EXCERPTED FROM

Understanding the Contemporary Caribbean

SECOND EDITION

edited by
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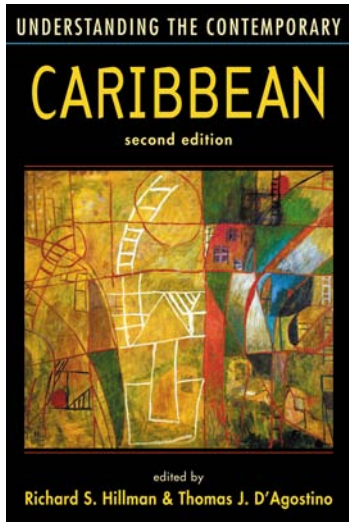
and Thomas J. D'Agostino



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Introduction

Richard S. Hillman

The first edition of *Understanding the Contemporary Caribbean* offered cautious optimism regarding the potential for political, economic, and social progress within the region. Even as this second edition explores many reasons for continued hope that such progress will occur, the global setting and internal dynamics of the Caribbean have presented unpredictable challenges that have exacerbated previous complications.

The post–September 11 world has shifted attention to the Middle East and shaped trade, economic assistance, travel, migration, and human rights in the Caribbean and elsewhere. A full-blown global economic and financial crisis has affected developing countries perhaps even more profoundly than the developed nations. Yet, despite these dramatic and unprecedented events, there are certain constants that were identified in the first edition and continue to characterize the region. For example, the Caribbean is still considerably more important and certainly more complex than is commonly thought.[1] That has not changed.

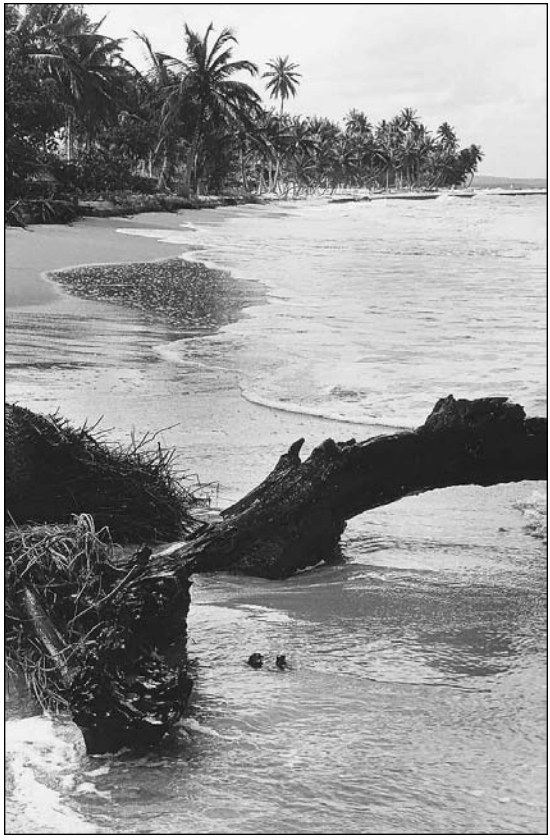
The popular image of this region suggests an attractive string of underdeveloped island nations in close proximity to the United States, with a pleasant climate and natural attributes that attract large numbers of tourists. Short visits to beautiful beaches and resorts, however, have contributed to a superficial vision of the Caribbean region. It is an interesting, significant, and exciting place for much more profound reasons.

Although there is some truth to the stereotype of the Caribbean as a tropical paradise, the region's historical, cultural, socioeconomic, and political influences far exceed its small size and low status in global affairs. Indeed, political and ideological movements and developments in the Caribbean have provoked international reactions. Moreover, throughout history the people of the Caribbean have been engaged in heroic struggles to liberate themselves from the strictures

and exploitation of colonialism, slavery, imperialism, neocolonialism, and dependency.

