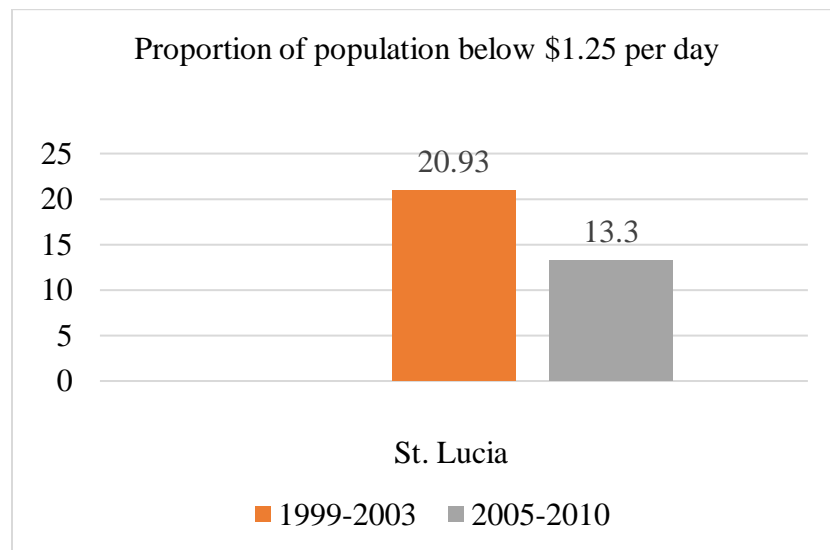
about a decreasing poverty trend, this decrease, though small and slow represents a pattern of success for Guyana and attests to the positive results of several anti-poverty programs instituted across the country.

Figure 4.



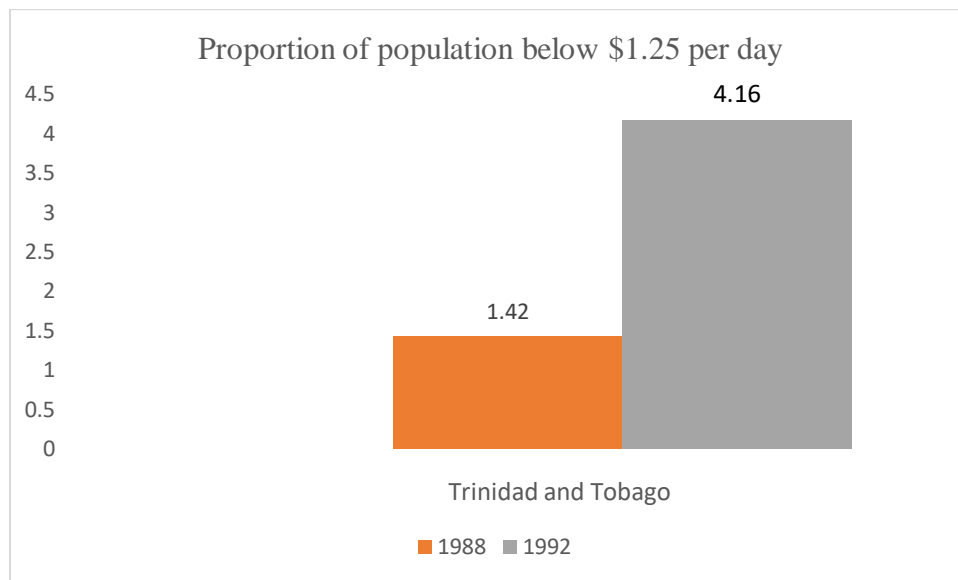
In Jamaica, poverty measured according to the proportion of the population living below the \$1.25 per day standard reflects a decreasing trend wherein the proportion of the population living below the one dollar per day (\$1.25 USD current), international standard, has declined from about 18.26% to approximately 11.8%. This pattern is consistent with that of other large Caribbean countries where a decline in the population living below the dollar per day threshold was also reported. Like in Guyana, the Jamaican authorities regard this decline as directly related to steps taken and policies implemented to target the poverty crisis.

Figure 5.



In St. Lucia, another of the smaller island states, the poverty indicator assessed via data related to the proportion of the population living below the \$1.25 per day standard relates a decreasing trend where the percentage of the population living below the \$1.25 per day threshold has moved downwards from approximately a 20.93% to about 13.3%. This pattern is different from that of Barbados and Dominica, two of the other smaller countries of the Caribbean where the proportion of those living below the \$1.25 per day mark increased slightly.

Figure 6.



Trinidad and Tobago had reported an increase in the proportion of the population living below the \$1.25 per day mark as of the year 1992. In the case of Trinidad and Tobago, however, the researcher has gathered that in the period after this point, as per the poverty indicator measured according to the proportion of the population living below the \$1.25 per day variable, that the results most nearly matches that of Figure 12 which represents the proportion of the population living below the national poverty line. The national poverty line standard set in Trinidad and Tobago relates very closely to the international \$1.25 standard. While the most recent and accurate data available regarding the specific \$1.25 global standard only relays the most recent year as 1992, seen in Figure 6, it can be inferred that because of the correlation to the national standard set, the variable should reflect a decreasing trend. Despite this, the researcher refers to the assessments relayed by the UNOHRLLS that monitors this progress of SIDS, which has

reported that Trinidad and Tobago remains one of the SIDS with the highest population living below \$1.25 poverty rate (UNOHRLLS 2013c).

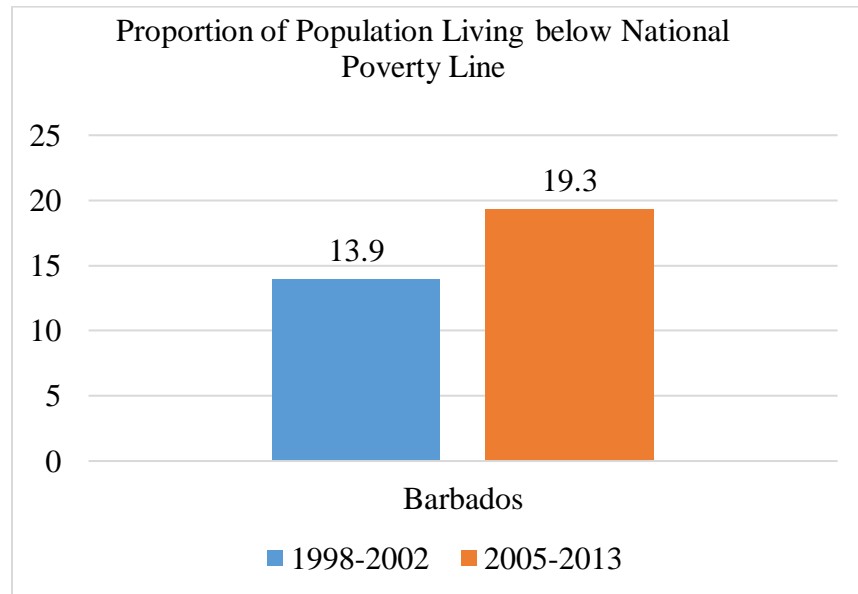
Variable 1.1 Development Findings Overview

While the data reveals that progress is being made with regard to the reduction of poverty as per international standards and measures assessing extreme poverty, there remains a large discrepancy between current poverty levels and internationally acceptable norms in the levels of poverty that would still relate development success across the Caribbean region. The various case units used to assess the Caribbean development scene highlighted some positive trends and a generally similar pattern regarding poverty across the region. The regional poverty rate measured according to the \$1.25 per day variable in general reflects a pattern of decrease. Even in countries where there was some increase, these increases tended to be relatively small and tended to be compensated by a number of newly instituted or newly overhauled social programs according to national government and global agency reports.

Variable 1.2: The proportion of the population living below national poverty line

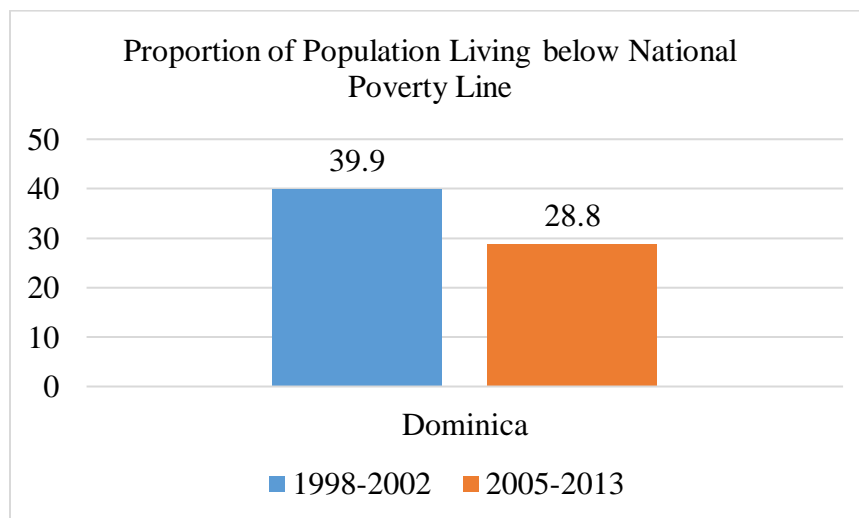
The national poverty rate comprises the percentage of a total population living below the national poverty line established for that country. The results below detail the levels of poverty (Indicator 1), in each of the six cases, measured according to variable 1.2, the proportion of the population living below the national poverty line.

Figure 7.



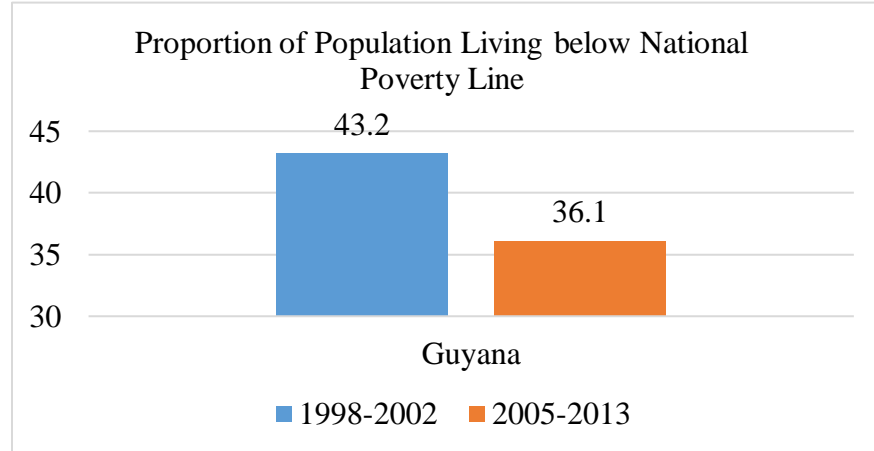
In Barbados, the poverty indicator reflected by the proportion of the population of Barbados living below the national poverty line reveals an increasing trend, wherein the number of people living below the national poverty line increased from about 13.9% of the population to approximately 19.3% between 1998 and 2013. The trend reveals that despite programs and efforts to combat poverty, there remains an increase in the incidence of reported pockets of poverty in Barbados.

Figure 8.



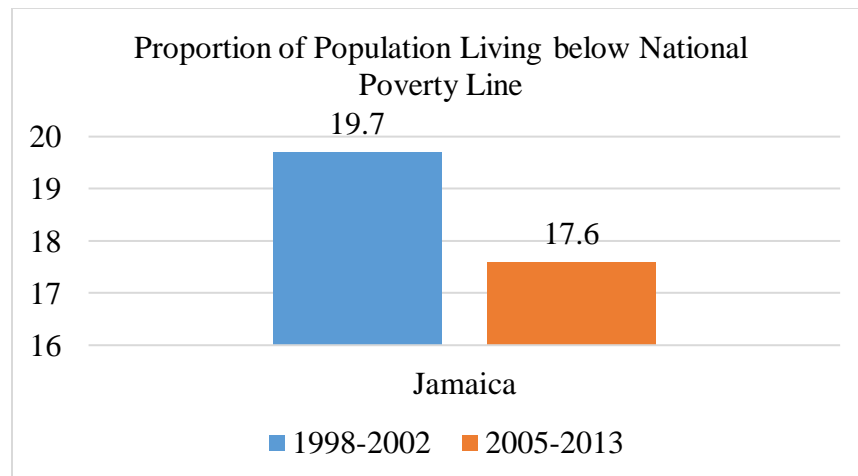
The poverty indicator as measured by the variable, the proportion of the population of Dominica living below the national poverty line reveals a situation that is different from the experience in Barbados. Dominica reports a decreasing trend, with the number of people living below the national poverty line falling from about 39.9% of the population to approximately 28.8%, a drop of more than 10% of the population, although the percentage of those living in extreme poverty, below the \$1.25 per day poverty line increased (see Figure 2).

Figure 9.



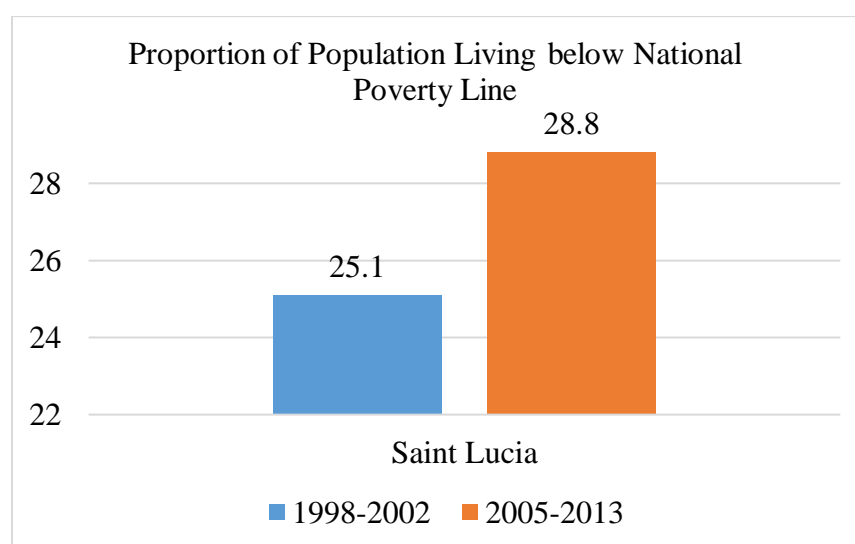
Guyana has shown a consistent downward trend across the poverty indicator, and as with the variable measuring the proportion of the population living below \$1.25 per day standard, the proportion of the Guyanese population living below the national poverty level has also decreased significantly from 43.2% to 36.1%, a decrease of more than 7% of the population.

Figure 10.



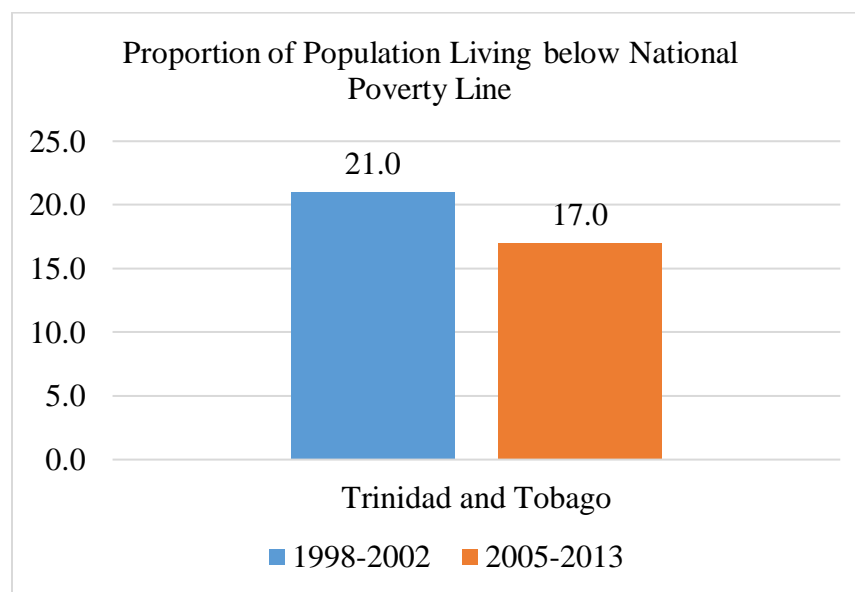
In Jamaica, poverty measured according to the proportion of the population living below the national poverty line reflects a decreasing trend wherein the percent of the population living below the national poverty line threshold has declined from about 19.7% to about 17.6%. This pattern is consistent with other measures of poverty including the proportion of the Jamaican population living below the \$1.25 per day figure (see Figure 4).

Figure 11.



In St. Lucia, the poverty indicator assessed via the proportion of the population living below the national poverty level reveals a pattern similar to that of Barbados and Dominica, two of the other smaller countries of the Caribbean, with an increase from approximately a 25.1% to about 28.8%. Also, like the case of Barbados and Dominica, government authorities in St. Lucia continue to express the need for more poverty reduction schemes, in addition to the support of the international community in recognizing the plight of Small Island Developing States (SIDS).

Figure 12.



In the case of Trinidad and Tobago the poverty indicator measured according to the proportion of the population living below the national poverty line, again reflects data matching the pattern observed in the other large countries such as Jamaica and Guyana. The proportion of the population living below the national poverty line declined steadily between 1998 and the start of 2013, from about 21% to about 17%.

Variable 1.2 Development Findings Overview

Like the findings related to the proportion of the population across the Caribbean region living below the \$1.25 per day threshold, the data reveals that progress has also been made regarding the poverty indicator assessed according to national poverty standards. The various case units relayed an overall positive trend related to reducing poverty rates. Although in a few cases slight increases were evident, the general pattern reflected a decline in poverty rates in the region.

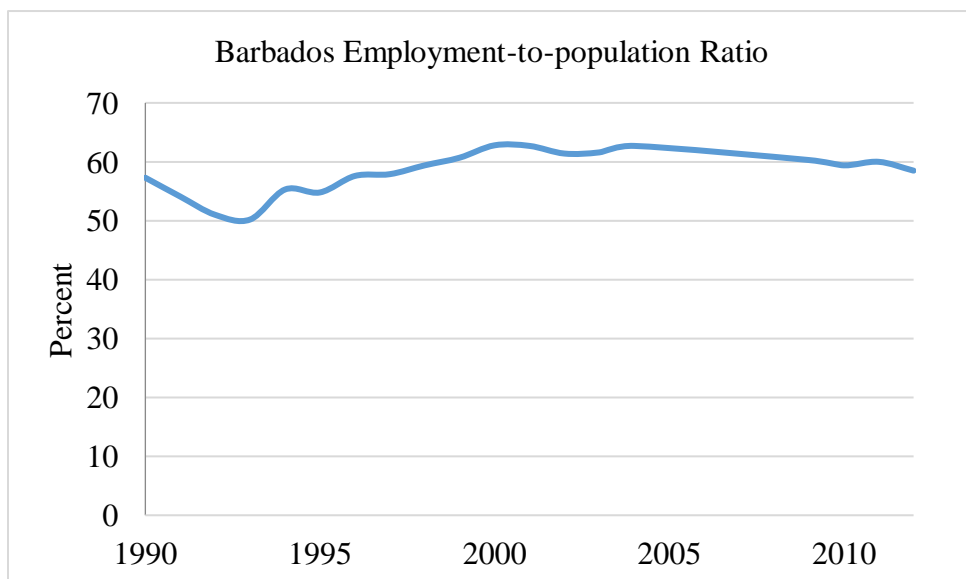
II. The Human Security Indicator

Human security comprises the opportunity to live sustainable lives that include access to the basic and necessary human needs, which range from food to healthcare, as much as this must include access to the opportunity to live lives free of violence and physical harm. As such, human security includes the freedom from fear of starvation, diseases and the like, and consequently must be assessed through analysis of the propensity or possibility to realize these goals and to avoid or minimize these fears. The security afforded to individuals in the workforce, therefore, directly corresponds to patterns of human security across countries.

Variable 2.1: Employment-to-population Ratio

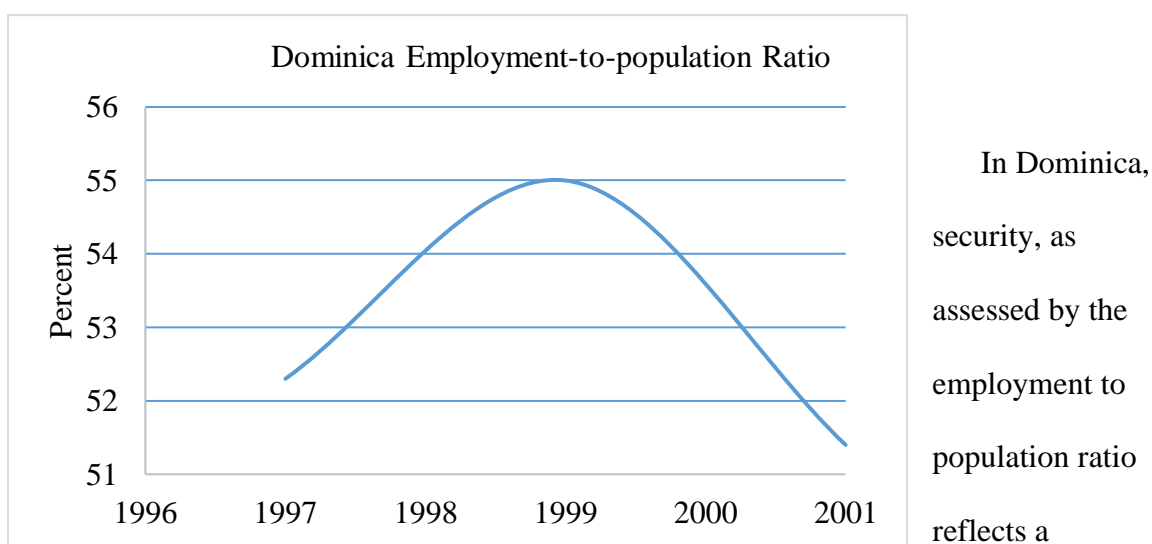
The results below detail the levels of human security in each of the six cases measured by variable 2.1, the employment-to-population ratio.

Figure 13.



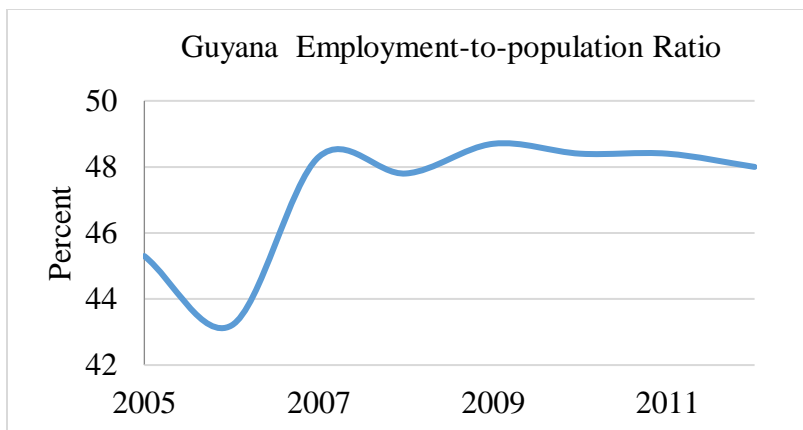
Barbados reflects a very stable pattern regarding human security as assessed by the employment to population ratio. Barbados has experienced minimal fluctuations of this variable, but instead, has had a rather consistent experience where the employment to population ratio has remained above the 50% mark between 1992 and 2012, sometimes rising past 60%, varying minimally in either direction across time.

Figure 14.