Historically, the perception of the region has varied, ranging from interest in an extremely valuable asset to one that has elicited benign neglect. Its role as provider of sun, sand, and surf to Americans and Europeans, for example, has obscured the fact that great power rivalries repeatedly have been played out in the Caribbean. In fact, the United States has intervened in the Caribbean more than in any other geographical area of the world. The impacts of migration patterns, investment, and commerce, as well as illicit narcotics trafficking, have been significant not only in the Western Hemisphere but also in Europe and throughout the world. Similarly, Caribbean literature, art, and popular culture have influenced countries around the world.

The Caribbean peoples have made outstanding contributions in many fields, both in their home countries and in those countries to which they have migrated. Their presence is apparent in professions such as health care and education, as



United Nations

A beach along undeveloped shoreline, Runaway Bay, Jamaica.

well as in commerce, construction, music, cuisine, sports, and government. Former US secretary of state Colin Powell, who first rose to the position of chairman of the US Joint Chiefs of Staff, is a first-generation US citizen of Jamaican origin. Baseball legend Roberto Clemente was born in Puerto Rico, and many of the players currently on Major League Baseball rosters come from the Caribbean. Actors like Harry Belafonte and Sidney Poitier, singers like Bob Marley, Wyclef Jean, and the Mighty Sparrow, academics like Orlando Patterson, and writers like Derek Wolcott, V. S. Naipaul, John Hearne, Jamaica Kincaid, Aimé Césaire, and Gabriel García Márquez represent the wealth of talent emanating from the Caribbean.

Ironically, as North Americans and Europeans flock to the Caribbean vacationland, the people of the region seek to leave their homelands. Their quest for upward socioeconomic mobility has resulted in large population concentrations abroad. New York City, for example, contains the largest urban concentration of Dominicans outside Santo Domingo. Similarly, New York is the second largest Puerto Rican city next to San Juan. And Miami has become so influenced by Cubans, Jamaicans, and Haitians, among others, it is commonly referred to as "the capital of the Caribbean."

The Caribbean has always been considered a geopolitical and strategic crossroads (see Maps 1.1, 1.2, and 1.3). From the fifteenth century to the end of the twentieth century—from Christopher Columbus to Fidel Castro—the Caribbean has been the focus of external influences (Williams 1979). First, European colonial powers imposed their systems and control. Later the Monroe Doctrine of 1823 conceived of the region as falling within the sphere of influence of the United States. As a consequence, the Caribbean was thought of as the backyard of the United States—a "US lake," so to speak.

The Cold War impinged upon emergent pressures within the Caribbean to define itself autonomously, creating confusion as to the origins and intent of national movements. In the post–Cold War era the potential for continued democratization, expanded free trade, and pragmatic regional integration loomed large on the horizon. The Caribbean was increasingly perceived as a vital link in the realization of the now severely weakened Free Trade Area of the Americas.

In the advent of the twenty-first century, countries across the region are feeling the effects of the global financial crisis as credit contracts, demand for exports declines, and commodity prices fall, resulting in a deterioration of terms of trade. Impending global recession has raised questions about the most effective economic strategies, not only for the industrialized countries but especially for small states such as those in the Caribbean.

Thus, Caribbean leaders are divided in their perspectives on the future. Some see the transfer of power from Fidel to Raúl Castro in Cuba as an opportunity for normalizing relations. Others are hopeful that an emerging coalition of the left led by Venezuela's Hugo Chávez offers a viable alternative to dependence on the United States.

Map 1.1 The Caribbean Region

Map 1.2 The Northern Caribbean

Map 1.3 The Southern Caribbean

Similarly, when asked who would be a better president of the United States for developing countries, Barack Obama or John McCain, former Jamaican prime minister Edward Seaga replied that "there is not much commitment to this region anymore from Washington by either party. The Cold War is over" (*Sunday Gleaner,* October 26, 2008). However, Richard Crawford, lecturer in political science at the University of the West Indies, stated that if Barack Obama were elected, "We would be seeing the end of an era of hostile military-type politics from the United States" (*Sunday Gleaner,* October 26, 2008).

The global crisis, of course, has posed many serious challenges to the region as a whole, as well as individual countries. The Caribbean comprises mini-states endowed with widely dispersed and, in some cases, sparse resources. Thus, economic development has been problematic. Political evolution has also been complicated. In countries that have experienced long periods of colonialism, with the attendant institutions of the plantation and slavery, it is difficult to overcome deeply ingrained authoritarian legacies in order to promote the consolidation of democracy. This does not mean, however, that historical legacies will determine the future. Moreover, disparate developments such as the Cuban revolution, the transition toward democracy in the Dominican Republic, and the invasion of Grenada further complicate the absence of a singular paradigm or model that would fit the entire region. Thus, generalizations about Caribbean political and economic development must of necessity be multifaceted and intricate if they are to be meaningful.

Yet the different countries of the Caribbean have much in common. Among the most problematic common features are financial weakness and lack of investment capital. The latter is exacerbated by the global crisis in credit markets.

Most production in the Caribbean has involved food processing, the making of clothing, and the manufacturing of sugar and rum. Efforts to expand these activities to earn additional income and provide new jobs through programs of import substitution and industrialization by invitation have been relatively unsuccessful.[2] Also, West Indian governments have sought to protect local industries by imposing tariffs on the importation of foreign goods, but that drove up the prices of domestically manufactured products, which were often inferior in quality to imported goods.

Among the incentives used to attract investment capital are low-cost labor, factories constructed by governments, reduction in taxes or complete tax abatements for a number of years (free trade zones), government-sponsored training programs, political stability, and proximity to the large North American market.

Companies assembling goods for export to the United States benefit from special US tariffs that either reduce or waive import duties for these products. When duties are imposed, they usually are assessed only on the value added to the products by the Caribbean operations. US firms, seeking to escape high-cost unionized labor, have established assembly maquiladoras (factories) in the Dominican Republic, Haiti, Jamaica, and Barbados. Predominantly female workers

typically earn between US$50 and $100 per week in as many as 1,000 maquiladoras throughout the Caribbean employing more than 25,000 workers. A significant portion of the moderately priced clothing sold in the United States is now made in these factories.

Neoliberal economic philosophy purports that it is more beneficial for producers to export their products. Accordingly, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) have required local governments seeking loans to devalue their currencies to reduce the costs of their products overseas, to lower their import tariffs to increase local competition and efficiency, and to reduce domestic spending so that larger financial reserves will be available to pay off the loans. The main problem with this philosophy is that it creates austerity in the home country. Currency devaluation raises local prices; competition from imported goods can drive local firms out of business, exacerbating already high levels of unemployment; and decreased government spending reduces the amount of money circulating within the island's economy, causing political pressures. Recently, the World Bank and the IMF have begun to rethink their overall approach and ease requirements for development loans.

One of the more successful economic mechanisms used by Caribbean nations to fortify their economies has been offshore banking.[3] Some nations provide advantages such as reduction or elimination of taxes on income, profits, dividends, and capital gains in secret accounts.[4] Moreover, legal fees and licenses are charged by the banks, adding valuable foreign currency to the region's economy. Recently, the Netherlands Antilles, especially Curaçao, and then the Bahamas, the Cayman Islands, Antigua, the Turks and Caicos Islands, Montserrat, and St. Vincent became the leading centers in the Caribbean for offshore banking. In the Bahamas and the Cayman Islands, offshore banking is the second leading industry behind tourism, providing 15–20 percent of each country's gross national product.

In sum, although the Caribbean continues to struggle with political and economic challenges, the global scope of the region's impact is inconsistent with its image and size: the Caribbean contains approximately 41 million people—a small percentage of the Western Hemisphere and only a tiny fraction of the world's population. But their impact has been disproportionate to their numbers, and there are many enclaves of Caribbean peoples living in other areas of the world. London, Toronto, Miami, and New York, for example, have a large West Indian presence.

The world continues to become more interdependent, and the Caribbean must be integrated into this emerging global society. Therefore, it is very important to increase our understanding of the contemporary Caribbean. Unfortunately, segregated analyses of the region according to superficial criteria have caused confusion. It has been convenient to refer to linguistic divisions, geographic distributions, and chronological dates of independence, for example. These approaches have reaffirmed obvious differences while obscuring common factors that could help to produce salutary solutions to pervasive problems.