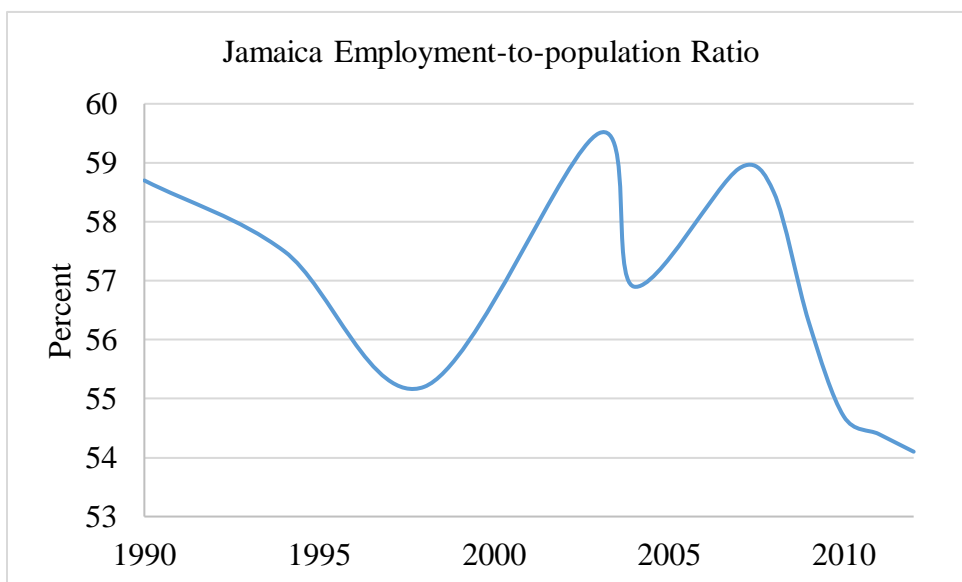
somewhat stable pattern with some fluctuations over time, but with the figure remaining above 50% according to all available data, despite a rapid decline of about 5% between the mid to late 1990s, after a slow climb prior to that point. Despite this, the data reflects a pattern consistent with security and stability in Dominica, in relation to the indicator assessed.

Figure 15.



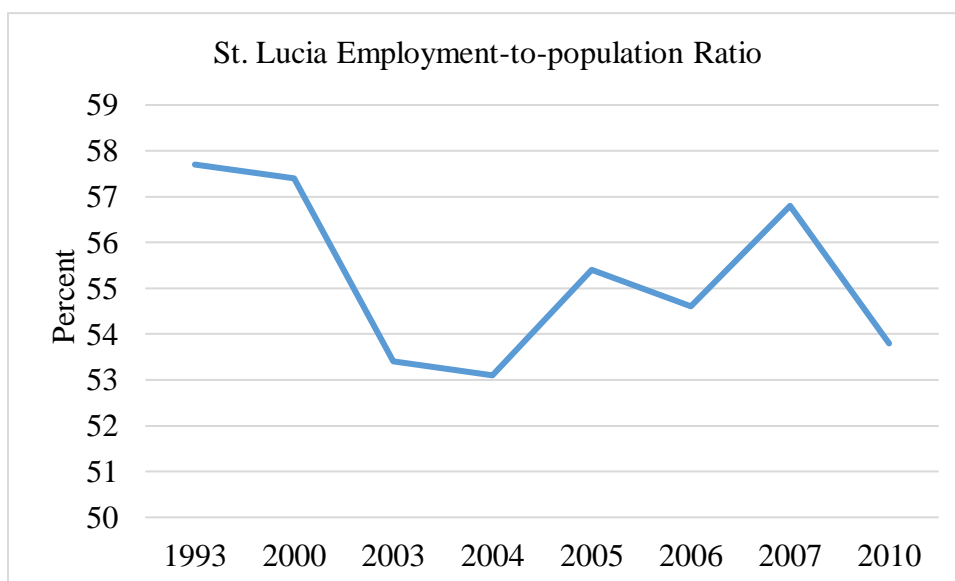
Guyana's security, measured via the employment to population ratio reflects some degree of significant fluctuation followed by a levelling off period with slight fluctuations in both upward and downward directions. Guyana experienced a sharp drop in the employment to population ratio in the years preceding 2005 through 2006 and then witnessed a steep increase of more than 5% between 2006 and 2007, followed by a leveling off with slight fluctuations between 48% and 48.5% from 2007 through 2012.

Figure 16.



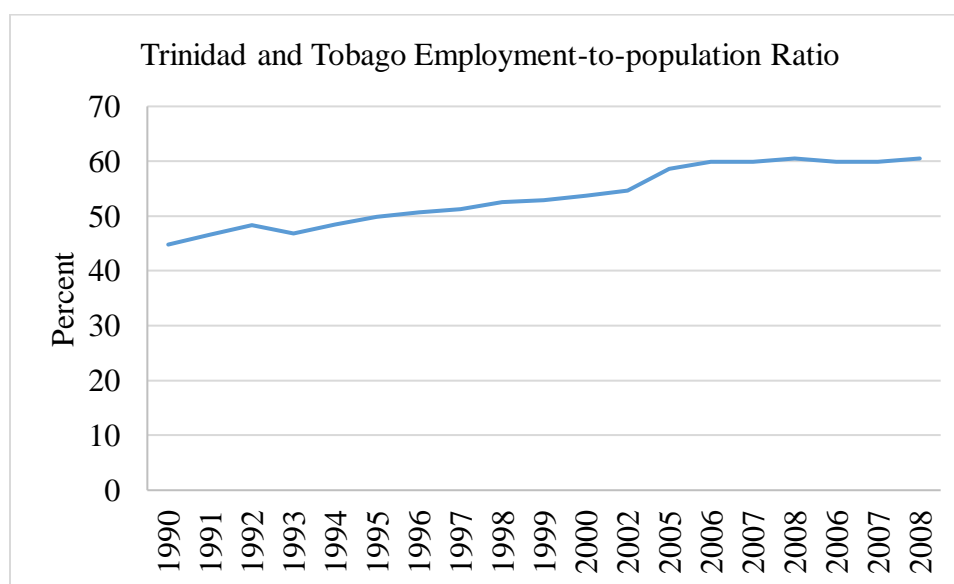
Jamaica's security, measured via the employment to population ratio reflects radical fluctuations occurring between a marginal overall area of difference. Between 1990 and 2012, the degree of variance of the population to employment ratio was relatively stable at about 5.5%, varying from the high point of about 59.5% and a low of 54.2%. Within this range, however, Jamaica experienced constant up and down shifts, comprising sharp rises followed by steep declines and successive sharp climbs followed by decline.

Figure 17.



The measure of human security revealed by St. Lucia's employment to population ratio reflects a relatively stable scene between 1992 and the end of 2010, ranging from a high of almost 58% in 1992 to a little less than 54% in 2010. St. Lucia experienced a drop between 2000 and 2002 and then saw an increase in 2004, after a slow decrease between 2003 and 2004, which was then followed by slight increases and then a relative drop again.

Figure 18



Trinidad and Tobago's security, measured via the employment to population ratio reflects a consistent pattern of stability with a sizeable proportion of variance occurring with minimal visible fluctuation. Trinidad and Tobago witnessed a change from about 45% to more than 60%, representing a change of more than 15% between 1990 and the end of 2010. Despite the shift, Trinidad and Tobago experienced only a minimal drop between 1992 and 1993, followed by consistent gradual increase from 1993 onwards.

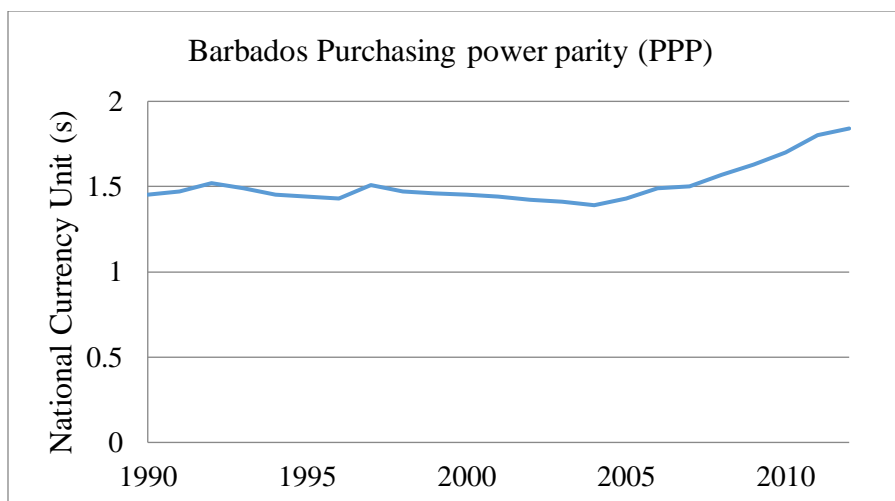
Variable 2.1 Development Findings Overview

The results obtained reveal a somewhat stable pattern with respect to the employment-to-population ratio variable utilized to access the human security indicator, although a stable pattern may not constitute development success. The results suggest that there are varying degrees of human security across the Caribbean region. The variations in actual figures reported as well as the variation in the rate of fluctuation from one country to the next relate a security scene that remains somewhat unstable, though the pattern may seem to match overall. Consequently, one may conclude that the region has not been able to actualize necessary or acceptable levels of employment. Specifically, the Millennium Development Goal which employs the employment to population ratio as a measure, has set the target for development success, as that of achieving full and productive employment and decent work, wherein all who are able and willing to work should be employed. Consequently, as the data reveals, with employment figures below or just at the 50% mark on average, about half or more of the working-aged population remain unemployed across the region.

Variable 2.2: Purchasing Power Parities (PPP).

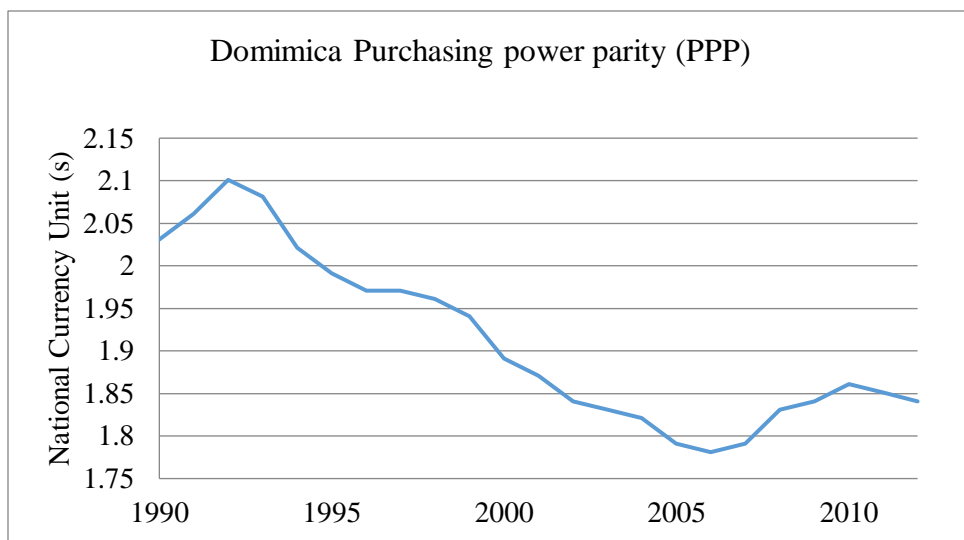
The data presented below details the levels of human security in each of the six cases as indicated by the Purchasing Power Parities (PPP) in each country.

Figure 19.



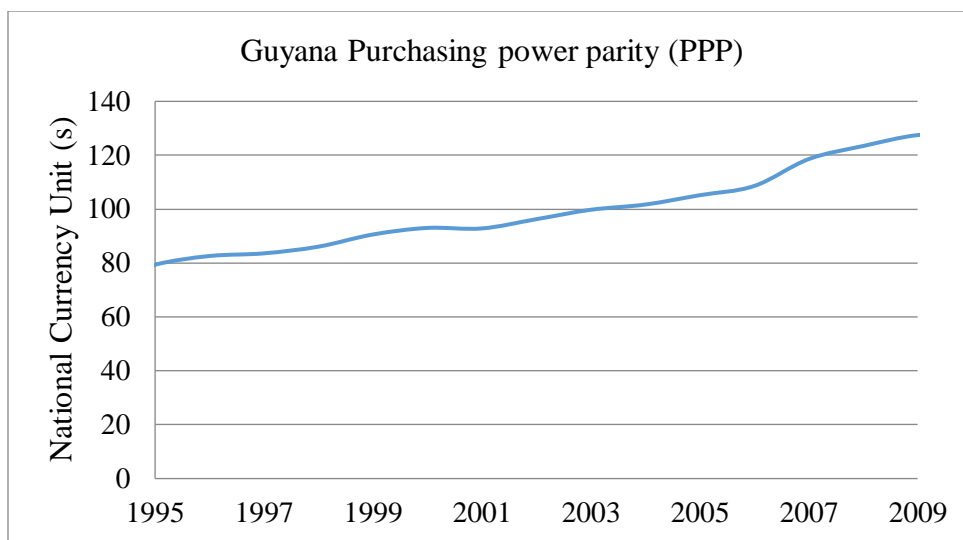
In Barbados, the measure of human security conveyed according to what local Barbadian money can buy on the home market reveals a pattern of stability and consistency, and thus a stable trend. Though the amount of local currency needed to buy the same item according to the international market prices increased slightly between 2005 and 2012, the increase was gradual and moved upwards minimally over time, remaining less than 2 local dollars needed to buy that which 1 US dollar can buy. The stable pattern of Barbados' PPP conversion factor reflects a stable private consumption market and reveals a relatively high level of security in the country.

Figure 20.



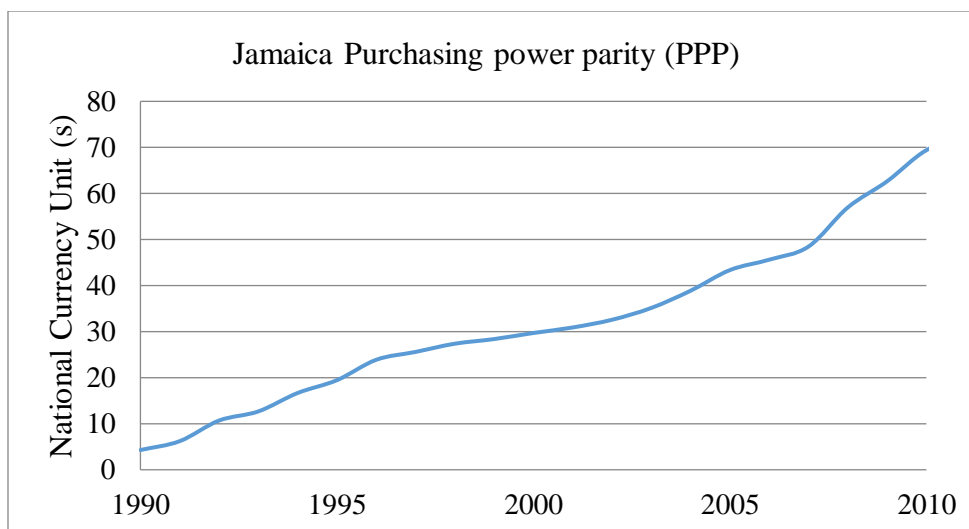
In Dominica, the number of units of the local currency needed to buy the same amount of goods and services on the domestic market as a U.S. dollar would buy in the United States, much like Barbados, reveals a pattern of relative stability and gradual change. In the case of Dominica, the measure of human security conveyed according to Purchasing Power Parity reveals a gradual increase in purchasing power over time from a high of 2.1 units of local currency needed in 1992 to about 1.78 units needed in 2006, to purchase that which could be purchased with 1 unit of US currency. A stable pattern is evident in Dominica, revealing a corresponding relative level of stability in terms of human security on the island.

Figure 21.



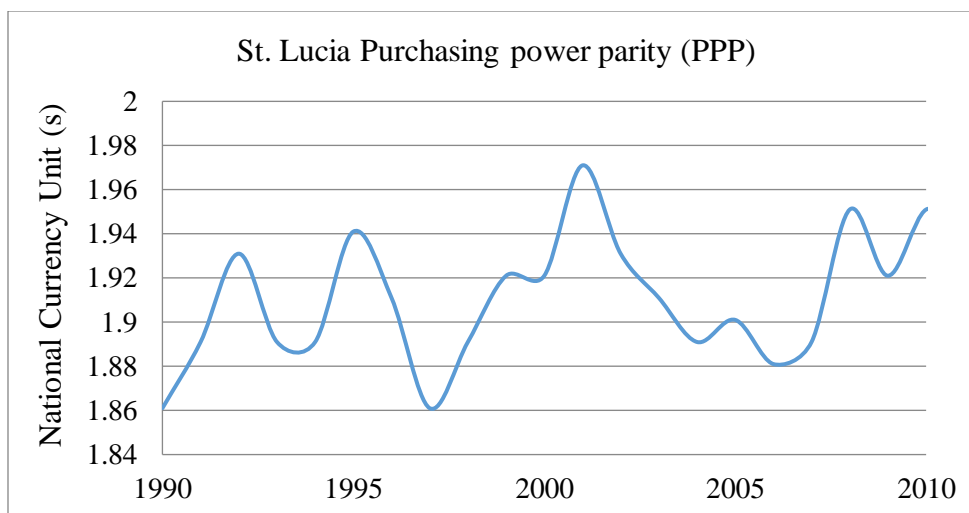
In Guyana, the measure of human security reflected by what the local Guyanese currency can purchase on the home market reveals a pattern of consistent change in the same direction. While the amount that the Guyanese currency can buy decreased over time, this decrease in purchasing power was gradual and it occurred consistently each year, from a low of about 72 units of local currency needed in 1994 to about 130 units needed in 2009, to purchase that which could be purchased on the local US market with 1 unit of US currency. Though the decrease is steady and consistent and thus probably expected by the local population, minimizing some insecurity, the percentage change, nearing 100% is significant and thus reduced the level of human security, as the population's power to consume decreased significantly across the decade.

Figure 22.



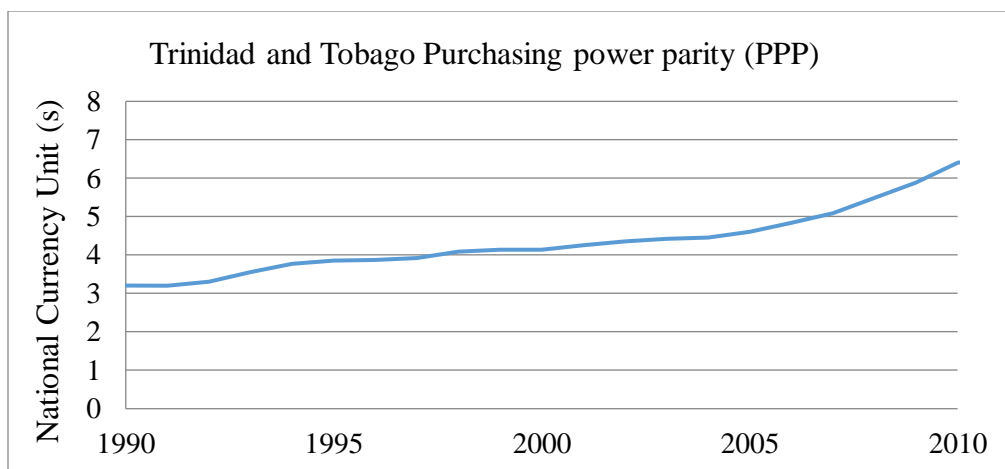
The human security trend in Jamaica is similar to that of Guyana. The measure of human security reflected by what the local Jamaican currency can purchase on the home market revealed a pattern of consistent change in the same direction, with a level of significant change overall. Like in Guyana, the amount that the Jamaican currency could purchase decreased with the passing of time. The decrease in purchasing power occurred in a consistent manner, gradually decreasing with time. In Jamaica, however, the decrease in purchasing power and the increase in the amounts of units required for consumption occurred at a faster rate than in the case of Guyana. Jamaica witnessed a change in purchasing power from a low of about 6 units of local currency needed in 1990 to about 76 units needed in 2012. Like with the case of Guyana, although the decrease was steady and consistent and probably expected, the percentage change, constitutes a change of about 1000%, a significant proportional change, which although gradual, is significant enough to hinder levels of human security.

Figure 23.



The human security trend in St. Lucia, measured by the power of citizens to consume, and revealed in terms of the purchasing power parity conveys a pattern of consistent fluctuation, despite minimal relative change. St. Lucia experienced a change in purchasing power from a low of about 1.86 units of local currency needed in 1990 to a high of about 1.97 units needed in 2001, followed by a low of 1.88 units in 2006 and an eventual high of 1.98 units required in 2012 after some increase and decrease between that time. In St. Lucia, although the absolute change is relatively small, thus conveying a somewhat stable pattern of human security, the persistent shifts from one period to the next adds to the levels of insecurity and decreases the overall human security, revealed according to St. Lucian's power to purchase on the local market.

Figure 24.



In Trinidad and Tobago, the human security indicator measured by the purchasing power parity variable revealed a pattern like that of many of the other Caribbean countries. In Trinidad and Tobago, the number of units of the local currency needed to buy the same amount of goods and services on the local Trinidadian market as a U.S. dollar would buy in the United States, reflected a stable situation with a constant incremental downward change over time. Like in Barbados, Trinidad and Tobago recorded a change from a low of about 3.5 units of local currency needed in 1990 to about 7 units needed in 2006 to purchase that which could be purchased with 1 unit of US currency on the local US market. This pattern matches the consistent gradual increasing or decreasing pattern in most of the other case units. Nevertheless, although the trend is steady and consistent and although the absolute change remains less than 4 units, the percentage change is significant, at about 100% in a little more than a decade.

Variable 2.2 Development Findings Overview

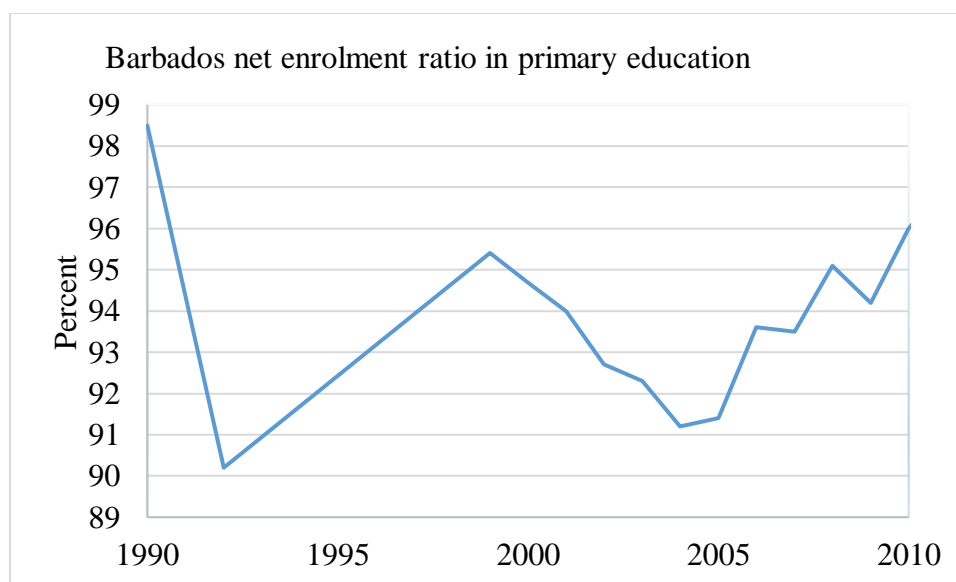
The assessment of human security measured via the variable measuring the purchasing power parity of the countries surveyed relate results similar to those obtained from variable 2.1, which surveyed human security via an assessment of the employment to population ratio. The results indicate that like the findings of the first variable measuring human security, the region comprises significant fluctuations from one state to the other with respect to human security. While in some countries, there was little fluctuation with respect to purchasing power, other countries experienced significant levels of fluctuation. Similarly, while some countries reported secure opportunities for consumption of basic goods and services; others related more unstable results, with comparatively low purchasing power in relation to the other cases. This variation signals that much is left to be done with respect to human security as an indicator and determinant of development success in the Caribbean.