Our earlier research has shown that the Hispanic countries within the Caribbean have been considered an integral part of Latin America, and the English-speaking countries have been excluded based on the assumption that different cultural heritages require a fundamentally different analytical framework. Thus, scholars of Latin America focus on the Latin Caribbean "often to the almost total exclusion of other areas," whereas scholars of the Commonwealth Caribbean "have usually neglected the Latin Caribbean" (Millet and Will 1979:xxi). We have shown that the Caribbean region provides a microcosm of a fragmented third world in which divisions "tenaciously obscure similarities and impede the evolution of common interests and aspirations" and that the absence of a "single, holistic community" has resulted (Hillman and D'Agostino 1992:1–17).

Some authors have argued that there is a "clear dividing line" separating the English-speaking Caribbean countries from their Hispanic, French, and Dutch neighbors (Serbin 1989:146). Some conclude that conflicts in relations between Caribbean countries are due to "misconceptions, misunderstanding, and lack of communication . . . deriving from historical, cultural, racial, and linguistic differences" (Bryan 1988:41). Others have attributed the absence of a single community to the divisiveness of separate Caribbean societies "often fatally hostile to each other" (Moya Pons 1974:33).

Our approach reveals that beneath obvious differences lie similarities in common historical themes, geopolitical and sociocultural contexts, economic experiences, and accommodation patterns that reflect the pressures of congruent sociopolitical environments. Moreover, we believe that there has been significant convergence of mutual economic and political interests to warrant the promotion of improved relations between the diverse Caribbean states. Nicolás Guillén summarizes this idea succinctly when he characterizes the Caribbean archipelago as one "communal yard" due to its common heritage of slavery, imperial domination, and struggle (Guillén 1976:26). And Pére Labat observed in the eighteenth century that the Caribbean peoples are "all together, in the same boat, sailing the same uncertain sea" (Knight 1990:307). We believe that academic and political navigation in this sea can be enhanced through understanding and appreciating the forces that have shaped the contemporary Caribbean.

Therefore, there is a need for an interdisciplinary introduction to the Caribbean region. Academic, business, and policy interests require understanding this complex and significant area, especially in the twenty-first century. But the growing numbers of people who wish to learn about the Caribbean are not able to use narrowly focused studies. Comprehending existing theoretical analyses of the region's socioeconomic and political conditions presupposes expertise and experience.

Further, there is much misunderstanding about Caribbean attitudes, values, and beliefs regarding the conduct of politics, business, and life. Sensationalized media coverage of political instability, external debt, immigration, and narcotics trafficking has overshadowed valiant Caribbean efforts to define uniquely

Caribbean identities and create autonomous institutions, as well as consolidate democracy and promote trade, development, tourism, and regional cooperation. Relative to other "developing" areas of the world, the Caribbean's long experience with democracy has been highly valued by citizens—a condition that underlies the legitimacy of any political system. According to Americas Barometer 2006, for example, the Dominican Republic, Guyana, and Jamaica have relatively high ratings for "satisfaction with the way democracy works" (Seligson 2008:268).

Moreover, although the strategic geopolitical relevance of the region has been recognized throughout history, the Caribbean has become critically important in the emerging global economy, within which the volume of trade will significantly affect the entire Western Hemisphere. The Caribbean Basin Initiative of the early 1980s is testimony to this idea. Unfortunately, the persistence of flawed policies such as the US embargo against Cuba has impeded, rather than enhanced, regional integration. My visits throughout the region over a number of years have convinced me that there is a great need to promote mutual understanding throughout the hemisphere.[5] The tendency to demonize political leaders with whom there is disagreement has constituted a major obstacle to progress in this area. The election of Barack Obama in the US presidential election of 2008, however, may result in a reevaluation of the US position regarding Cuba and other Caribbean neighbors. Precedents exist for policies of engagement with Cuba, such as (1) improved relations with China and Vietnam; (2) former president Jimmy Carter's visit to Cuba in May 2002; (3) an increasing number of US members of Congress interested in trade with Cuba; and (4) repeated votes (seventeen years in a row) in the United Nations to end the economic, commercial, and financial embargo imposed by the United States against Cuba. The October 29, 2008, vote was 185 in favor of the amendment to end the embargo to 3 against (United States, Israel, Palau), with 2 nations abstaining (Marshall Islands, Micronesia).