III. The Education Indicator

Variable 3.1: Net enrollment ratio in primary education

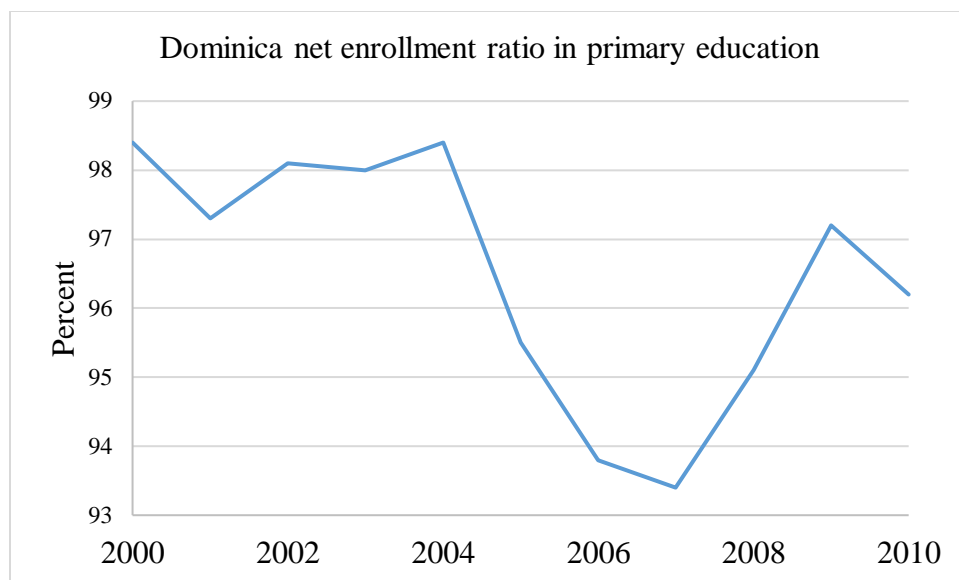
The data presented in this section details the education levels in each of the six cases as indicated by assessments of access to primary education.

Figure 25.



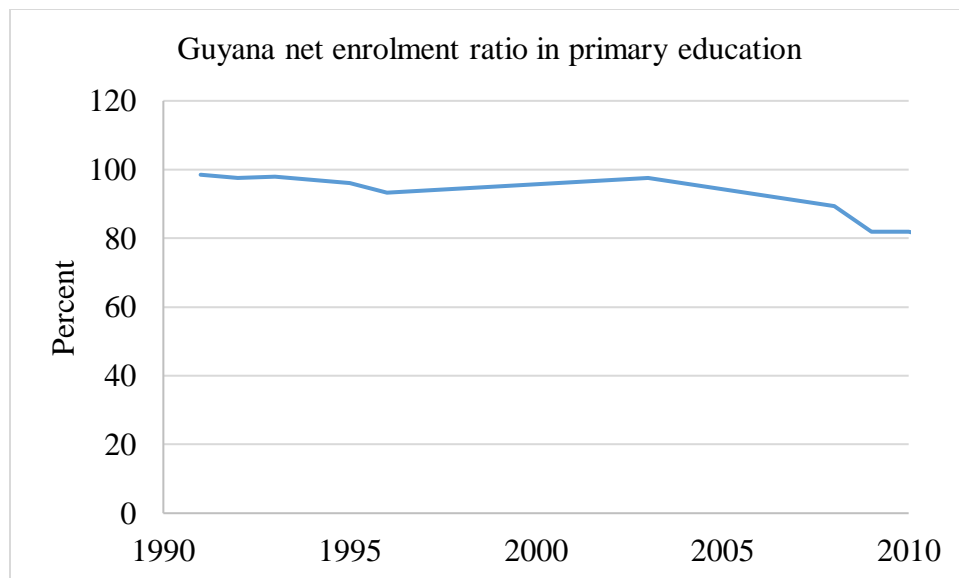
The education indicator measured by the variable mapping the net enrollment ratio in primary education reveals a positive trend for Barbados in terms of the impact of education on development. Barbados recorded figures nearing 100% enrollment, with a sharp drop between 1990 and 1992, from 98.5% to 90.3%, when universal secondary school mandates were more comprehensively instituted. This allowed secondary school aged students who remained at the primary school level to advance to secondary school. With the implementation of various programs to expand primary school access to marginalized populations such as to children with various types of disabilities, Barbados again experienced a surge in primary school enrollment, moving from about 91% to more than 95% enrollment of all primary school-aged children, between 1993 and 2000. Again, as policies to expand inclusive access to primary and secondary school came into existence, the country witnessed corresponding increases and decreases in student enrollment at the primary school level.

Figure 26



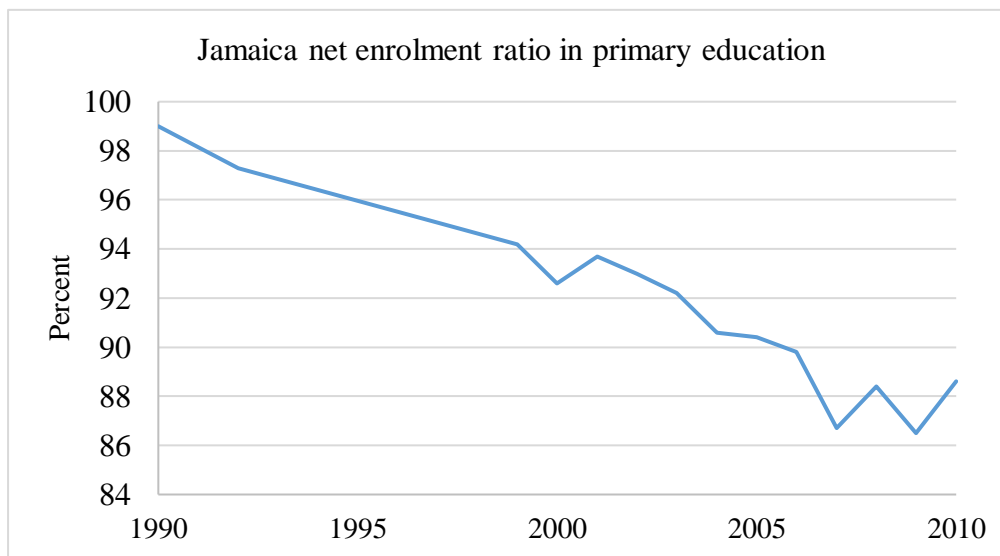
Like in Barbados, the net enrollment ratio in primary education reveals a positive trend in Dominica, with enrollment figures above 90% and often nearing 100% enrollment. In Dominica, enrollment figures consistently remained above 97% until 2004 when the figure moved from 98.4% to about 93.8% with the implementation of local school programs that moved to expand access to secondary school between 2004 and 2007. After this period, education programs also attempted to expand access to primary school for children such as those with disabilities who would not traditionally attend school. An increase in primary school enrollment was therefore seen between 2007 and 2009, until that figure leveled off again around 2010 with programs that subsequently impacted both primary and secondary school enrollment.

Figure 27.



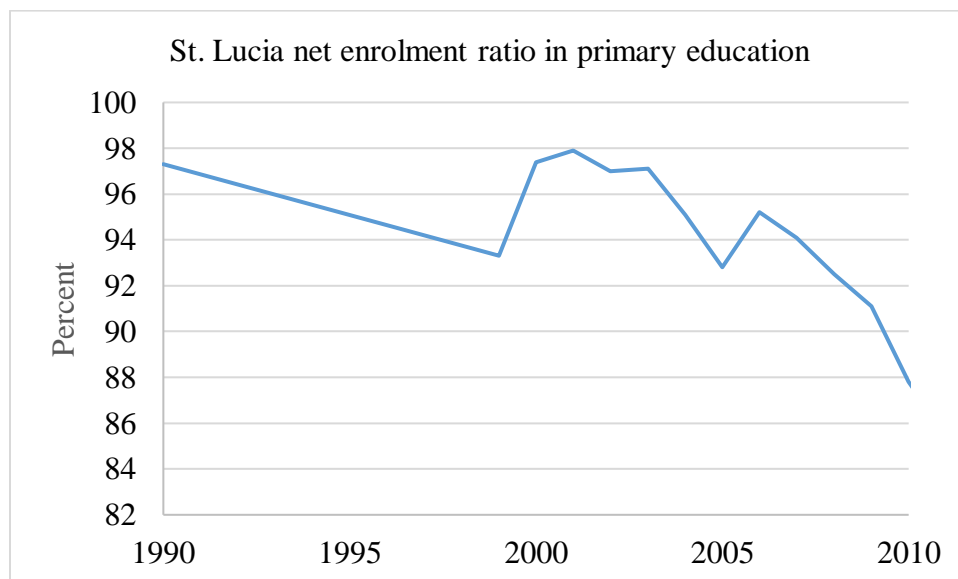
The education indicator assessed by the variable chronicling the net enrollment ratio in primary education reveals a positive trend in Guyana similar to that of Barbados and Dominica. Guyana has consistently reported primary school enrollment rates above 90% and nearing the 100% mark. Like the case of Barbados and Dominica, Guyana also experienced a drop in primary school enrollment rates, as more students began to matriculate to secondary education and beyond. Between 2003 and 2012, therefore Guyana's primary enrollment rate dropped from 98% to about 77%. This was partly due to more access to secondary education, however, in Guyana, data discrepancies have also emerged regarding the official school age for children, while the country also tends to house a large rural population, where access to primary education for certain age groups still remains inadequate.

Figure 28



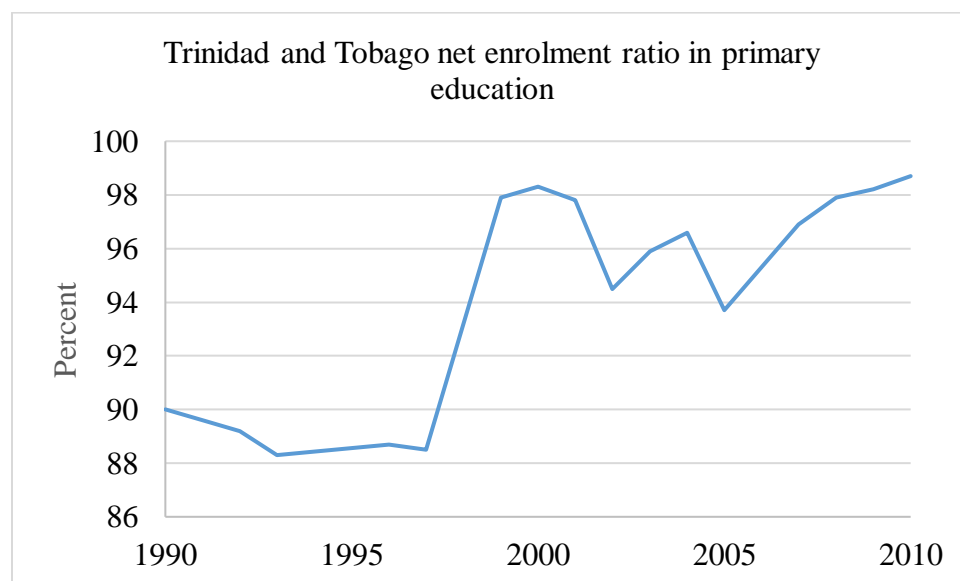
The data related to the variable, net enrollment ratio in primary education, a measure of education success in relation to development, reveals a positive trend in Jamaica, with figures consistently above 90% enrollment. According to the 2014 UNDP MDG Report, Jamaica has already achieved this Millennium Development Goal since the net primary school enrollment rate has consistently hovered over 90% and because the gross enrollment is almost 100%. Despite this, while in 1990, Jamaica recorded net primary school enrollment ratios of about 99%, the data signals a decrease in that figure with the movement from about 93.7% in 2001 to about 90% by 2010. This has largely been the result of inconsistencies in population and data figures, in addition to efforts to bring in children who were previously not enrolled in education at all, and who were thus, not part of the figures computed in the past. As such, while the figure itself has decreased, Jamaica has actually seen an increase in the enrollment of all students in primary education across the country.

Figure 29.



In St. Lucia, like in Barbados and Dominica, the net enrollment ratio in primary education reveals a positive trend, with enrollment figures nearing 100%. In St. Lucia, enrollment figures consistently remained at about 94% until 2001, when the figure moved to about 98%, as new school programs were implemented to expand primary school access. This figure dropped, however, when new policies also moved to expand access to secondary education. Between 2001 and 2011, therefore, enrollment in primary education in St. Lucia dropped from about 95% to about 83%. Though according to UNESCO and UNDP reports, St. Lucia has met this Millennium Development Goal, the decreasing figures emerged as St. Lucia, just as the case in a few other countries in the Caribbean, has taken steps to include children not previously enrolled at all in education.

Figure 30.



In Trinidad and Tobago, the net enrollment ratio in primary education reveals a positive trend, with enrollment figures consistently above 90% as of the mid-1990s. By the year 2000, Trinidad and Tobago witnessed primary education enrollment rates above 98%. Between 2000 and 2012, however, Trinidad and Tobago experienced several increases and decreases in enrollment figures, with the advent of various policies to expand primary school access as well as that of secondary schools. By 2012, nevertheless, the primary enrollment rates remained at about 99% in Trinidad and Tobago.

Variable 3.1 Development Findings Overview

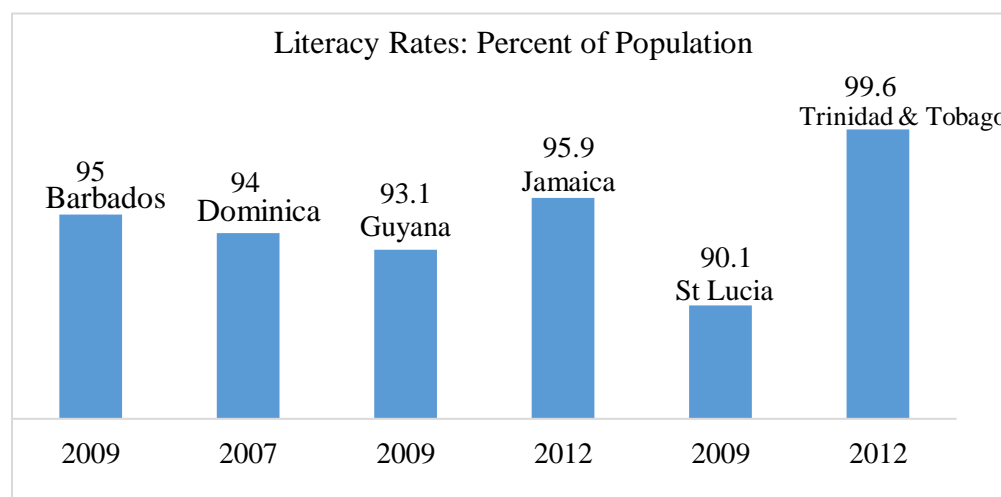
The education indicator assessed via the enrollment ratio in primary education highlights findings that signal development success across the Caribbean region. In all the countries surveyed, education stood as an area in which great success was evident. Barbados, Dominica, Jamaica, St. Lucia and Trinidad and Tobago have all achieved

universal access to primary education, while Guyana remains very close to that development goal after having achieved universal primary education until recently. The discrepancy between Guyana and the other countries reflect a pattern similar to the results gathered in assessing other indicators of development success. Guyana also reported lower levels of success with regards to purchasing power, poverty levels and employment. Again, these results reveal that there is some level of disparity in terms of development across the Caribbean region.

Variable 3.2: Literacy rate of 15-24-year-olds, women and men

The below data details the findings related to literacy, recognizing access to education at various levels in each of the six cases assessed.

Figure 31.



As for literacy, as a measure of education, an indicator and determinant of development in the Caribbean, all of the six case units report consistent levels of success, with all countries reporting rates of literacy above 90% of their respective population.

St. Lucia, the country with the lowest rate of literacy reported a rate of 90.3% as of 2009. Trinidad and Tobago, the country reporting the highest rate of literacy registered a figure of almost 100% of the population being literate, with a record 99.6% literacy. Barbados, Dominica, and Guyana recorded literacy rates of 95%, 94%, and 93.1% in 2009, 2007 and 2009 respectively. Jamaica also reported a significantly high rate of literacy with a figure of 95.9% of the population being literate as of 2012.

Variable 3.2 Development Findings Overview

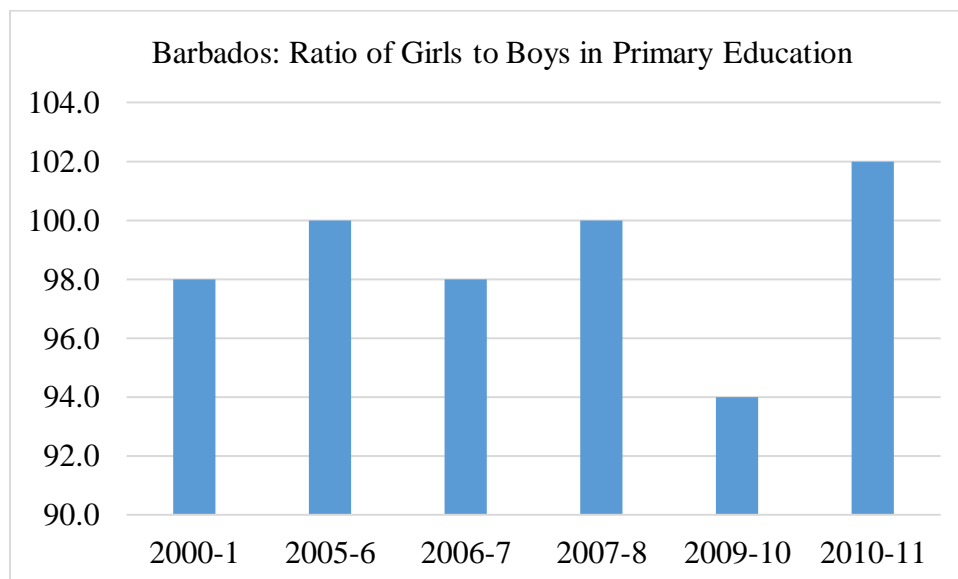
The results obtained from the assessment of literacy rates as a measure of education success in the Caribbean region reveals similar levels of success as the variable measuring access to a primary school education. All of the countries report significantly high levels of literacy which may be directly linked to access to primary education in these countries. These results indicate a certain measure of development success in the Caribbean, particularly as the successes in literacy achievement have prevailed even with the incidence of some disparities found across other domains.

IV. The Equality Indicator

Variable 4.1: Ratios of girls to boys in primary Education

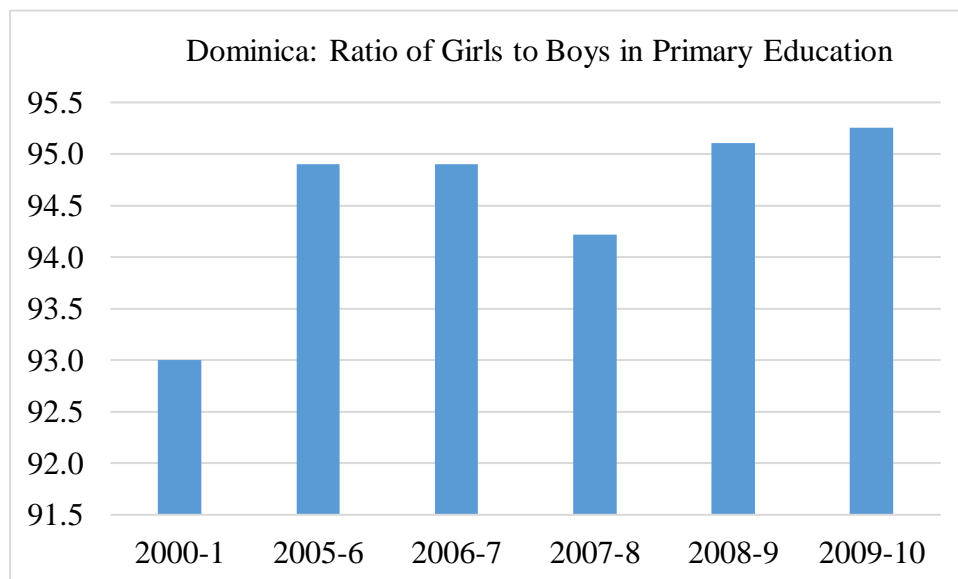
The data below details the incidence of equality in each of the six cases as measured by the ratio of girls to boys in primary education and according to the development guidelines set forth by the Millennium Development Goals.

Figure 32.



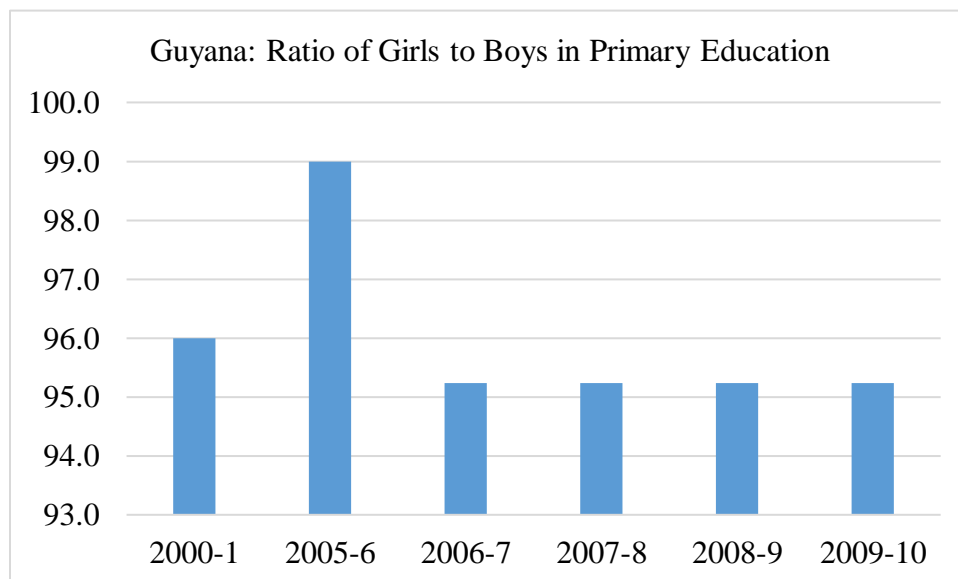
In Barbados, the equality indicator measured by the variable tracking the ratio of girls to boys in primary education, reveals a very positive trend with the ratio of girls to boys in primary education consistently reported at above 94%, more often around 98%, and even sometimes surpassing the 100% mark, revealing that in many instances, schools witnessed enrollments of more girls than boys.

Figure 33.



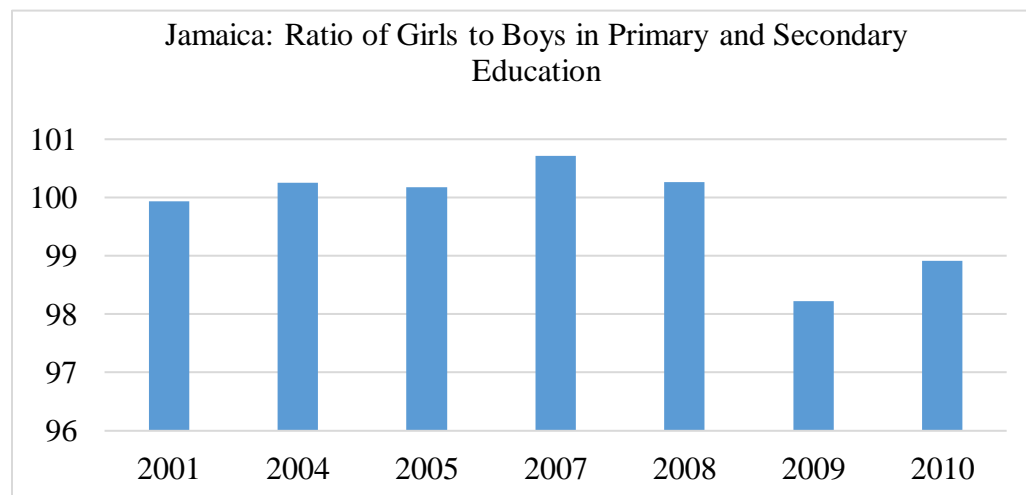
The pattern in Dominica with regard to equality as measured by the ratio of girls to boys in primary education matches that of Barbados. In Dominica, the ratio of girls to boys in primary education reveals a positive trend with the ratio of girls to boys in primary education consistently reported above 93%, with the typical figure of about 95% or greater.

Figure 34.



Guyana, like Barbados and Dominica, also reports a pattern of success in terms of the ratio of girls to boys in primary education. The ratio of girls to boys in primary education in Guyana between 2000 and 2010 consistently reported a figure above 95% with that figure reaching 99% between 2005 and 2006 and then leveling off again after 2006, as more broad segments of the population were brought into the equation. Despite this, the figure consistently remained above 95%.

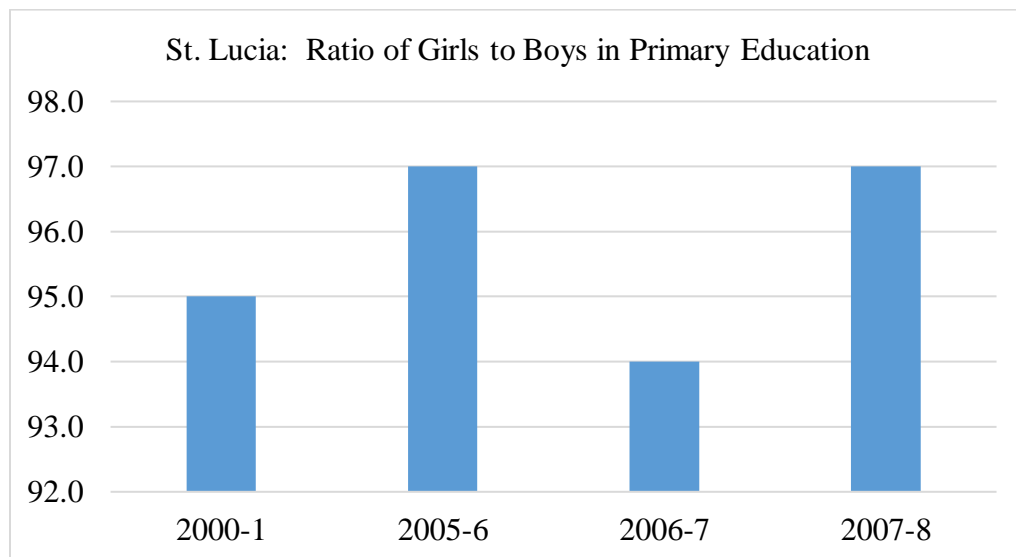
Figure 35.



In Jamaica¹², the equality indicator measured by the variable reflecting the ratio of girls to boys in primary education reveals a positive trend like the case of the other countries examined. The ratio of girls to boys in primary education in Jamaica consistently reported figures surpassing 98% and more consistently nearing and surpassing the 100% mark. While in 2009, the ratio of girls to boys in primary education was recorded at about 98.2%, this figure rose again to about 98.9% by 2010. In Jamaica, like in Barbados, there tended to be more girls enrolled in primary education than boys.

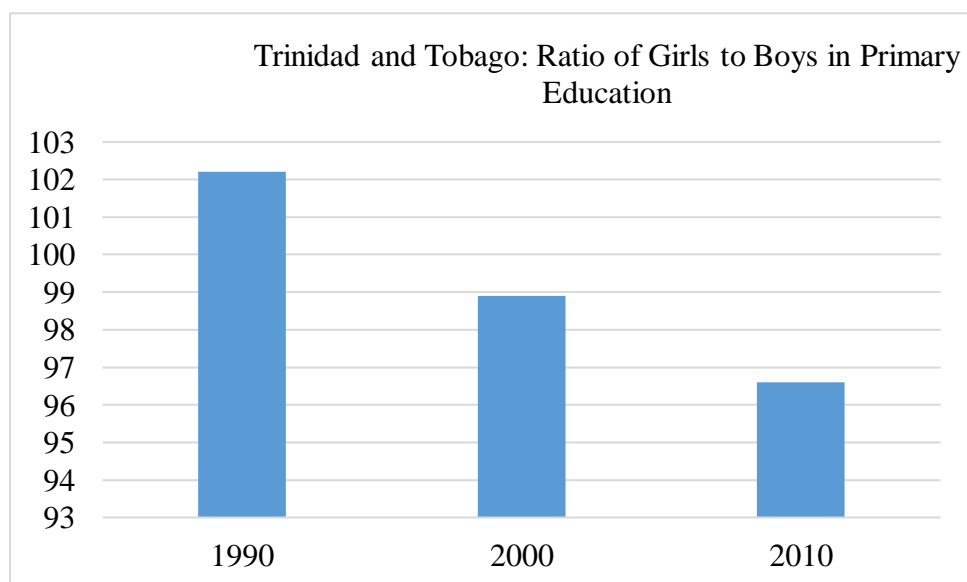
¹² The most complete and relevant data related to this indicator for Jamaica was obtained directly from the UNESCO database which is employed for obtaining the corresponding data disseminated by the UN MDG database where the other data sets were obtained.

Figure 36.



While the data for St. Lucia regarding the ratio of girls to boys in primary education is compiled less frequently than in other countries, figures revealed that the ratio of girls to boys in primary education across time in St. Lucia remained consistently at 94% and above, often climbing to about 97%.

Figure 37.



Like the case of St. Lucia, data regarding the ratio of girls to boys in primary education in Trinidad and Tobago¹³ is published less frequently. Nevertheless, Trinidad and Tobago has consistently reported figures of more than 96.5 %, with that figure reaching about 102.2% in 1990 and about 99% in 2000.

Variable 4.1 Development Findings Overview

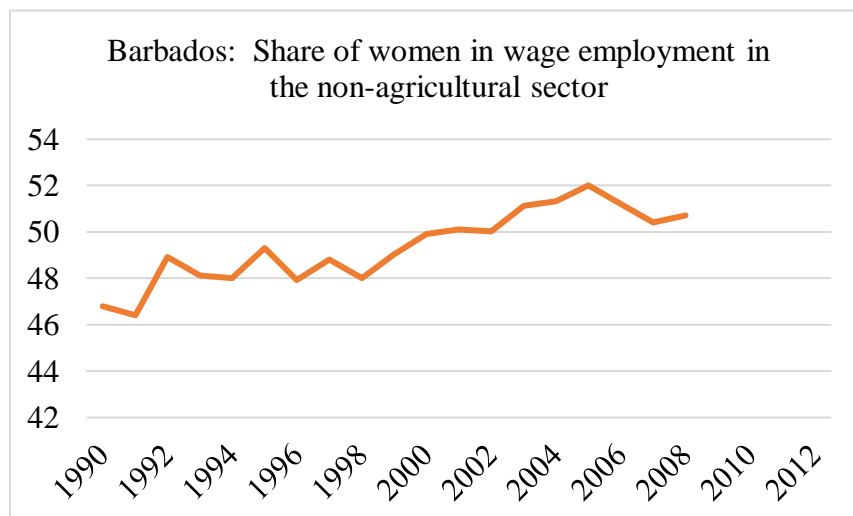
In all of the cases, the results pointed to a clear equal platform for girls and boys in terms of access to education. In many cases, the percentage of girls attending primary school surpassed that of boys. The region has succeeded in meeting the equality threshold for education access, as a precursor for advancing development via the inclusion of girls in education, for the long-term benefits of housing populations comprised of educated women.

Variable 4.2: Women in wage employment in the non-agricultural sector

The data presented below details the incidence of equality measured by the share of women in wage employment in the non-agricultural sector in each of the six cases.

¹³ The most complete and relevant data related to this indicator for Trinidad and Tobago was obtained from the World Bank's education database which employs data obtained from the UNESCO database also used for collecting the data published in the UN MDG database where the other data sets were obtained.

Figure 38.



The equality indicator measured according to the variable measuring the share of women in waged employment outside of agriculture reflects a positive trend for Barbados. There, this figure constitutes about half of all wage-earning women. From the early 1990s Barbados reflected a figure nearing 50% accounting for the share of women in wage employment outside of agriculture. The trend in Barbados for women in wage employment outside of the agricultural sector continuously increased, with a low figure of 46.5% in 1991 and the high of about 52% in 2006. Barbados experienced some periods of small increases and decreases according to the impact of external factors on local employment and the impact of external events on agriculture.

Figure 39.



In Dominica, like in Barbados, the trend regarding the equality indicator as measured by the share of women in wage employment outside of the agricultural sector is positive. Dominica experienced an upward moving trend, with the proportion of women in wage employment outside of agriculture steadily increasing over the years. Dominica witnessed a drop from a high of almost 46% in 1997 to about 44% by 1999. Nevertheless, this figure leveled off in the aftermath of a realignment of preferential trade policies that pushed the country towards diversification and an expansion of opportunities for women in other sectors.

Figure 40.



Guyana, a largely rural country has reported a positive trend in terms of equality as measured by the share of women in wage employment in the non-agricultural sector. Although because of its large agrarian culture, a large proportion of women continue to work in agriculture, Guyana reported a continuous increase in the share of women in wage employment outside of agriculture. This reflected an increase in the opportunities afforded to women outside of agriculture. Despite this, Guyana's increase remains slow, moving from a low of about 25% in the early 1980s to a high of about 38% in 1997. After this point, Guyana also witnessed a decrease in the share of women in wage employment outside of agriculture, as global events affected various sectors that had attracted women and as some women and families were forced back into agricultural work.

Figure 41.



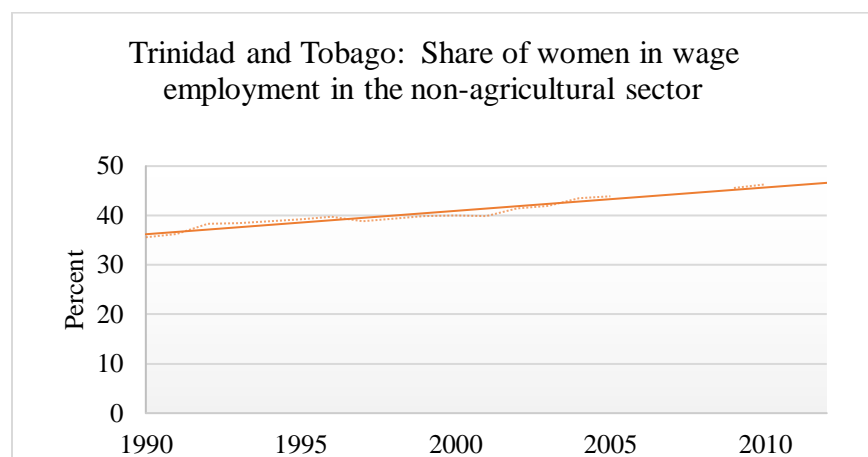
The data gathered regarding the share of women in wage employment outside of agriculture in Jamaica is very different from that of Barbados and Dominica where a continuous increasing trend was visible. In Jamaica, while the share of women in wage employment outside of agriculture has remained close to 50% from the early 1990s, Jamaica saw a decrease in the share of women in wage employment outside of agriculture after a high of about 48.5% in 1993. This figure decreased to a low of about 45% in 2001, followed by a small increase to about 46.2% by 2003, and then another decrease to approximately 45.2% by 2004, until an eventual consistent increase was witnessed after 2005. At this point, the advent of programs to counteract the effect of structural adjustment schemes and austerity measures that had crippled various segments of the Jamaican economy also impacted the share of women in wage employment outside of agriculture.

Figure 42.



In St. Lucia, a positive trend is reported, similar to the case of Dominica and Barbados, as per the equality indicator measuring the share of women in waged employment outside of agriculture. In St. Lucia, this indicator and variable is consistently positive, typically nearing or surpassing 50% by 1994, from a low of about 40% in the early 1980s. After this point, like in the case of Dominica, St. Lucia experienced dramatic decreases in economic activity as changes in long existing preferential trade regimes impacted not only agriculture but many other industries. As such, St. Lucia saw the share of women in wage employment outside of agriculture drop to a low of about 49% by 1999. Also like in Dominica, subsequent efforts to diversify afforded women opportunities in other industries, leading to related increases in the share of women in wage employment outside of agriculture. This figure has thus constituted about half of all wage-earning women.

Figure 43.



The equality indicator assessed according to the variable measuring the share of women in waged employment outside of agriculture reflects a positive trend in Trinidad and Tobago and has remained consistently so across the past decades. Trinidad and Tobago experienced a consistent increase in the proportion of women outside of agriculture from the early 1990s onwards. Trinidad and Tobago saw an increase from a figure of about 37% in 1992 that of about 48% by 2012 with no drops or periods of decrease in between. This has been largely due to the expansion of mining and exploration in sectors such as aluminum, bauxite, and petroleum.

Variable 4.2 Development Findings Overview

The assessment of gender equality measured via the variable assessing the share of women in waged employment outside of agriculture relates results which are somewhat different from that of variable 4.1, which reported consistently high levels of access for girls in primary education. In an era where most of the cases regard themselves as transitioning away from high dependency on the agricultural sector, the results reveal that the transition for women has not been wholly successful. The results

reveal that in many of the countries, almost half, and often more than half of all women, remain in the agricultural sector. This highlights a gap between the goals of education in improving gender equality and the related prospects for work opportunities after schooling. With such a high proportion of women remaining in the agricultural sector, the results reveal that there exists some sort of dearth in opportunities outside of agriculture for women.

This may then directly impact the ability of women to contribute to their households and to their families and societies. Despite this, however, relevant notes provided by the data sources suggest that many women, who are self-employed, such as those who are domestics, tend not to be included in the pool of those outside agriculture. Even so, the results reveal a definite gap in the equality goals of all the cases, as it relates to contributing to development and enhancing security and stability.

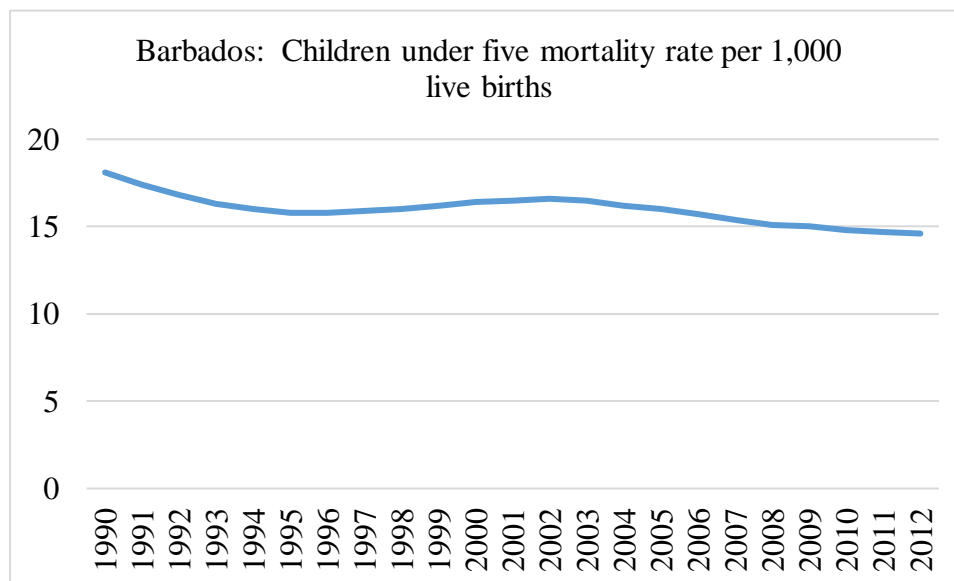
The Health Indicator

Variable 5.1 Under-five Mortality Rate

The data presented below details the case of health as it relates to development in each of the six cases via an assessment of the Under-five Mortality rate.

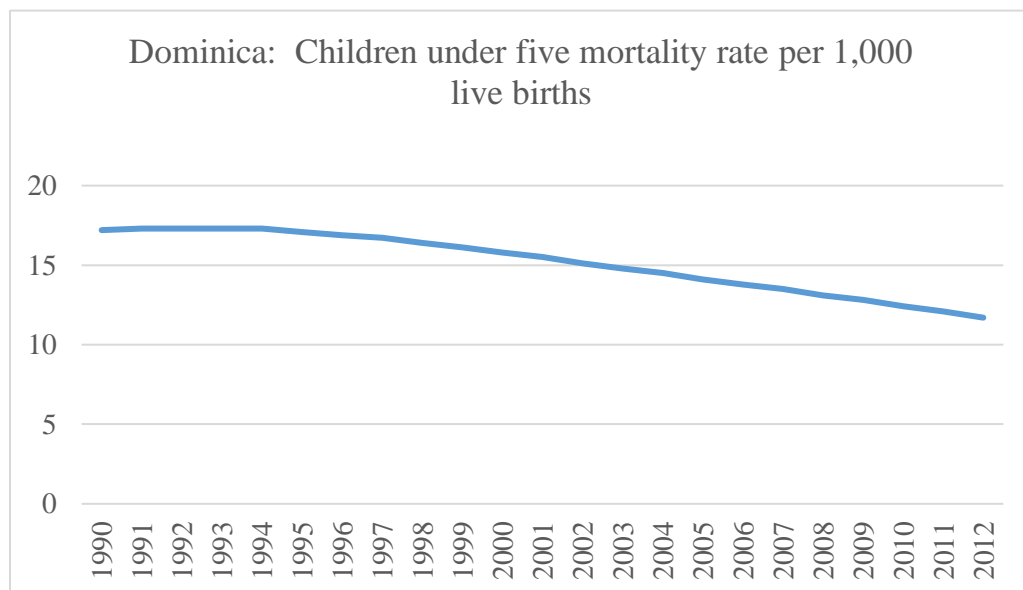
The health indicator is regarded as one of the most significant determinants of development for the case units examined. According to the Millennium Development Goals one of the key variables reflecting success in health is that of reducing child mortality. The goal for mapping development success has thus been set with the target of reducing by two-thirds, between 1990 and 2015, the under-five mortality rate in various countries.

Figure 44.



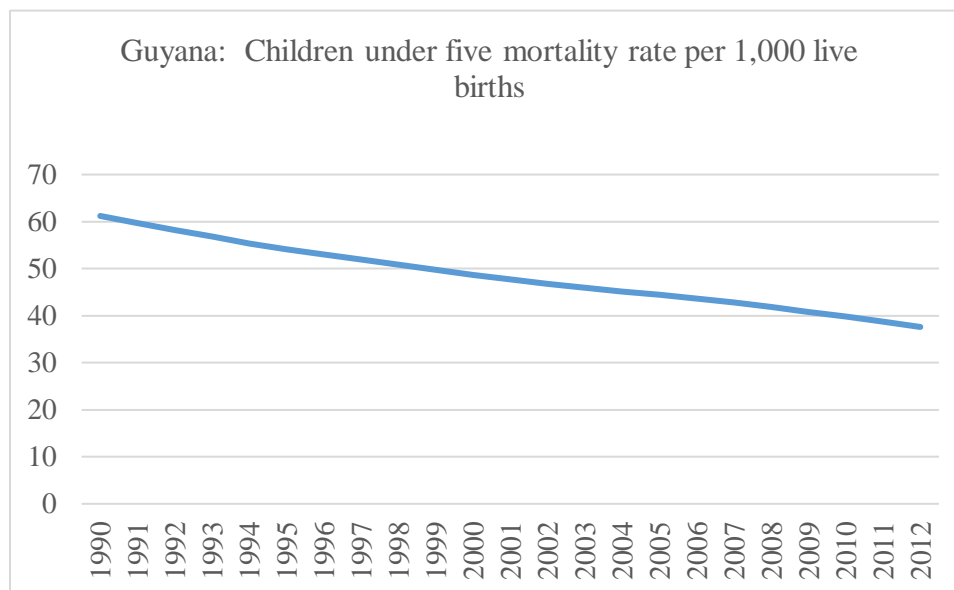
In Barbados, the under-five child mortality rate has consistently dropped between 1990 and 2012 although the country experienced a very slight increase at the start of the millennium. Barbados saw a decrease from about 17.4% in the early 1990s to a low of 14.6% by 2012. This has been the result of gains made in healthcare and access to health education, as well as increases in nutrition and child health programs. Despite this, however, this decrease has arguably been slow and somewhat unacceptable, as a figure of 14.6% is still considered marginally high. In the end, however, the decrease in rates reflects a positive trend.

Figure 45.



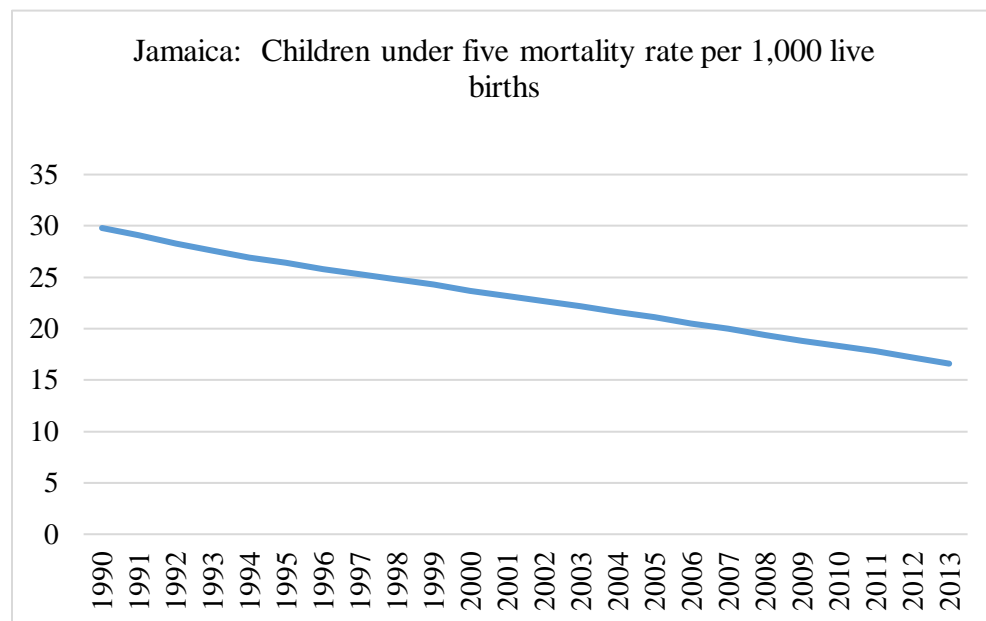
In Dominica, much like the case of Barbados, the under-five child mortality rate has consistently dropped, reflecting a positive trend, declining from a high of about 17% in 1990 to about 11.7% in 2012. Like in the case of Barbados, this has been directly related to improvements in the health sector, particularly in relation to child health and maternal education. Nevertheless, again like Barbados, the decrease has arguably been somewhat slow, and the figures still represent a proportionally high number of deaths of children under five years old.

Figure 46.