Attention has been drawn to the region by media accounts of current events, Free Trade Area of the Americas discussions, and tourism, as well as increasing business, commerce, and migration from the Caribbean, all of which underscore the need for basic information. In this context, this book provides a basis for comprehension by providing background information about countries within the Caribbean region and introducing major issues, themes, and trends. It is designed as a basic resource that will be useful to those studying the area. The writing style is straightforward, with maps and graphics intended to enhance clarity, comprehension, and appreciation of the traditions, influences, and common themes underlying differences within the Caribbean. *Understanding the Contemporary Caribbean* is intended to contribute to the promotion of interest and basic understanding in college and university classrooms, foreign service seminars, corporate training programs, and the general public.

Because definitions of the Caribbean region vary widely, we provide an integrated text by defining the Caribbean to include the circum-Caribbean, with a focus on the insular Caribbean. In other words, each chapter is primarily concerned with the Greater and the Lesser Antilles. Secondary reference is made to typically Caribbean enclaves in the Atlantic Ocean and on the South American and Central American coasts.

Specifically, the Greater Antilles consists of Cuba, Jamaica, Hispaniola (Haiti and the Dominican Republic), and Puerto Rico. The Lesser Antilles consists of the Leeward Islands and the Windward Islands. The Leewards include Montserrat, Antigua and Barbuda, St. Kitts and Nevis, Saba, St. Eustatius, St. Martin, and Anguilla. (Notice that the French and Dutch halves of St. Martin are spelled differently, St. Maarten [or Sint Maarten] for the Dutch part, and St. Martin for the French part.) The Windwards include Guadeloupe, Dominica, Martinique, St. Lucia, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, and Grenada. The US and British Virgin Islands, Barbados, Trinidad and Tobago, and Aruba, Bonaire, and Curaçao complete the insular Caribbean. The Bahamas, Bermuda, and the Turks and Caicos Islands, although not within the Caribbean Sea, have much in common with the region. Similarly, Belize, Guyana, French Guiana, and Suriname have more in common with the Caribbean than their neighboring Central and South American countries. The same can be said for coastal enclaves in Venezuela and Colombia on the Caribbean coast of South America, as well as the Panamanian, Costa Rican, Nicaraguan, and Honduran coasts of Central America. Finally, for reasons previously stated, it is not inappropriate to include mention of Miami and South Florida in the context of our expanded definition of the Caribbean.

The theme of unity in diversity, drawn from our previous work, provides an organizing concept for this book. There have been many attempts to describe the Caribbean that reflect our basic thesis. The fused, or blended, cultures are "distant neighbors" (Hillman and D'Agostino 1992), a diverse village, a disparate community characterized by "fragmented nationalism" (Knight 1990). The whole is certainly greater than the sum of its parts in a "continent of islands" (Kurlansky 1992), a tropical paradise that exists "in the shadow of the sun" (Deere 1990). Transcending the obvious differences, we explore similarities in the legacies of the colonial experiences, slave trade, plantation life, the imposition of Eurocentric institutions, the difficulties of transition to independence, obstacles to socioeconomic and political development, and ethnographic patterns.

The Caribbean is a unique and complex concatenation of virtually every ethnic group in the world. There are those of African, European, American, and Asian origins. Africans came to the Caribbean as slaves from tribes of the Ibo, Coromantee, Hausa, Mandingo, Fulani, Minas, Yoruba, Congo, Mohammedan, Calabar, Alampo, Whydah, and Dahomean. Europeans—tracing their

ancestries to the Spanish, English, Irish, Scots, French, German, and Dutch—came as conquerors. Indigenous to the region by virtue of early migrations from Asia were North American tribes of Taínos, Arawaks, Caribs, Ciboney, and Guanahuatebey. After the abolition of slavery, indentured servants (from China, India, and Java) were brought to the Caribbean. Later, small waves of immigrants arrived from Spain, Portugal, France, England, Germany, China, the Jewish diaspora (Ashkenazi and Sephardic Jews), Italy, the Middle East (Syrians and Lebanese), Latin America, and North America (the United States and Canada).