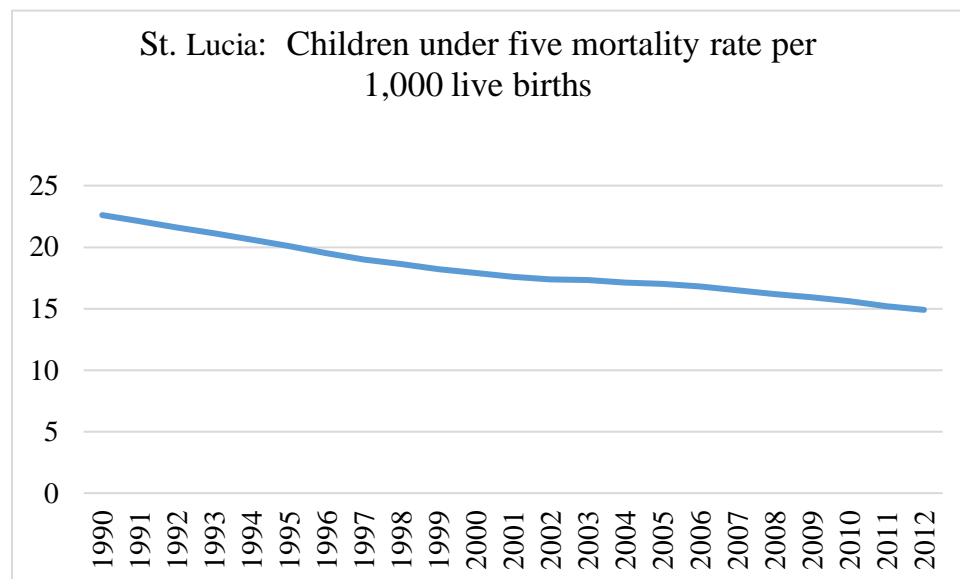
In Guyana, the health indicator measured by the variable, children under five mortality rate, reflects a similar trend and an identical pattern to that of Barbados and Dominica, when there is a consistent decrease. Guyana witnessed a decrease from 61.2% in the early 1990s to a rate of about 37.6% by 2012. This figure equates to a drop by about 50%. According to the UNDP report, Guyana has met the target of reducing the under-five mortality rate by two-thirds by 2015 since prior to 1990 the initial rate was even higher than the reported 62%.

Figure 47.



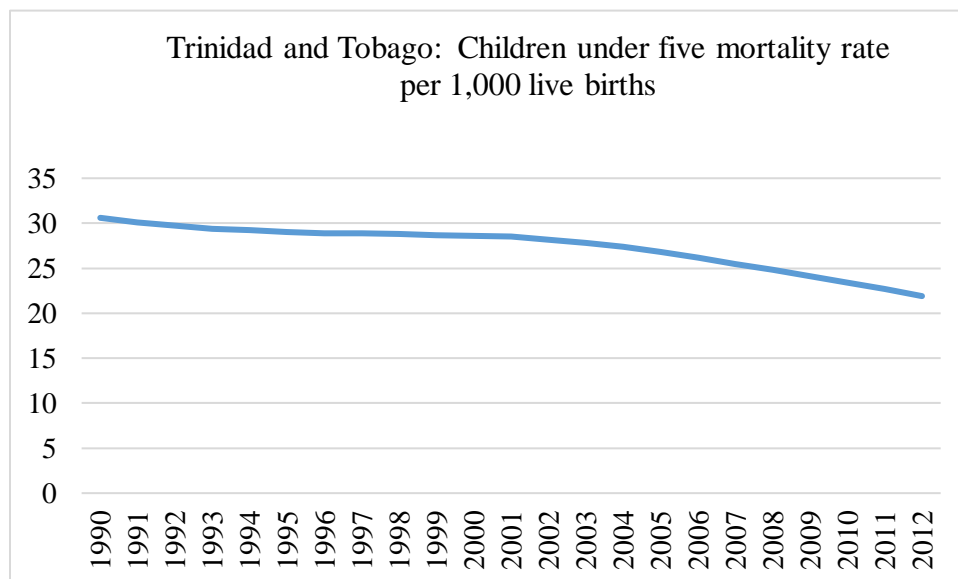
The pattern of the health indicator in Jamaica measured according to the variable, children under five mortality rate, matches that of the other case units. Jamaica also reflects a positive trend in this regard and reported a consistent decrease in the under-five mortality rate between 1990 and 2013. Jamaica reported a decline from about 29.8% in 1992 to about 16.6% by 2013. Despite the consistent decrease, Jamaica's decline only represents a drop of about one third of the initial rate. As such, though this reflects a positive trend, like the other case units, Jamaica must continue to reduce the under-five child mortality rate in order to meet acceptable rates that equate to development success.

Figure 48.



In St. Lucia, the pattern of the under-five child mortality rate matches that of the other case units, particularly Barbados and Dominica, in terms of the rate of decrease. The under-five mortality rate has consistently dropped between 1990 and 2012. St. Lucia saw a decrease from about 22.1 % in the early 1990s to a low of 14.9% by 2012. This has again been the result of gains made in healthcare and access to maternal and infant health education. Nevertheless, this, decrease has been slow and the result to date, remains unacceptable, as a figure of 14.9% is still considerably high. Despite this, the consistent decrease in rates reflects a positive trend on the road to development success.

Figure 49.



The pattern of the under-five child mortality rate in Trinidad and Tobago matches that of the other Caribbean case units. Trinidad and Tobago consistently related a decreasing trend for infant mortality. The under-five mortality rate dropped consistently between 1990 and 2012, decreasing from a figure that surpassed 30% in the early 1990s to a low of approximately 21.9% by 2012. Although this decrease reflects a positive trend, the mortality rate for children under five years of age in Trinidad and Tobago remains alarmingly high, particularly considering other successes evident in that country.

Variable 5.1 Development Findings Overview

Significant progress has been made in the reduction of child mortality for children under five according to the most recent reports and data gathered. Nevertheless, there is still a significant gap between the current figures and the targets set for defining success. The slow nature of the improvement in this variable has meant that going forward, the gains

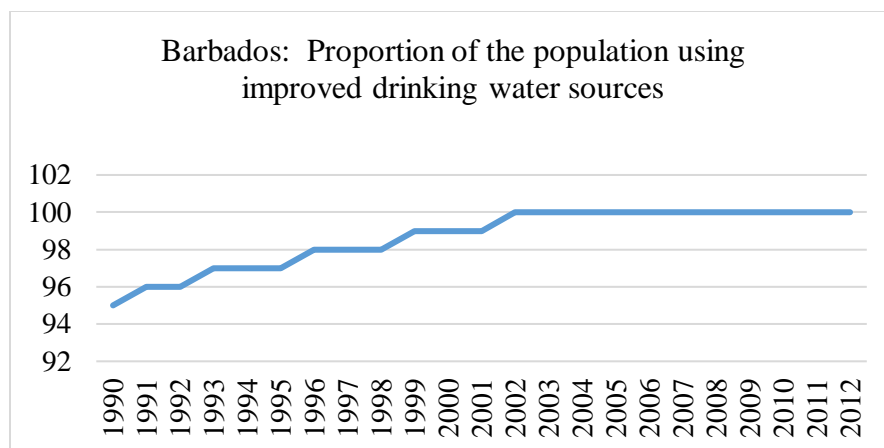
needed to achieve the goals set, must be equivalent to all those gains achieved during the entire period assessed. While increases and improvements have been made in the areas of health, nutrition, and health education, many of the case units have reported slow progress in other non-health-related areas such as vehicular accidents, which account for the lives of many children under five. As such, it's clear that further education and public awareness initiatives must be put in place, particularly to address non-health factors, including abuse and violence. In the end, however, the decrease in this trend and the pattern reflected in each country highlight that they are on the right path and can move towards realizing the related development goals envisioned.

Variable 5.2: Population using improved drinking water sources

The data presented below details development successes in health in each country measured by the proportion of the population using an improved drinking water source.

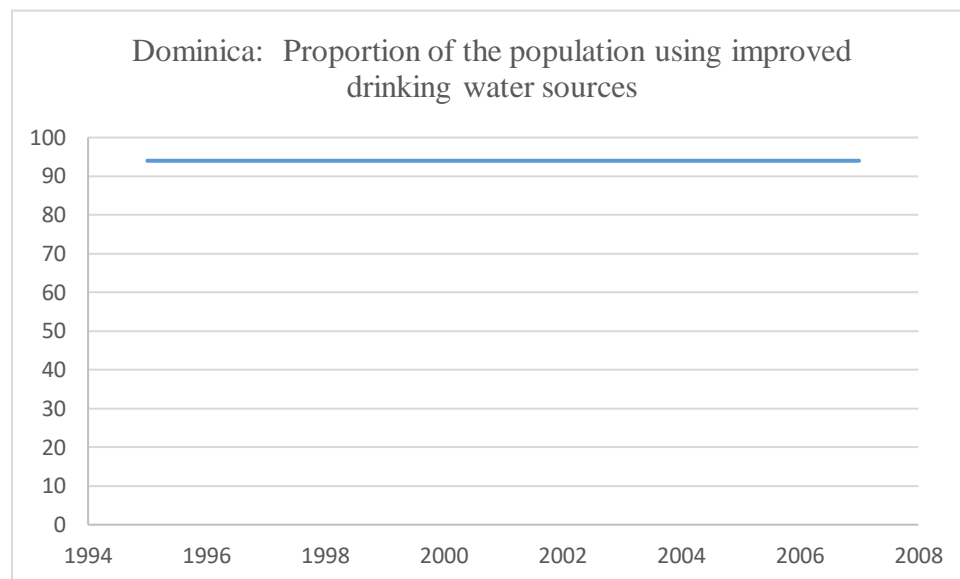
As safe drinking water is regarded as necessary and vital for healthy life, access to such water sources are critical for measuring health success in many countries. Safe water often directly links to the advent of communicable diseases, proper nutrition and the levels of sanitation necessary for acceptable standards of living. This variable therefore relates successes in health which is a key determinant of development success. The goal established therefore, by the MDG was to halve, by 2015, the proportion of people without sustainable access to safe drinking water and basic sanitation.

Figure 50.



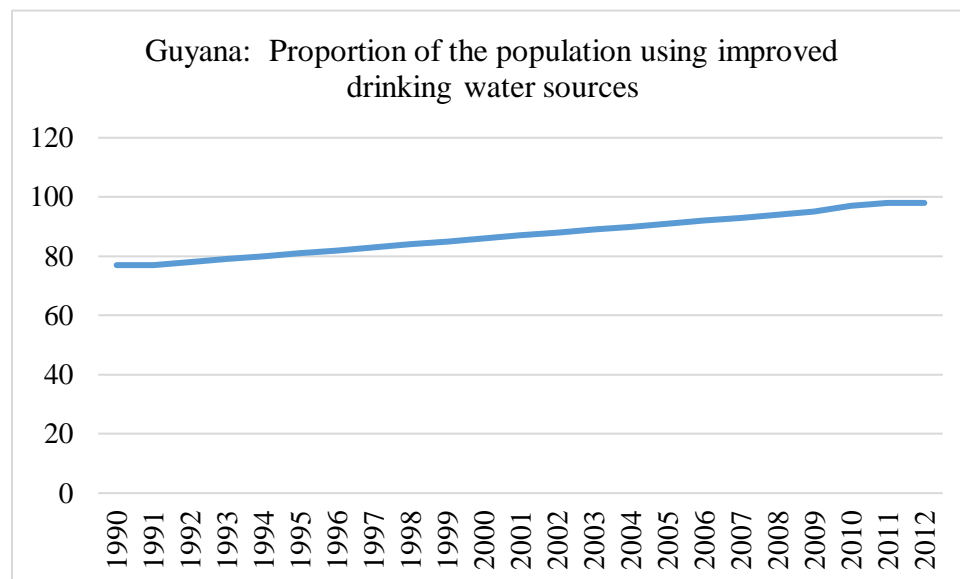
In Barbados, the health indicator measured by the variable assessing the proportion of the population using improved drinking water sources reflects a positive trend. In Barbados, the proportion of the population using an improved drinking water source has consistently increased over time. Barbados saw an increase from about 95% of the population having access to improved drinking water sources in the early 1990s to a figure of 100% of the population gaining access to improved drinking water sources by the year 2002. This has been a very positive result for the health situation in Barbados as clean water and adequate sanitation are key components for health and development success.

Figure 51.



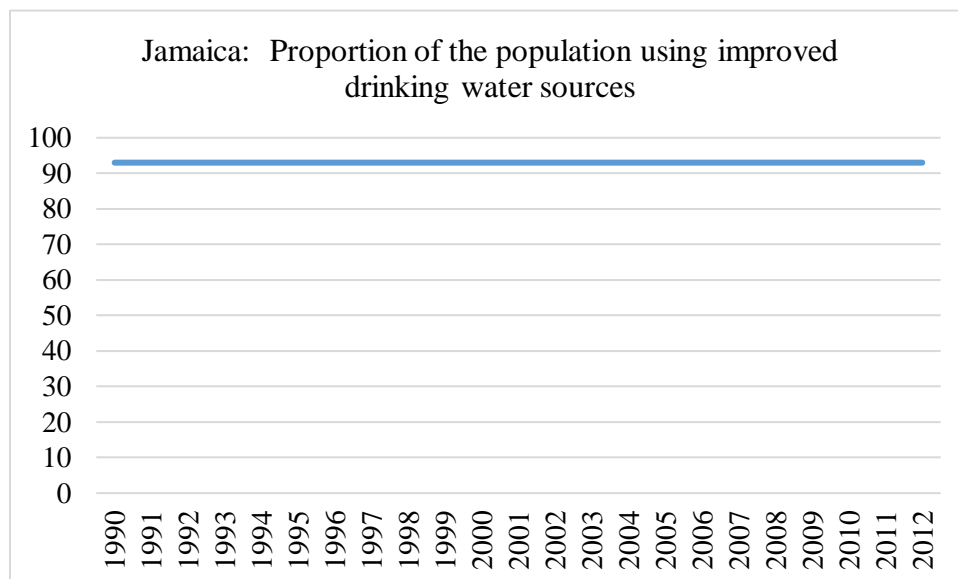
The pattern in Dominica regarding the proportion of the population using improved water sources very nearly matches that of Barbados. In Dominica, this variable reflects a positive trend, where since the mid-1990s; the proportion of the population using an improved drinking water source has consistently remained above the 95% mark. This trend represents improved access to water for drinking as well as for sanitation across the country.

Figure 52.



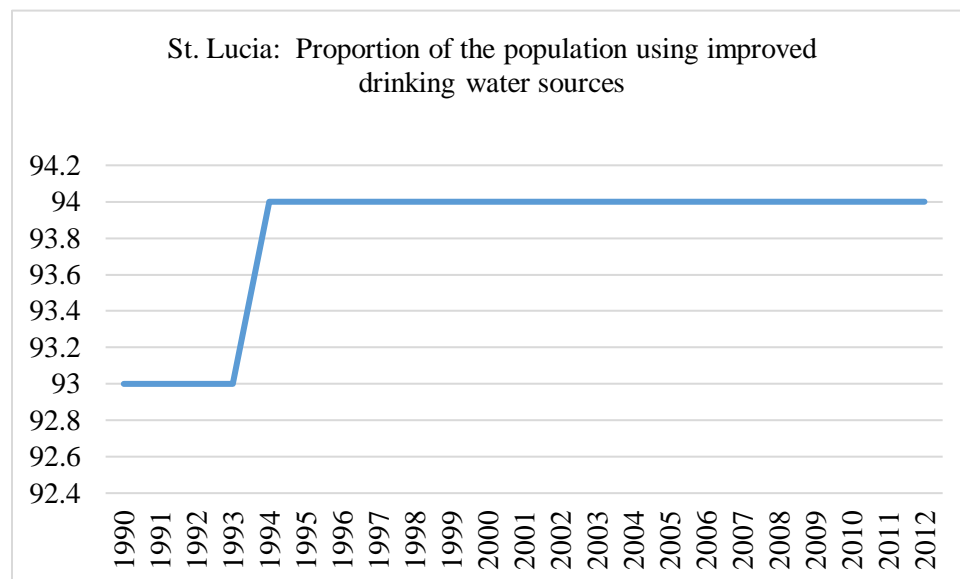
Guyana also relates a very positive trend for the proportion of the population using improved drinking water sources. In Guyana, the proportion of the population using an improved drinking water source has consistently increased over time. The country saw a dramatic increase from a figure that was less than 80% in the early 1990s to virtually 100% of the population using improved drinking water sources by 2012. This pattern matches the case of Barbados and Dominica and directly relates a positive trend for the health situation in Guyana, particularly as this relates to development success.

Figure 53.



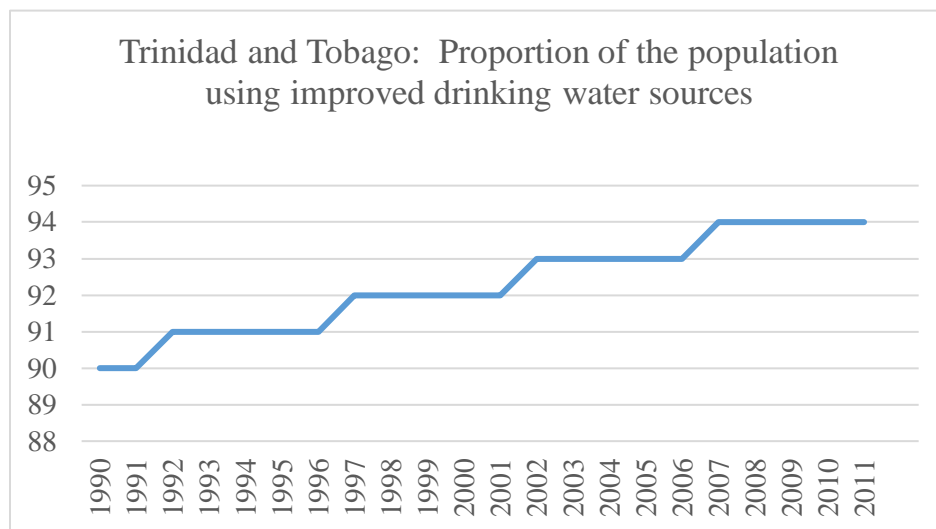
The health indicator across the Caribbean case units reflects a story of success with regard to development and the health factor as a determinant of development. Jamaica also matches the pattern found in the other Caribbean countries where positive trends are reported considering the proportion of the population using improved drinking water sources. In Jamaica, from the mid-1990s onwards, the proportion of the population using an improved drinking water source has consistently remained at or above the 93% mark. This figure is very close to 100% of the population having access to improved drinking water sources. In Jamaica, this success has also correlated to improved access to various forms of improved sanitation. The trend in Jamaica, therefore, matches that of the success seen with regard the health indicator in terms of development.

Figure 54.



In St. Lucia, the health indicator measured by the variable surveying the proportion of the population using improved drinking water sources reflects a positive trend, and the pattern matches that of the other Caribbean case units. In St. Lucia, the proportion of the population using improved drinking water sources has steadily increased with time. St. Lucia witnessed a sharp increase from 93 % of the population having access to improved drinking water sources in 1993 to 94% of the population using an improved drinking water sources the following year in 1994. This was the result of targeted infrastructural improvement. This figure remained steady increasing slightly from that 94% mark in the mid-1990s up till 2012.

Figure 55.



Trinidad and Tobago reflects a health indicator pattern that mirrors the other case units as per the variable measuring the proportion of the population using improved drinking water sources. Trinidad and Tobago, therefore, also relates a positive trend for health as a determinant of development success. In Trinidad and Tobago, the proportion of the population using an improved drinking water source has steadily increased and has moved from a low of about 90% in the early 1990s to a figure surpassing 94% by 2008. The figure remained at or above 94% between 2008 and 2012.

Variable 5.1 Development Success Overview

These case units demonstrate that the Caribbean region has placed specific emphasis on the health indicator and on the various variables contributing to health success. All case units reported increases in the proportion of its population with access to improved drinking water sources. All case units have also reported increases in access to improved sanitation in support of this health success. Despite this achievement, data

has revealed that there remains some inequitable levels of success, as one observes the improvements made in urban areas as opposed to that made in rural areas. Many rural areas in the Caribbean continue to have less access to improved water sources than is the case in urban areas.

Consequently, the variable which assesses improved water sources as an indicator of improvements in health, though it relates successes in health, is unable to afford a complete picture of the national development situation in each case unit. Nevertheless, there is clear evidence that remarkable success has been made in improving health and sanitation, a key component for strengthening societies and safeguarding the labor force. Other variables, however, must be evaluated alongside this variable and the health indicator in order to fully assess how the successes found in health impacts the overall development situation.

The Caribbean's Development Standing: The HDI framework

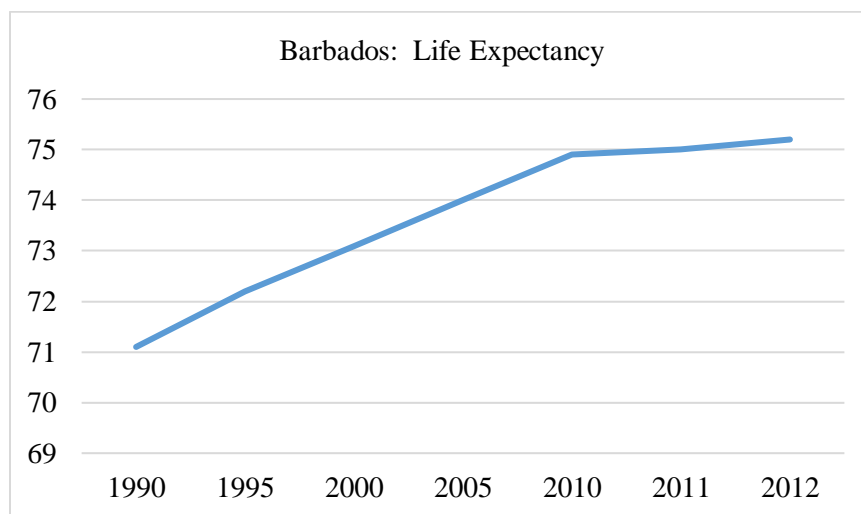
The Human development index framework proposes another rationale with which countries can gauge and strategically implement development options. This definition and the related variables and measures for development differs from that proposed by the Millennium Development Goals. As such, the resultant assessment of the case units may indicate that the incidence of development and security may be directly related to the development framework employed and the understanding of what constitutes development. The Human Development Index assesses development via an emphasis on the capabilities of people. According to the HDI, people and their capabilities must constitute the primary criteria for ultimately assessing development success.

The indicators mapping development according to the Human Development Index are life expectancy, measuring health success, GNI per capita measuring economic success and well-being, and the mean and expected years of schooling measuring education.

Variable 6.1 Life Expectancy

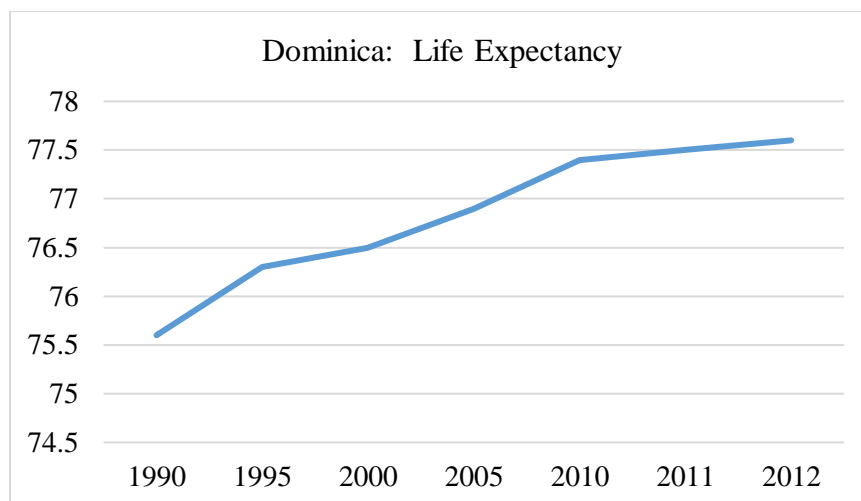
The data presented below details development successes in health in each case unit measured by the Human Development Index variable, life expectancy.

Figure 56.



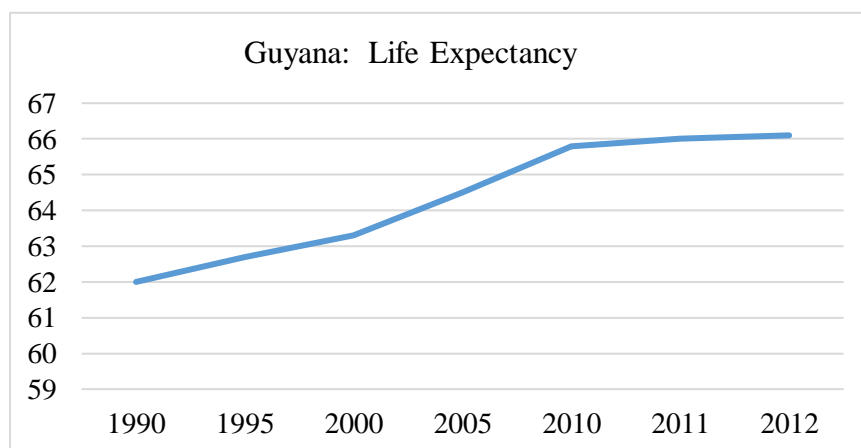
In Barbados, the life expectancy indicator of the Human Development Index relates a positive trend with an exponential increase between 1990 and 2008, after which, from 2010 onwards, the rate of increase slowed. In 1990 Barbados recorded an average life expectancy just a little above 71 years of age. This increased to almost 75 years of age by 2010, and by 2012 the average life expectancy figure stood at a little more than 75 years.

Figure 57.



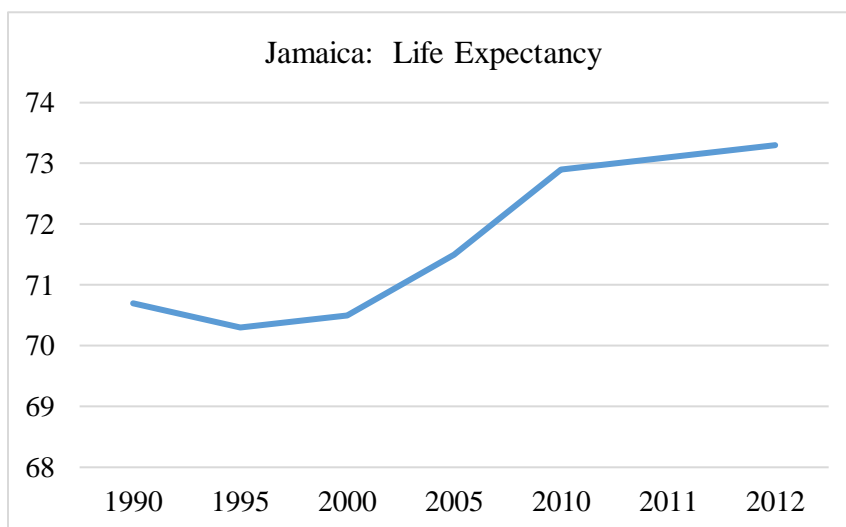
Dominica's life expectancy indicator related to the Human Development Index reveals a positive trend, similar to the case of Barbados. Dominica experienced several periods of exponential increase in life expectancy up till 2010, after which these increases leveled off. In Dominica the average life expectancy figure in 1990 stood at a little more than 75 and a half years. By 2010, the average life expectancy in Dominica was about 77 and a half years. That positive pattern for life expectancy in Dominica continued with a figure surpassing 77.5 years by the year 2012.

Figure 58.



Like the case of Barbados and Dominica, the life expectancy indicator employed as a measure of development reveals a positive trend. Guyana witnessed periods of increase and leveling off in a positive direction from the early 1990s onward. In Guyana, the life expectancy figure in 1990 stood at 62 years of age. By 2000 that figure was slightly above 63 years, and in 2010 the life expectancy figure in Guyana was approximately 66 years of age. The figure was slightly more than 66 years by 2012. While this figure is significantly lower than the case of Barbados and Dominica, the pattern recorded generally matches that of Barbados and Dominica and it reveals a positive trend for development as this relates to health.

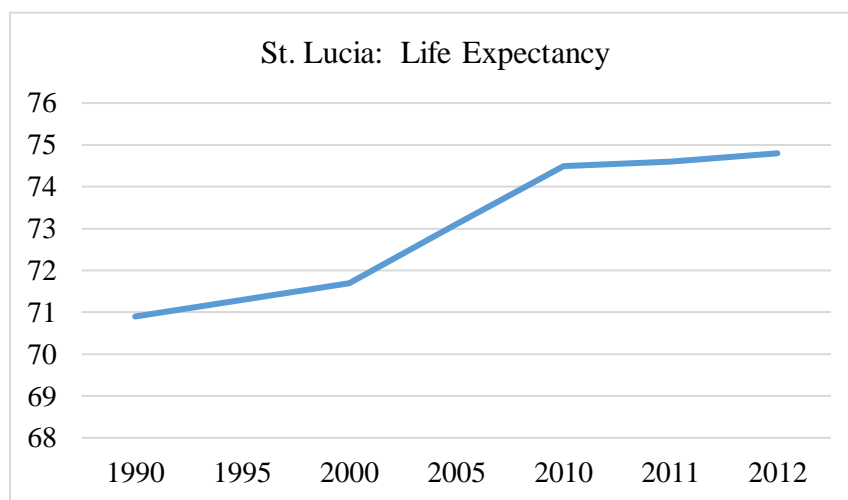
Figure 59.



In Jamaica, the life expectancy indicator of the Human Development Index relates a positive trend overall. The life expectancy pattern in Jamaica, however, does not match that of Dominica, Barbados and Guyana, since Jamaica experienced a drop in life expectancy between the mid-1990s and the early years of the new millennium. The life expectancy figure in Jamaica in 1990 stood at about 75.75 years of age. This figure

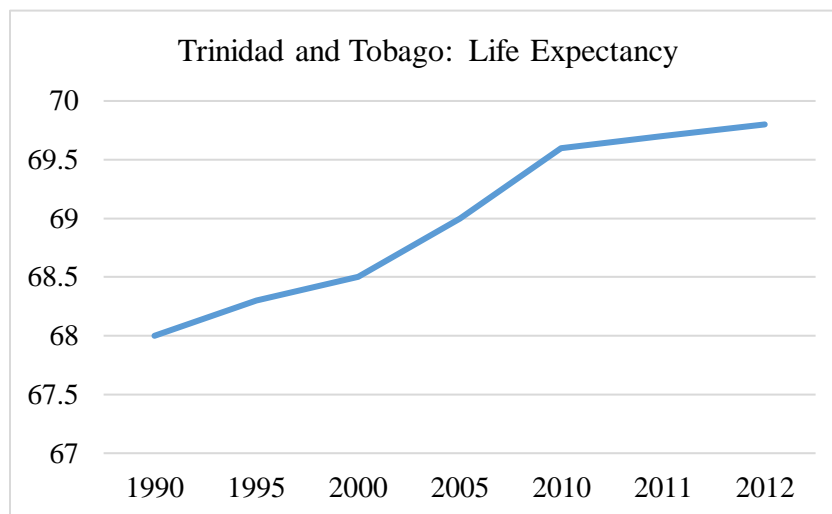
dipped to a little more than 70 years of age by 1995 and by 2000, the life expectancy figure in Jamaica and was reported at just over 70.5 years of age, in the wake of an era of increases in murders and violence, alongside other social and economic hardships.

Figure 60.



The life expectancy indicator related to the Human Development Index reveals a positive trend in St. Lucia, like the pattern in Barbados, Dominica and Guyana, where an increase in life expectancy was evident across time. St. Lucia experienced several periods of increase in life expectancy with the rate of increase slowing down in each successive incremental period. By 2010, the average life expectancy in St. Lucia was 74.5 years up from 71.7 years a decade before, in 2000. By 2012, St. Lucia also saw continuing increases in life expectancy with the figure of 74.8 years.

Figure 61.



Trinidad and Tobago experienced a life expectancy trend very similar to that of St. Lucia. This pattern also matches the case of Dominica, Barbados and Guyana. The life expectancy indicator related to the Human Development Index relates a positive trend in Trinidad and Tobago, where life expectancy for the citizens of Trinidad and Tobago increased across time. Trinidad and Tobago experienced several periods of increase in life expectancy, with the actual rate of increase in life expectancy speeding up between 2000 and 2010, after it had increased only gradually between the years 1990 and 2000. The life expectancy figure continued to increase from 2010 onwards although it did so at a slower rate. Trinidad and Tobago, therefore, saw an increase in the life expectancy of its citizens, from 68 years in 1990 to 68.5 in 2000 and 69.6 years in 2010. By 2012 that figure stood at 69.8 years of age. Again, like the case of Guyana, while this figure is much lower than the case of many of the other countries surveyed in this case study, the general pattern remains the same.

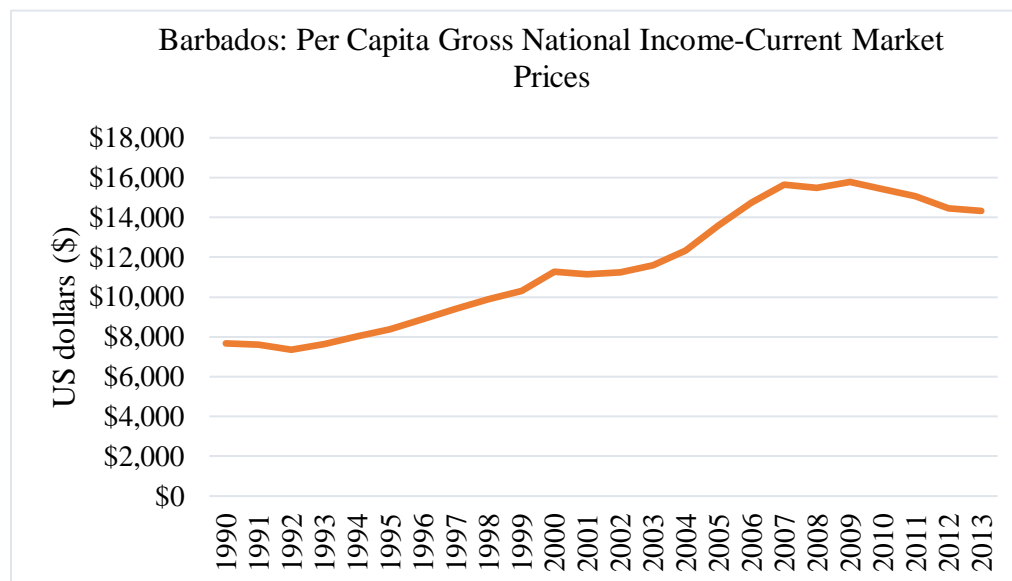
Variable 6.1 Development Findings Overview

The results compiled for the health variable measured by the life expectancy indicator of the Human Development Index indicate an experience with health, which is similar to the findings of the assessment of the health indicator and variables of the Millennium Development Goals also surveyed in this dissertation. Like in the case with the MDGs, the countries surveyed revealed that the Caribbean region has seen much success in the domain of health, a widely accepted and globally tested determinant of development. All country units surveyed and analyzed in this case study reported increases in life expectancy, and therefore, successes related to the health of citizens. According to the Human Development Index this success reveals that the citizens of the Caribbean are afforded the opportunity to have a long and healthy life, a key criterion for relating human capacity and development success.

Variable 7.1 Per Capita Gross National Income (Current Market Prices)

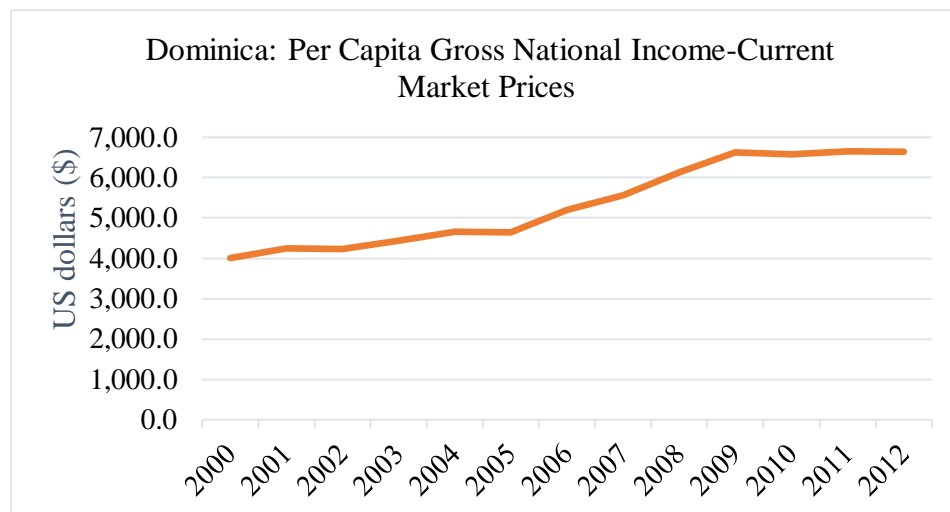
The data presented below details the results obtained for the per capita Gross National Income, the variable related to well-being according to the Human Development Index.

Figure 62.



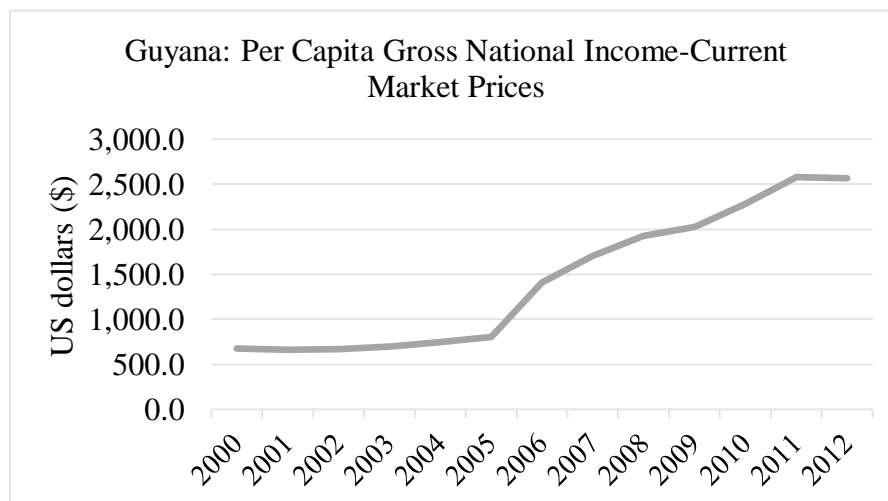
The Gross National Income per capita at current market prices measuring economic success and indicating levels of development according to the HDI, reflects a positive trend in Barbados where the gross national income per capita has increased steadily over time. Barbados saw an increase from a GNI of \$7606 at current market prices in 1991 to a peak GNI of \$15780 at current market prices in 2009. Despite some decreases in the rate of increase of the GNI in Barbados, the country consistently increased its levels of national income. After a small drop from \$15656 in 2007 to \$15472 in 2008, 2009 brought with it another high of \$15780. Between 2009 and 2012, Barbados recorded a slight leveling off and reported a GNI at current market prices of \$14317 by 2013.

Figure 63.



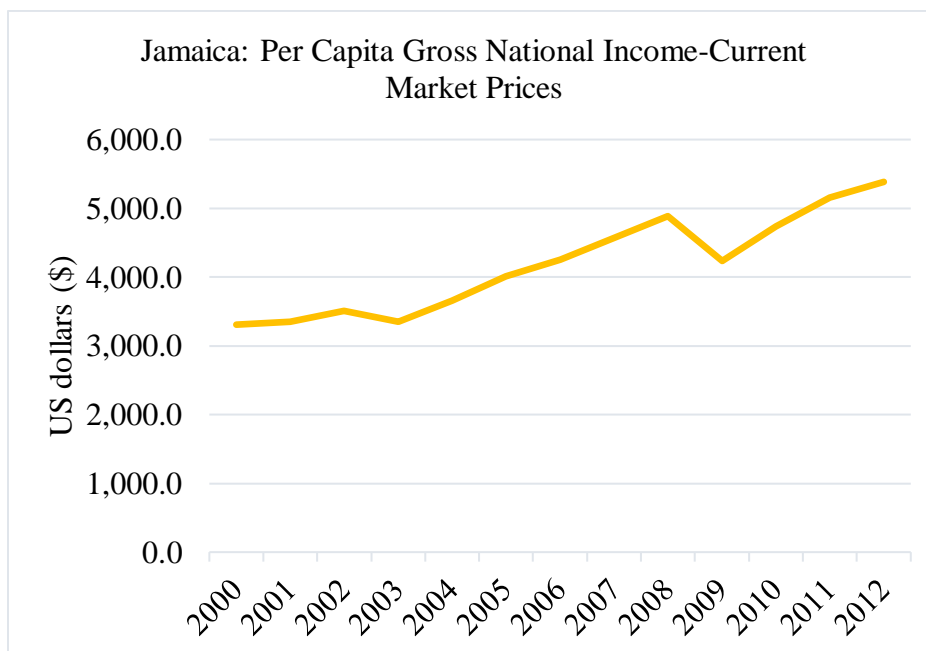
The pattern of the gross national income at current market prices in Dominica closely matches the results recorded in Barbados. Dominica also relates a positive trend related to human development measured according to the HDI at current market prices as the country reported gross national income figures that increased steadily between 2000 and 2012. Dominica's GNI at current market prices grew from \$4247.7 in 2000 to \$6643.2 in 2012. Like the results recorded for Barbados, Dominica also reported a leveling off in the rate of increase between 2009 and 2012. While the gross national income in Dominica is about half of that of Barbados, the upward trend may be interpreted as the result of similar or related policy measures across Caribbean countries.

Figure 64.



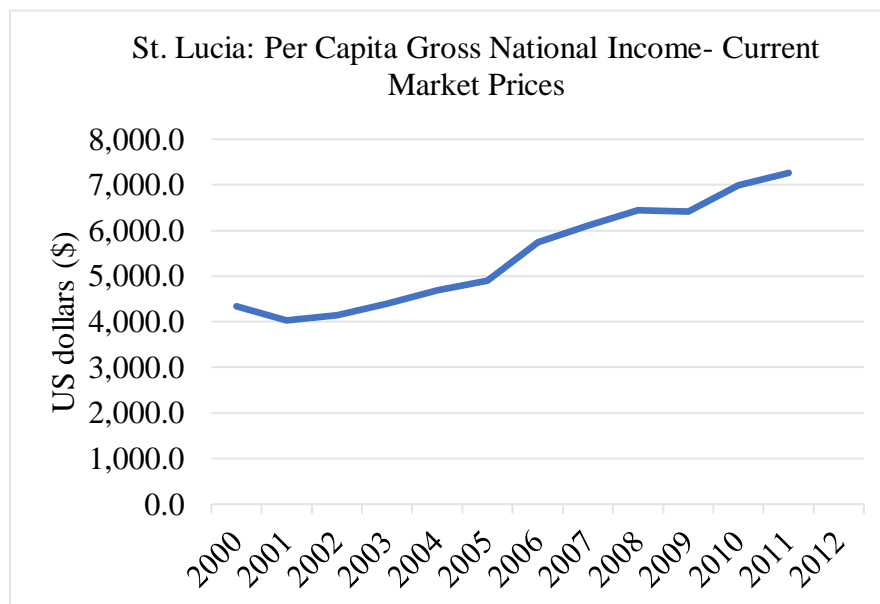
The general increasing trend of the gross national income at current market prices in Guyana mirrors that of Barbados and Dominica, although the overall pattern differs slightly as the rate of increase in Guyana tended to be slower. Guyana, like Barbados and Dominica, relates a positive trend related to human development according to the GNI measure prescribed by the Human Development Index for assessing development success. Guyana's HDI at current market prices rose gradually between 2000 and 2012, from \$673.9 in 2000 to \$804.4 in 2005. After this point, Guyana's rate of increase climbed and the gross national income at current market prices increased exponentially from \$804.4 in 2005 to \$2579.6 by 2011.

Figure 65.



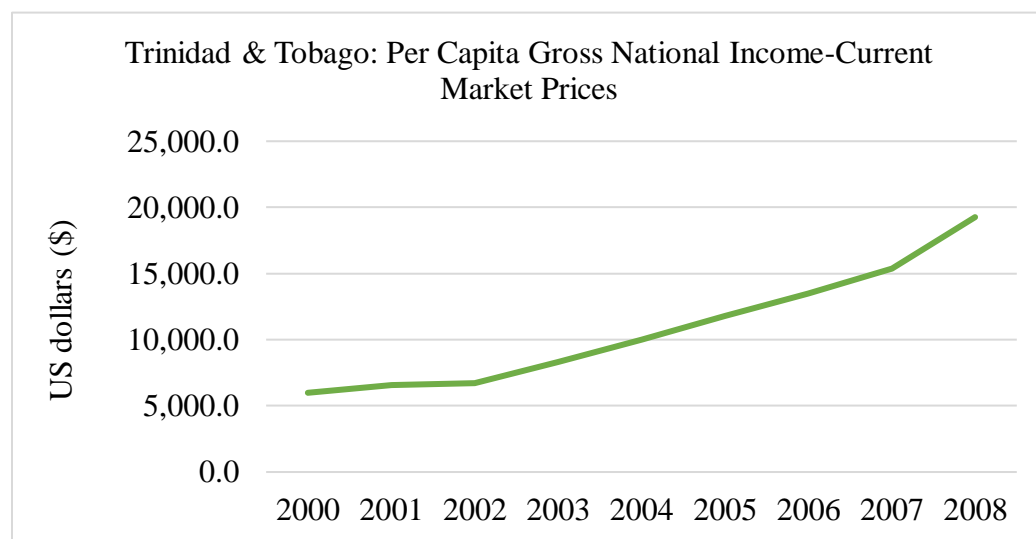
The results gathered for Jamaica's gross national income reflected a pattern similar to that of the other countries assessed. Jamaica experienced a progressively increasing gross national income trend over time, with two phases of slight decline. The GNI in Jamaica grew from \$3308 in the year 2002 to a figure of \$5384.8 in 2012. Although Jamaica's experienced progressive GNI increases, the country experienced a drop from \$3504.9 in 2002 to \$3350.5 in 2003. Another drop also occurred, moving the GNI from \$4890.7 in 2008 to \$4238.5 in 2009. Despite these fluctuations, the overall pattern confirms an increasing trend in GNI, as this relates development success linked to economic well-being.

Figure 66.



The results highlighted in Figure 64 reporting the progression of St. Lucia's gross national income per capita at current market prices relate a pattern like that of the other Caribbean countries surveyed. St. Lucia witnessed an increase in per capita gross national income over time, moving from \$4028.8 in 2001 to \$7261.8 in 2011. Like in the case of Jamaica, St. Lucia also experienced some slowdowns and drops while the country continued to progressively increase its overall per capita GNI.

Figure 67.



The results of the HDI's per capita GNI assessment of Trinidad and Tobago's economic well-being suggests that like many of the other Caribbean countries, levels of well-being have increased in Trinidad and Tobago as the GNI per capita increased from \$5986.9 in 2000 to \$19263.7 by 2008. Although in Trinidad and Tobago, the increasing gross national income per capita progressively slowed, between 2007 and 2008, the country experienced a sharp upturn. In the end, the overall per capita GNI has consistently reported a positive trend related to economic well-being as an indicator of development success.

Variable 7.1 Development Success Overview

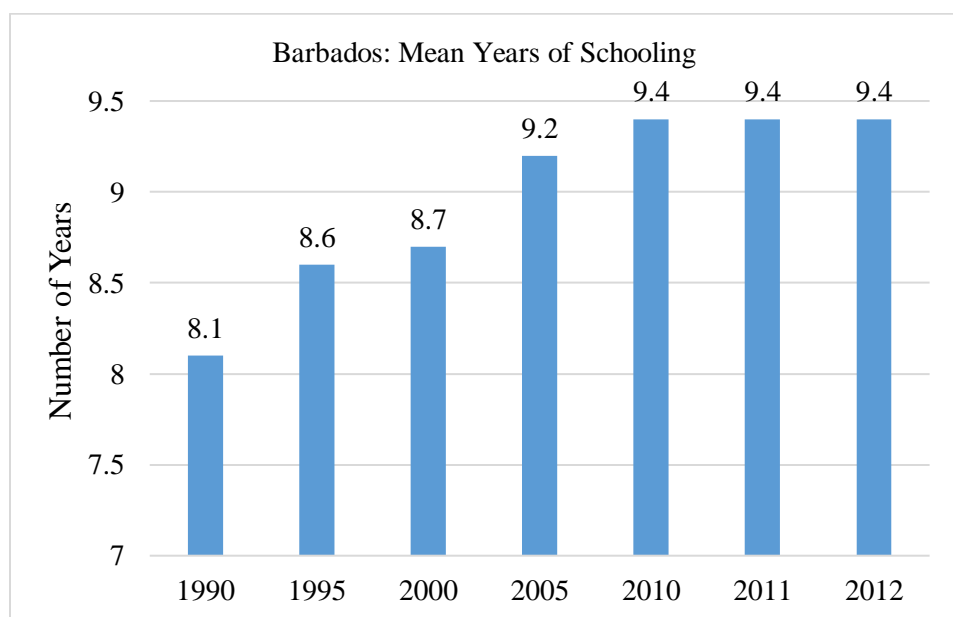
The results of the HDI measure of economic well-being in the Caribbean relates data that mirrors the results of the economic well-being deduced from the poverty variables surveyed in the MDG assessment section of this dissertation. This suggests that there is a level of consistency between the MDG assessment and the HDI analysis used to measure and report levels of development success relating well-being and living standards. In

Guyana, for example, the HDI economic well-being figures remain well below that of Barbados, Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, St. Lucia and Dominica just as with the results of the MDGs previously assessed. For Guyana, therefore, in terms of economic well-being, the MDG and HDI definitions of development success both relate the same overall picture. In general, this MDG-HDI correlation holds true for the other countries surveyed with respect to the indicators and variables used for assessing economic well-being and living standards.

Variable 8.1 Mean Years of Schooling

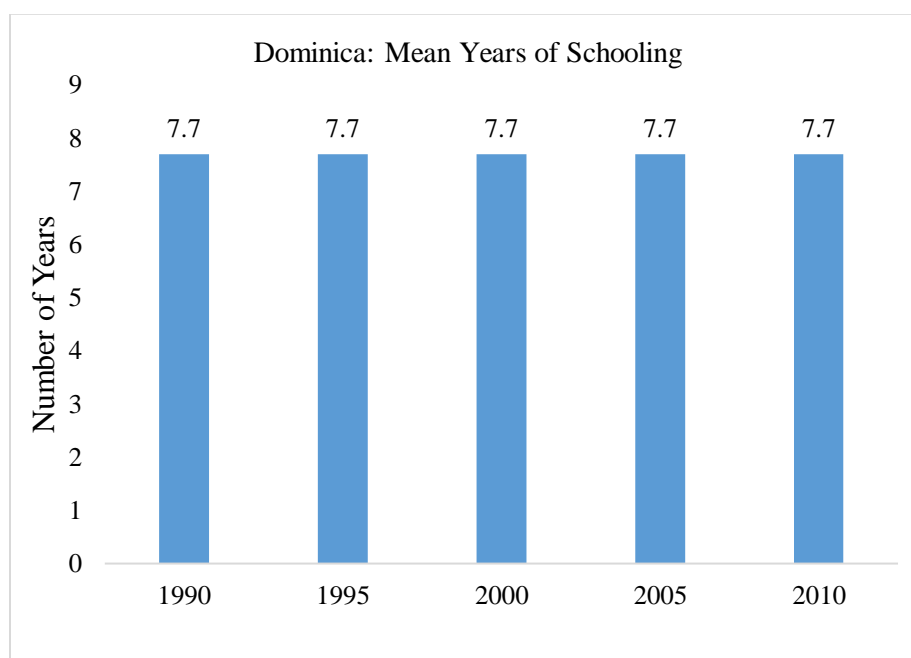
The data presented below details the results related to the mean number of years of schooling in each of the case units.

Figure 68.



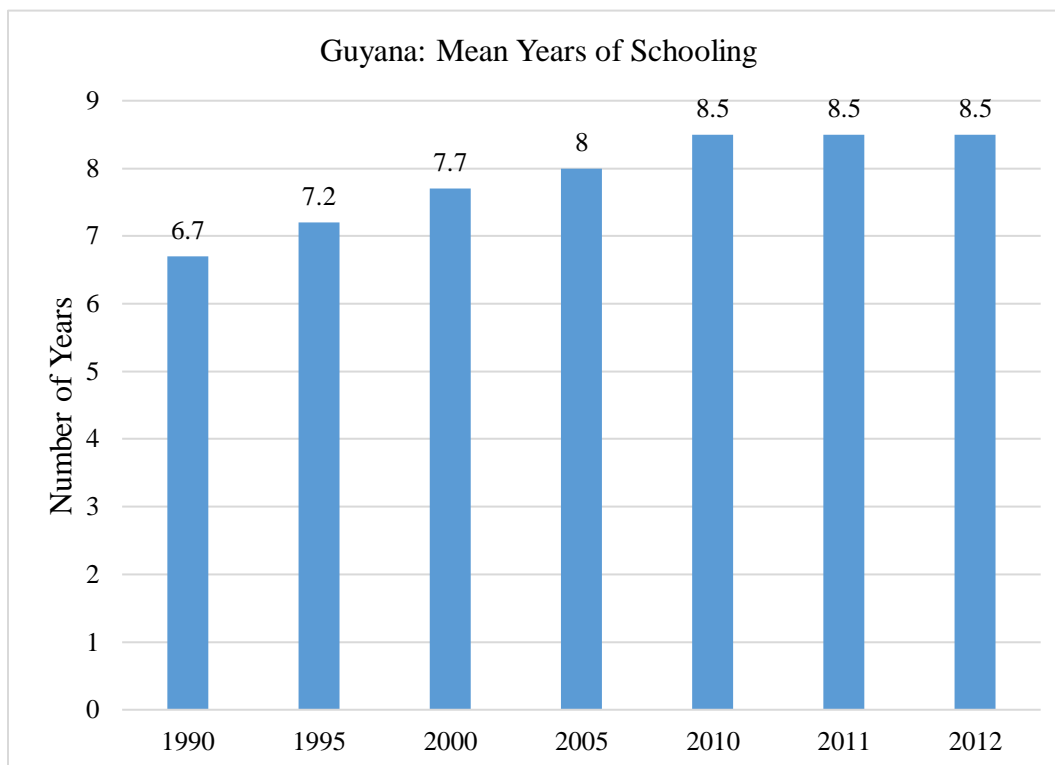
In general, Barbados has witnessed an increase in the average years of schooling afforded to citizens. Most recent figures indicate that as of 2012, and from as early as 2010, individuals in Barbados can expect to attend an average of about 9.4 years of schooling. This is up from the 9.2 average years of schooling in 2005 and the 8.6 and 8.7 average, respectively in 1995 and 2000, significantly higher than the 1990 expectation of 8.1 average years of schooling in Barbados.

Figure 69.



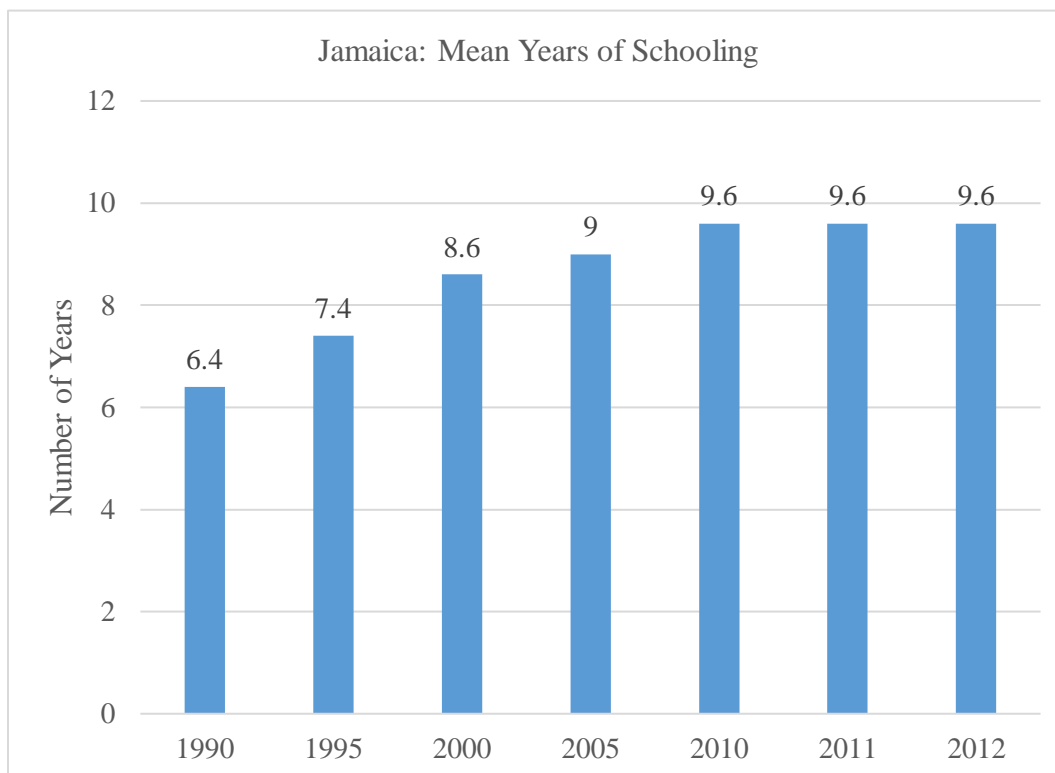
In Dominica, the average years of schooling has remained consistent over time. Between 1990 and 2012, therefore, Dominica reported an average of 7.7 years of schooling. This trend is different from that witnessed in Barbados where an increase in the average years of schooling is seen over time.

Figure 70.



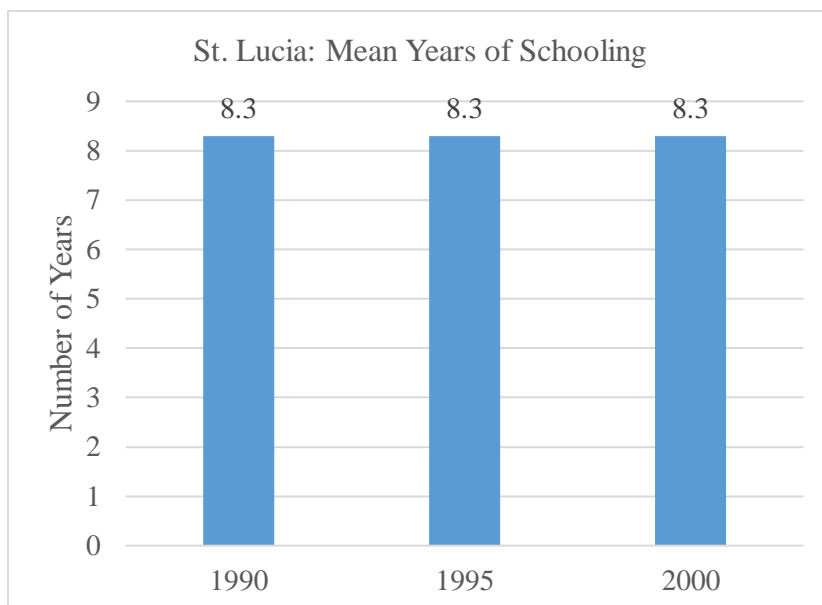
The data reporting Guyana's, average years of schooling more closely mirrors that of Barbados as opposed to the case of Dominica. Guyana, like Barbados reported an increase in the average years of schooling expected for individuals in that country. In 1990, the average years of schooling in Guyana stood at 6.7. This increased to 8 years of schooling on average by 2005, and 8.5 average years of schooling by 2010.

Figure 71.



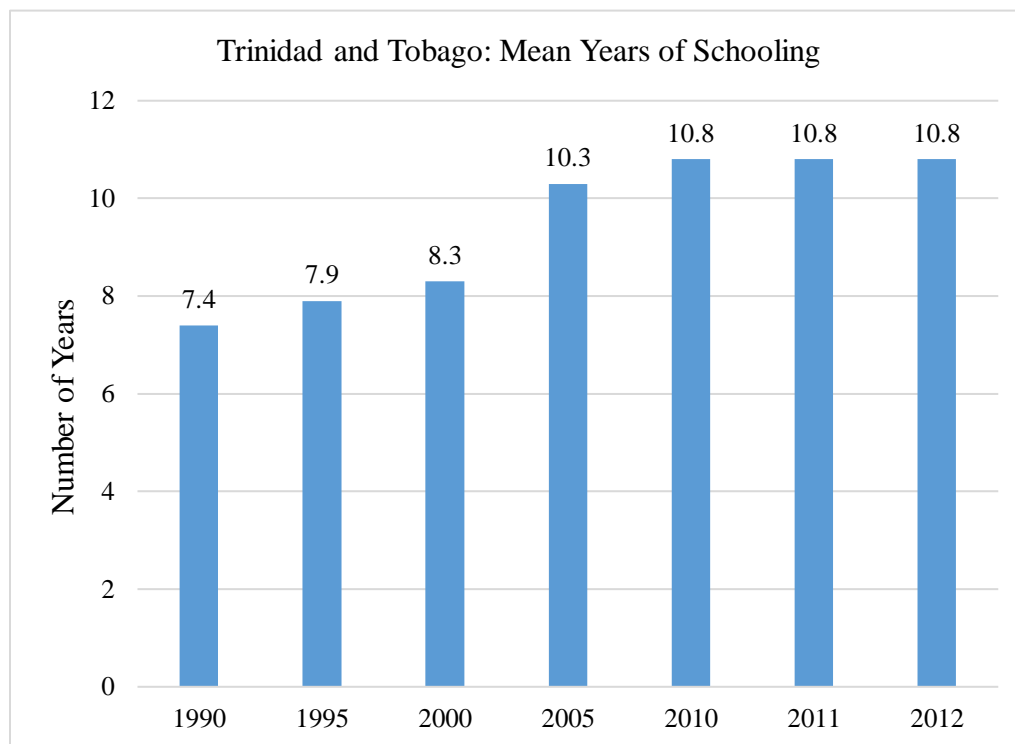
The results detailing Jamaica's, average years of schooling also very closely match the pattern found in Barbados and Guyana. In Jamaica, there has been a progressive increase in the average years of schooling attended by individuals in that country. In 1990, the average years of schooling in Jamaica was 6.4 years, a figure that increased to 7.4 years by 1995, and 8.6 years on average by 2000. By 2005, the mean 'years of schooling' in Jamaica was 9. This figure increased to 9.6 average years of schooling by 2010.

Figure 72.



The schooling pattern in St. Lucia differs from the trend witnessed in most of the Caribbean countries and more closely matches the pattern found in Dominica where the average years of schooling has remained consistent over time. Between 1990 and 2000, thus, St. Lucia reported average years of schooling that remained constant at 8.3 years. While the trend in St. Lucia mirrors that of Dominica, the figure for the average years of schooling is notably higher than in the case of Dominica.

Figure 73.



The results detailing Trinidad and Tobago's average years of schooling is again similar to that of all of the case units assessed with the exception of Dominica and St. Lucia. Trinidad and Tobago witnessed a progressive increase in the average years of schooling attended. In 1990, the average years of schooling in Trinidad and Tobago was 7.4 years, followed by an increase to 7.9 in 1995, and then successive increases to 8.3 years in 2000, and an average of 10.3 years of schooling by 2005. This figure later increased to 10.8 average years of schooling by the year 2010.

Variable 8.1 Development Success Overview

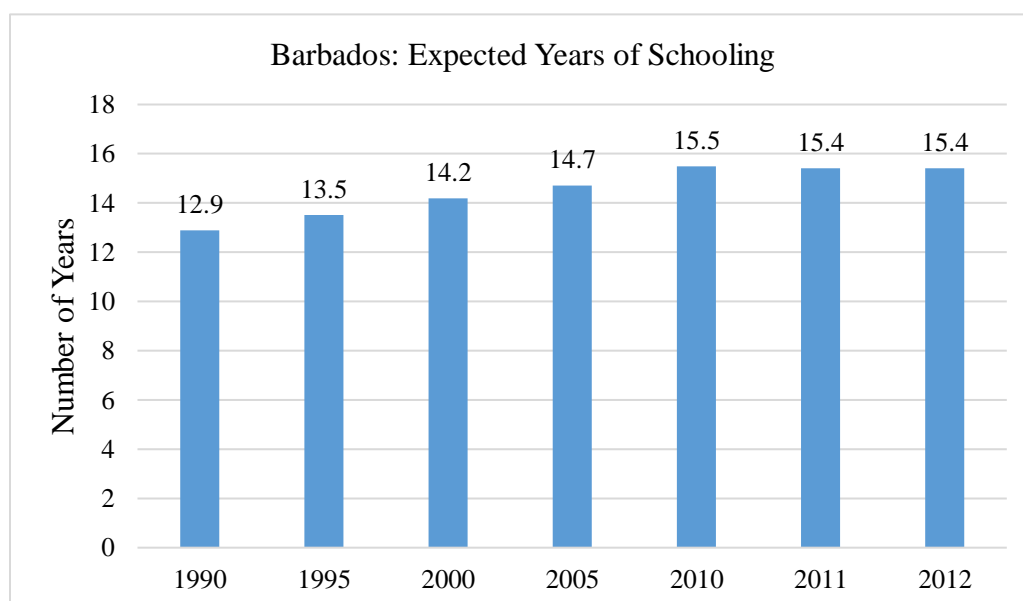
All the Caribbean countries assessed have reported high or very high figures for the average years of schooling attended. As such, these results reflect a notable level of

success in light of the education variable as a determinant of development success. The results gathered and documented by this education variable of the Human Development Index model supports the findings previously extrapolated from both of the MDG education indicators, the net enrollment ratio in primary education and literacy rates. Both MDG variables conveyed positive results and positive trends related to education and the success of development goals for education. The results of the MDG and HDI development prescriptions present similar findings on the education situation in the Caribbean, as this relates to development success and the role of education as a determinant of development.

Variable 8.2 Expected years of Schooling

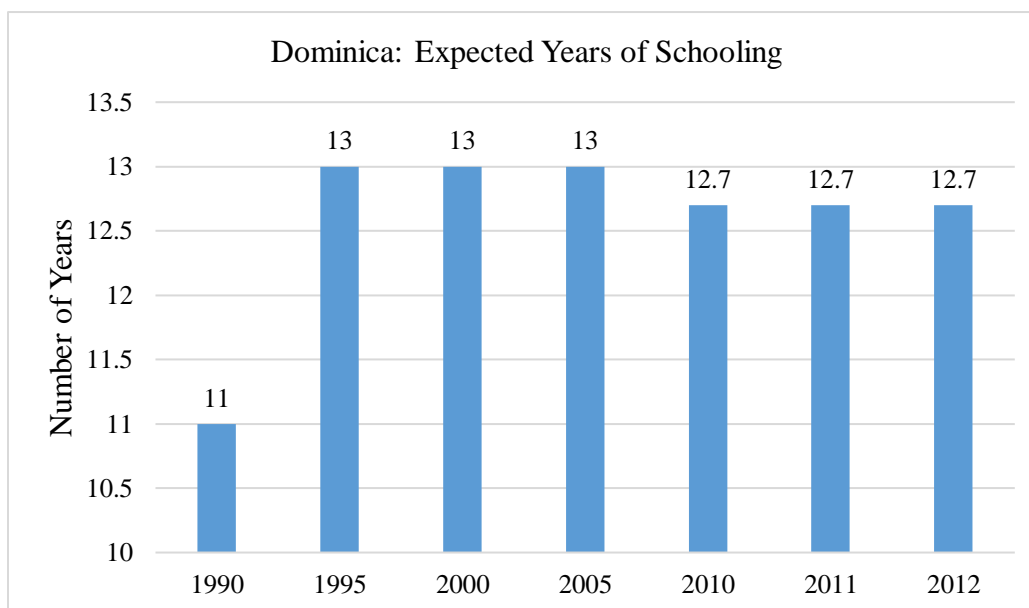
The data presented below details the results related to the expected years of schooling for each of the case units assessed in this dissertation.

Figure 74.



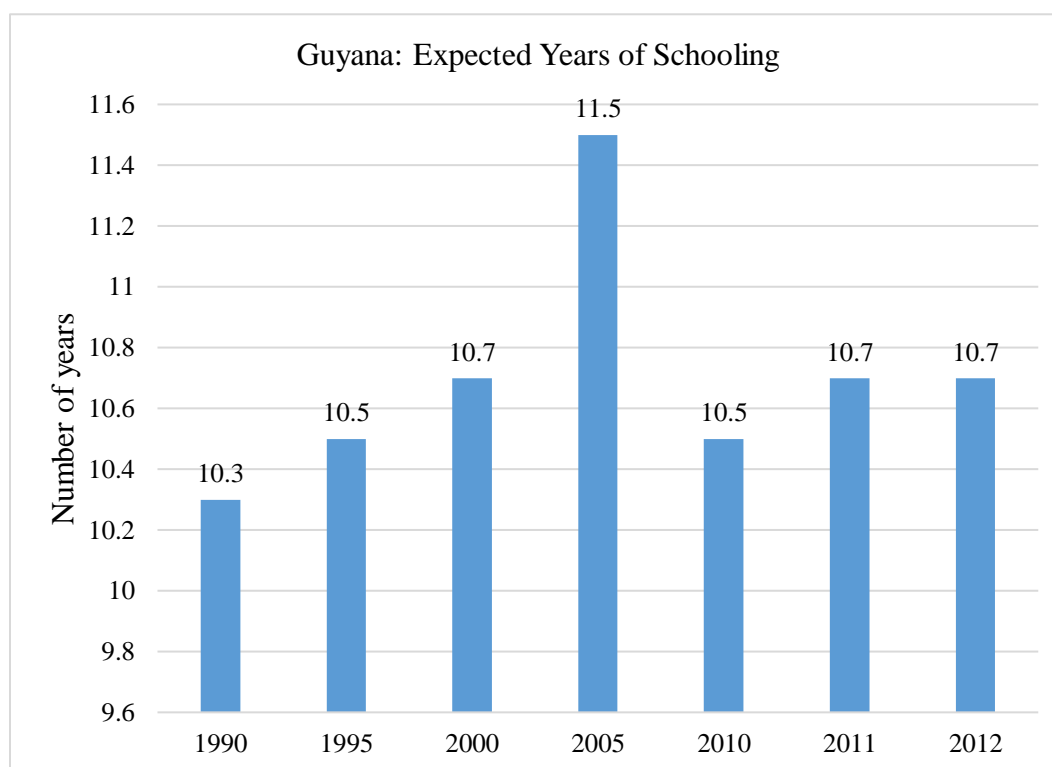
In Barbados, the HDI variable which measures the expected years of schooling alongside the average years of schooling highlights some of the issues that surround development and the problems with development. Barbados reports expected years of schooling that range from 12.9 years in 1990 to 15.5 years in 2010 and 15.4 years in 2011 and 2012. These figures differ greatly from the actual years of school attended by the citizens of Barbados. On average, as previously indicated in Figure 66, between 1990 and 2012, Barbadians attended between 8.1 years and 8.4 years of school. These results indicate that there are discrepancies between the expected years of schooling at the average years of schooling attended. This may point to issues regarding a lack of access or lack of ability to attend the expected years of schooling. As such, results of this education variable may be corroborated by findings related to economic well-being and the ability or capacity of individuals to attend school.

Figure 75.



Dominica reported expected years of schooling that ranged between 11 years in 1990 and 13 years of schooling expected between 1995 and 2005. This figure then decreased to 12.7 years of expected schooling between 2010 and 2012. Just as in the case of Barbados, the trend regarding the expected years of schooling differs significantly from the actual mean years of schooling attended. While in Dominica the expected years of schooling consistently remained above 10 years, the actual mean years of schooling between 1990 and 2012 remained at 7.7 years of schooling attended on average. Again, there is some discrepancy between the years of schooling expected and that actually attended.

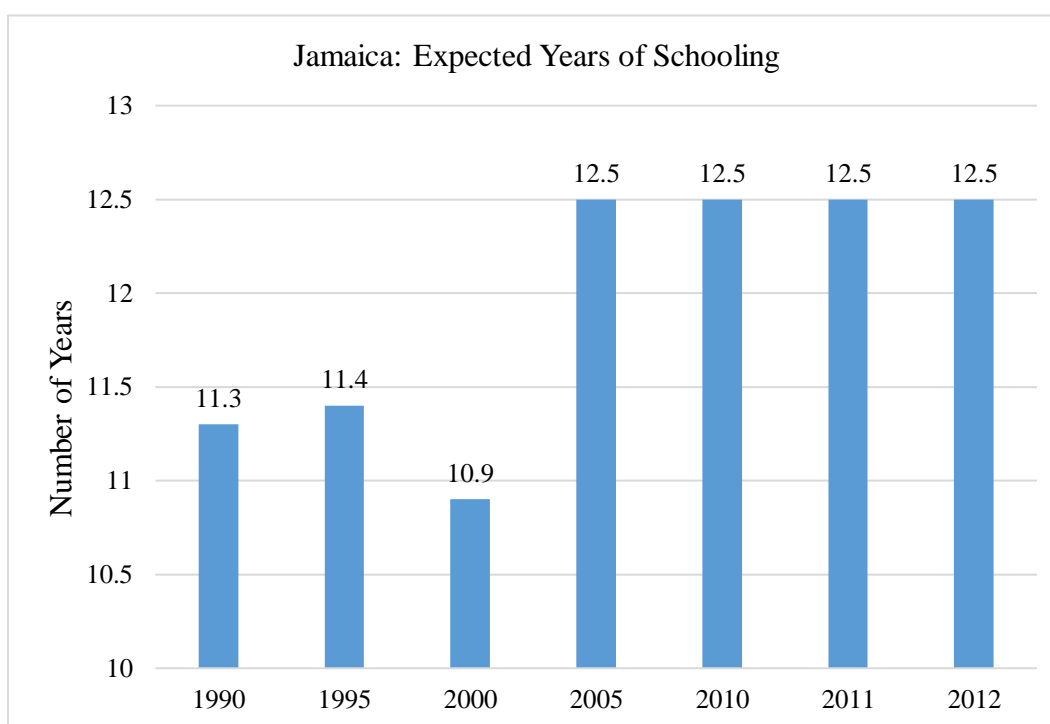
Figure 76.



The trend related to the expected years of schooling in Guyana mirrors that of Dominica and Barbados where the high expected years of schooling does not equate to

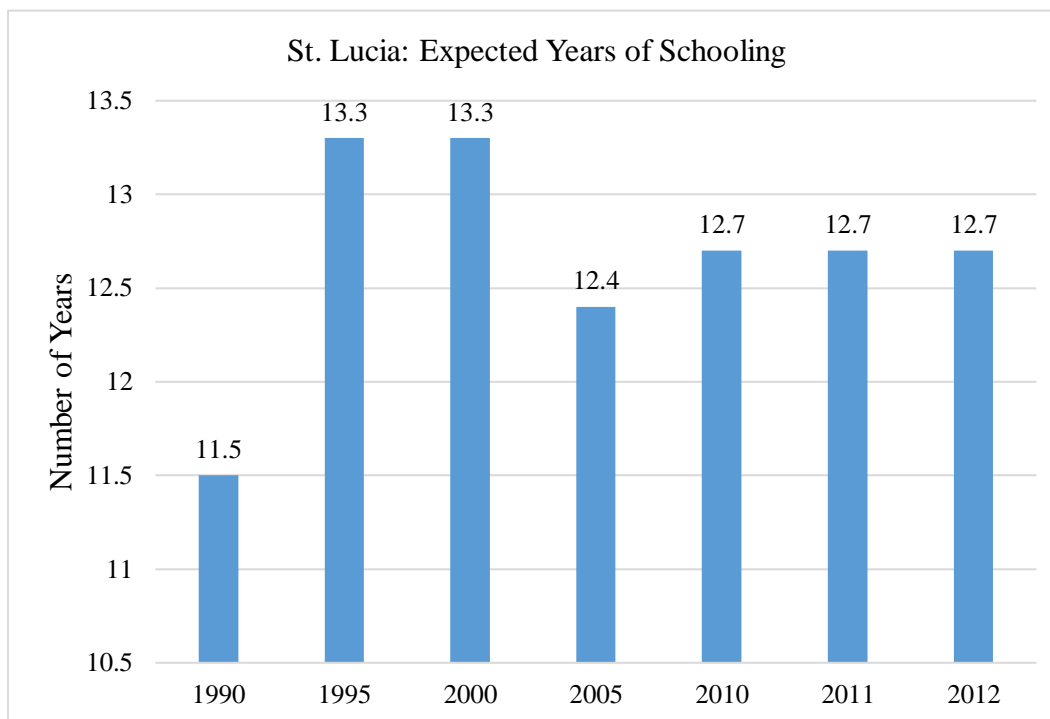
the actual average years of schooling attended. In Guyana, the expected years of schooling in 1992 was 10.3 years and 11.5 years of schooling expected in 2005. This figure dropped to 10.5 years of schooling expected in 2010 and 10.7 years of schooling expected in 2011 and 2012. This figure differs significantly from the average years of schooling attended in Guyana, which between 1990 and 2012 was only 6.7 and 8.5 years respectively.

Figure 77.



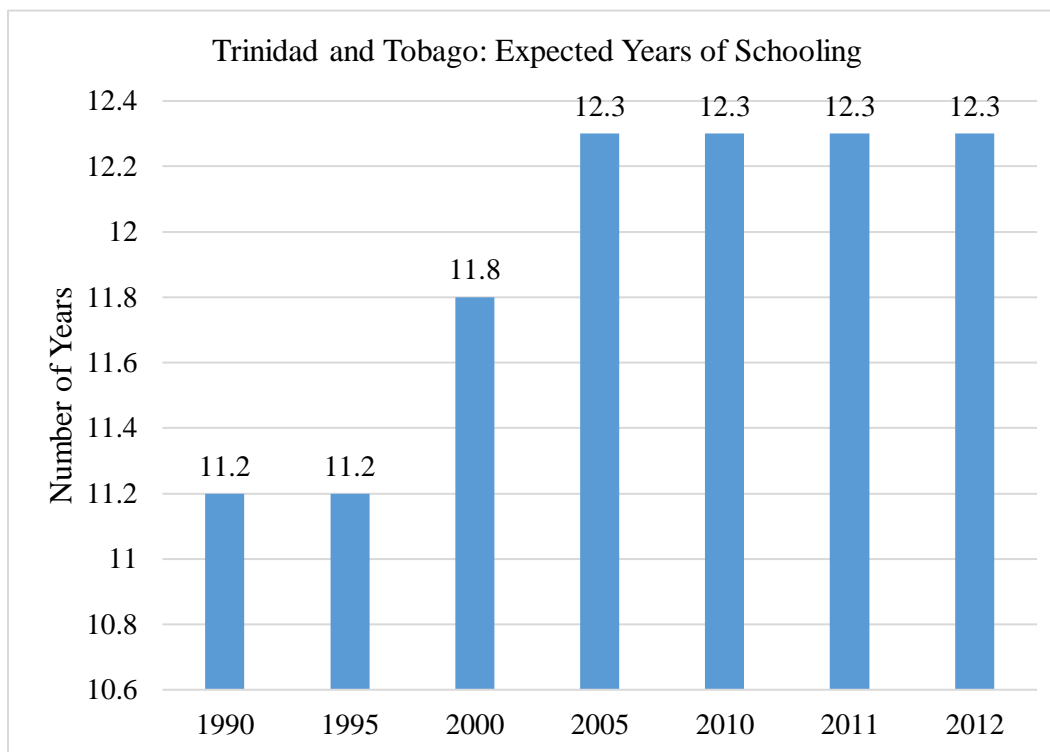
Jamaica reported that the expected years of schooling in 1990 was 11.3 years and 11.4 years in 1995. In 2000, this figure dropped to 10.9 expected years of schooling until 2005, when the figure rose again to 12.5 years of schooling expected. This pattern mirrors that of the other countries surveyed, as in Jamaica, there is a significant difference between the expected years of schooling, revealed in Figure 75 and the average of between 6.4 and 9.6 years of schooling attended (see Figure 69).

Figure 78.



The pattern regarding the expected years of schooling in St. Lucia matches that of the other countries surveyed. While St. Lucia reports expected years of schooling ranging from 11.5 years in 1990 to 13.3 years between 1995 and 2010 and 12.4 years and 2005, these figures differ greatly from the average years of schooling attended. Even while between 2010 and 2012, the expected years of schooling rose further to 12.7 years, (see Figure 70), St. Lucia maintained an average of 8.3 years of school attended between 1990 and into the new millennium.

Figure 79.



The pattern in Trinidad and Tobago relating the expected years of schooling and the average years of schooling attended is similar to that of the other countries assessed. However, the discrepancy between these figures is much less in Trinidad and Tobago where between 1990 and 2012 expected years of schooling ranged from 11.2 years to 12.3 years. While this is higher than the average years of schooling attended, just as in the other countries, the average years of school attended in Trinidad and Tobago was between 7.4 and 10.8 years, much closer to the expected years of schooling reported. Despite this, these results indicate that a gap remains between the need for schooling and the opportunity to access the years of schooling that are recommended or expected.

Variable 8.2 Development Success Overview

Just as the case in several other variables, the results derived from the data on the expected years of schooling highlight a sort of perplexity and inconsistency in development prescriptions. This variable is widely accepted globally as a key indicator and determinant of development success and security. The figures expressed in most of the cases, however, do not match up with the other related comparative variable, the mean years of schooling. Instead, in all the cases, the figures related to the expected years of schooling tended to exceed that comparable figure reported for the mean years of schooling in the same country. This suggests that there is a gap between some actors such as policy makers and development practitioners concerned with this domain, as over time, none of the cases reported a correction of the shortfall between expectation and reality.

Conclusion and Summary of Findings

The data gathered to assess the development standing of the Caribbean as per differing global development frameworks, namely the Millennium Development Goals and Human Development Index indicate that while the different frameworks do present different pictures of development in some respects, overall, the overarching results are more similar than different. Despite this, however, the very slight differences may have significant impact on policy prescriptions and the related opportunities for individuals and societies to foster the environment needed for advancing development success.

The results presented signaled that even within a particular framework there may emerge discrepancies that may lead to very different conclusions drawn with respect to

development success. For example, even the Human Development Index framework, there are discrepancies in the results between the various variables. These may easily lead to discrepancies in the interpretations made regarding development success. The HDI framework results of the health indicator, measured according to the life expectancy variable presents a picture of the development success in countries such as Dominica where life expectancy near 78 years of age (see Figure 57), while at the same time, in that same country, a lack of development success may be extracted from the HDI variable, the gross national income, (see Figure 63) which assesses poverty and human security. Dominica's GNI per capita has remained below \$7000 at current market prices while the citizens of that country have been able to enjoy some of the highest life expectancy rates (see Figure 57) in the region. The case is similar for Trinidad with a very high per capita HDI (see Figure 67) nearing the \$20,000 mark at the same time that the country reports one of the lowest life expectancy rates of all the cases surveyed (see Figure 61). It may be inferred, thus, that even within a particular framework there may emerge varying portraits of development success. This confirms, therefore that the measure or framework used can, indeed influence and even dictate the understanding, definition and perception of development success.

Nevertheless, in assessing how the MDG and HDI frameworks and measures impact the definition and understanding of development, data revealed that as per poverty, human security, and education, the results obtained tended to be similar and often reported identical patterns and levels of development success. The relative poverty levels derived from the MDG variables matched those derived from the poverty

assessment according to the HDI framework, while the results related to education outlined by the MDG variables also matched those presented by the HDI variable.

This was not definitively evident, however, in terms of the assessments of development success related to health. While in Trinidad and Tobago, for example, the MDG variables reported significant improvement and much development success in the areas of health including that of improved access to safe drinking water sources the HDI health indicator and the low life expectancy rates that were reported conveyed a more somber assessment of health success as it relates to development. This again indicates that the definition and measure employed for assessing development may indeed have an impact the results obtained.

The results that emerge in terms of relating development success and defining a country's development standing may also be impacted across variables within the same framework. Like the case of differences found across variables in the HDI framework, some of the results gathered across MDG variables also proposed competing results and explanations with regard development. In Trinidad and Tobago, for example, the health variable detailing improved access to water sources related a positive trend in terms of development as per the health indicator for Trinidad and Tobago, while the MDG variable assessing infant mortality revealed the opposite picture in the same country. These findings further support the idea that 'what defines or characterizes development' (RQ1a) may indeed impact the understanding of development success in countries and relatedly the development standing of that country.

Ultimately, the results obtained highlight that the way with which development is 'qualified and quantified' (RQ2) matters, and as such, the standards used to assess

Caribbean development (RQ2a) may indeed require further assessment for determining the adequacy and ability of these measures to accurately and comprehensively assess the region's development needs.

Chapter 5: Discussion, Conclusions, and Recommendations

Reflections on Research and Findings

This dissertation has critically reviewed various aspects of the Caribbean development experience as these experiences relate to security and peace across the region. The background information presented in chapter one reviews many of the steps taken towards advancing the type of development framework that considers the circumstances and needs of the region. The detailed examination of the various facets of the CSME highlights how regional leaders and policymakers have attempted to secure a stable and peaceful Caribbean Community. The Caribbean Single Market Economy (CSME), for example, underscored the importance of including social, economic, political, environmental and juridical platforms in advancing a sustainable development model for the region.

Despite all these efforts, including serious moves towards integration, most of the data presented in chapter 4 of this dissertation conveys that even with some progress, the region falls short of much of the development capacity needed to usher in long-lasting stability and peace. Further, even with the general sense of development stability, which is evidenced by descent achievements in some of the most critical areas, health and education, the region, does not meet the final thresholds and benchmarks for advancing sustainable levels of peace and social and economic security. There is clearly a missing link which development practitioners in the region must aspire to find.

Throughout the literature presented, there emerges an underlying theme in support of the idea that an express focus should be placed on the region's social, cultural and

historical reality, in the attempt to understand the perplexing development results that continually surface. In fact, some of the literature surveyed presented clear and indisputable links between the region's unique social and cultural phenomena and the area's corresponding economic progression. The ties bridging the region's social, cultural and historical experiences with its immediate development prospects remains tied in a crisscross network of internal dynamics and external bonds, a fate defined by the inherent and incessant context of progressively changing undercurrents.

This reality has promoted the idea found throughout the literature in support of a Caribbean space defined by a unique type of social pluralism which is often fueled by a type of dichotomous ambiguity. To this end, this dissertation can conclude that the Caribbean region does indeed merit a unique and internally generated ideal with which to define itself. The idea of Caribbean-ness promoted by a number of scholars in the sociological, anthropological and other related fields, which have chronicled this ambiguous Caribbean-centered reality, suggests that perhaps research and inquiry surrounding the region may first require a certain understanding of the meaning of Caribbean, as such meaning exists with regards to the particular context examined.

This concept directly relates to several the research questions, particularly RQ1b and RQ2a, examined in this dissertation. The researcher found it important to question how the understanding of the Caribbean self could impact ideas and related understanding of the development phenomenon. Further, in light of these peculiarities, the researcher also found it necessary to question the extent to which existing criteria and measures of development could accurately convey the reality of the complex and internally defined Caribbean space.

As it turns out, many scholars have called for examinations of this unique reality as it relates to how the region can build upon the lessons of days past, which continually guides beliefs and understandings, and that directly influence expectations. Undoubtedly, there is merit to the claim of an inherent link between the socio-cultural realities and the current economic reality, which defines many other aspects of existence in the region. The findings of this dissertation highlight the need for further examination of the varied non-economic influences that comprise a substantial part of the Caribbean development equation.

Relatedly, as the evidence in this dissertation posits, the case of Caribbean poverty is constructed within a context of juxtaposed dichotomies defined by dynamic and progressive change as well as long-lasting historical and social significances. This mix of past, present and future, as the results reveal, makes it difficult to definitively point to which of these particular aspects may weigh more on certain development aspirations in comparison to others. Nevertheless, steps must be taken, again, as the results infer, in order to advance success in development and security.

The dissertation has attempted to examine various schools of thought and pools of evidence, via a collection of data related to several the domains, which are characteristic of development as well as to society in general. The dissertation, therefore, has assessed data related to poverty, human security, health, equality and education as it mapped and analyzed if the initial propositions of dichotomous ambiguity suggested in the literature held true. In the end, as previous researchers have suggested, the researcher found that there really exists a type of suggestive and uncharacteristic nature embedded in the Caribbean reality.

For example, while some of the cases, Dominica for instance, boasted high levels of life expectancy this correlated with low levels of wealth and opportunity to sustain the long lives that are sustained. On the contrary, the opposite occurred in Trinidad and Tobago where high levels of wealth and well-being translated to low levels of life expectancy and high infant mortality. These apparent contradictions have in the end come from the idea that the Caribbean space is indeed unique and possibly even unpredictable.

Even so, the data presented related a number of consistent trends and the researcher was therefore able to match patterns and extract meaning from within which themes were generated and corresponding summaries and findings were advanced in support the theory proposed and the recommendations suggested. The use of multiple sources of evidence bolstered the researcher's attempt to examine the Caribbean development phenomenon within the framework of a multiplicity of peculiarities that could potentially impact results.

Varying levels of data, alongside various pools of data collected, afforded the opportunity for the dissertation, to in the end; reflect measurable and comparable trends and patterns that allied with the situation experienced of the ground. These results also correlated with the peculiarities highlighted across the literature. Effectively, the results presented confirm much of the information surrounding previously held beliefs related to the Caribbean region, at the same time that it suggests that there remains clear opportunities for building upon these beliefs to actualize desired results.

Overall, the descriptive and inferential statistics generally supported the textual descriptions that initially emerged in the literature and which were further confirmed by a host of the variables and indicators tested. All levels of data suggested and supported the

idea that in order to represent and understand Caribbean poverty or the Caribbean reality in its totality, assessments need to include human as well as other components that are carefully and explicitly set within the context of the respective Caribbean nation or the greater region.

The evidence presented clearly explained and confirmed that part of the issue surrounding the lack of security and stability in the Caribbean in relations to the region's lack of development lies in the fact that the region must be understood as a space that constitute more than a physical locality, but that includes a deep-rooted sociocultural context.

Research Questions and hypotheses Addressed

The comprehensive and detailed examination afforded by the case study in this dissertation reveals clearly that indeed the definition, measure and understanding of development is related to the Caribbean shortfall. Further, the results relay that the actual and the perceived understanding and definition of what characterizes development in the Caribbean remains debatable and requires further study. It is understandable, thus, that with so much progress directly related to development and peace and security, the Caribbean region remains shy of achieving the desired development goals.

The data and findings also highlight that the complex character of the Caribbean region has rendered it difficult for existing measures of development to effectively assess the state of development and security in the Caribbean. This is directly linked to the results that highlight inconsistent development trends such as high-level income and low life expectancy, or high levels of education and health and low levels of income and

human security. As such, it may be argued that the region's unique character mandates a different and region-specific definition and a related framework, for bringing about real development success.

The results confirm that as per hypothesis 1, the Caribbean region does record different results related to development as the definition and measure of development changes. Further, the results presented support the idea espoused in hypothesis 2, that countries relay different outcomes when different variables are employed to assess identical domains and determinants related to development.

Although the results clearly support hypothesis 1 and 2, the data presented does not explicitly suggest that suggested by hypothesis 3, namely that the CARICOM region will attain the status of developed with the adoption of a Caribbean-centered model for development, which defines development according to the needs and circumstances of the region. The results also do not articulate direct findings related to hypothesis 4 which proposes that Caribbean-centered development plans such as the CARICOM Single Market Economy (CSME) will advance the region's and its member country's rank as developed.

Limitations

The research process that allowed for the presentation of this dissertation afforded the researcher a wonderful and fun filled experience that fulfilled goals of exploring and understanding some of the possibilities available for the Caribbean region. Despite this however, the research process characterized an event defined by a continual hardship in

finding data for many of the variables deemed important for conveying an accurate and well-rounded picture.

In the end, therefore, the researcher relied upon the most accurate and complete pools of data available and thus also chose to present these datasets with the use of the graphical formats that could afford the clearest and most accurate representation of the data and the resulting trends, patterns and themes. Even with this difficulty, the researcher was able to compile satisfactory pools of data from reliable and confirmable sources which could support the goals of confirmability, efficacy, trustworthiness and reliability desired. The use of the case study methodology afforded the type of flexibility and rigor that the researcher could use to ensure high standards even amid limitations.

Field and Theory Related Contributions

In the post 2015 development environment as the United Nations and most other international organizations involved in development continue to scramble to find answers and opportunities for achieving development success, this study offers relevant, detailed and pertinent information. These include background analysis, historical text references, updated survey analysis and usable data analysis, findings and presentations. Further, the dissertation will directly contribute to the understanding of how local, regional and international factors may impact development in the Caribbean and other intra-related regions.

Practitioners across the Caribbean and across the Americas may find that the ideas presented in this dissertation could have bearing on the state of development in other regions as much as it may also advance a new ideology with which to craft development

strategies, which take into account the needs, circumstances and experiences of respective countries and regions. Organizations such as the Organization of American States (OAS), the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), the Pan-American Health Organization (PAHO) and others primarily concerned with the overall economic and development success of the Americas may benefit from some of the goals, findings, details, explanations and ideas espoused in this dissertation.

Implications and Directions for Future Research

The quest for development success remains a major priority. As such, researchers and practitioners must continue to seek understandings related to how development is understood in order to actualize real development success that individuals and societies can tangibly experience. This dissertation highlights the need for further research related to a more complete understanding of cultural significances in light of how they impact recent global development goals.

Further, as the literature linking security and development clearly suggest, it is imperative that researchers and practitioners continue to seek feasible and achievable means with which to advance security by way of development success. As the initial evidence proposes, there is potential for fusion between development theory and peace theory. Consequently, there remains an open space for research and inquiry that can advance the broad goals of peace and development.

For now, the findings of this dissertation related to all levels of data collection, proposes that the Caribbean region expressly focus on three key areas- reducing vulnerabilities, building resilience sustaining human progress.

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