Each group brought particular traits to the Caribbean. The Africans brought popular tales and legends, folklore, music, arts, and religious beliefs, as well as qualities of perseverance and leadership (Herring 1967:109–113). The Europeans brought their religions and culture, military technology, political and social institutions, scientific discovery, and diseases unknown in the region. The indigenous contributions are debated due to scant archaeological evidence (Knight 1990:4–22). However, the Arawaks are reputed to have lived in a pacific communal society, whereas the Caribs migrated and were more belligerent. The aesthetic achievements and social structures of the indigenous peoples were almost completely destroyed by conquest, despite the lasting imprint of linguistic adaptations—such as words like *bohío* (shack or hut), *guagua* (bus), *cacique* (Indian chief or political leader), and *guajiro* (peasant).

Far more interesting and significant than the individual contributions of the various groups constituting the contemporary Caribbean is the process whereby their sociopolitical traits have been amalgamated and Eurocentric dominance has been mitigated. The region has truly been a crucible of various cultures. This blending, not only of institutions but also of ethnicity, has produced the uniquely Caribbean Creoles.[6] Thus, racial variation can be understood in the context of a fluid continuum. As Gordon Lewis observed, "Columbus and his followers came to the New World with a baggage of religious intolerance rather than racial phobia" (Lewis 1987:10).

The most popular religious expressions resulted from a syncretizing process that brought together the elaborate African belief systems with those of the European religious traditions. Thus, elitist practice of Catholicism or mainstream Protestantism is nominal compared to the dynamic integration into daily life of Vodou, spiritualism, Obeah, Santería, or other fusions of European and African or indigenous religions. Because the Caribbean was "a society founded on the gross exploitation, in the name of Christianity, of both Antillean Indian and African black" people (Lewis 1987:89), these combinations were crucial to a vast majority of non-Europeans attempting to preserve their beliefs and themselves. Although many perceived that "Catholic proselytization was a lost cause . . . the Catholic religion saw [its role] as a war against paganism and superstition" (Lewis 1987:195). Lately, evangelical religions have been making inroads in the Caribbean. As one observer asks, "Who with the slightest missionary

spirit could resist a region of poor countries whose populations are always looking for new religions?" (Kurlansky 1992:72).

Occasionally, when it had been impossible to integrate their cultures into the dominant society, certain groups rejected that society and alienated themselves. The first of these groups were the maroons. The name "maroon" is derived from *cimarrón,* which literally refers to a domesticated animal that reverts to a wild state. The name was applied to runaway slaves who escaped from plantations and formed their own enclave societies in the rugged terrain of the Jamaican hinterland. Later on, the Rastafarians rejected Anglo values, creating an Africanist belief system loosely based on allegiance to Haile Selassie, the former emperor of Ethiopia.

Understanding the forces that tie Caribbean societies together, as well as those that have challenged and transformed their institutions, requires exploration of the impact of the plantation system, slavery, and the processes through which independence (or pseudo-independence) was gained. Moreover, religion, government, society, and current challenges derive in large part from these origins. Simply stated, the relationships between masters and slaves, the rebellions, the heroic struggles, and the tortuous evolution from colonies to independent states reveal inescapable realities that cannot be ignored in our study of the contemporary Caribbean. The resultant attitudes, values, and beliefs inform our understanding of this complex region.

Caribbean attitudes toward the United States are ambivalent, ranging from disdain to infatuation. A version of dependency theory in which problems endemic to the region are attributed to Europe and the United States has become popular in some academic circles. Virulent anti-US sentiment developed early in Cuban history, was cultivated by independence leaders, and given ideological expression through *fidelismo* and Castro's revolution. It was given expression by US as well as Cuban manipulation of the Elián González dispute, in which the question of a father's legal custody over his son became an international incident.

On the one hand, Michael Manley, Maurice Bishop, and other West Indian leaders have flirted with alternative ideologies such as democratic socialism and Marxism as an antidote to dependence on the United States. On the other hand, some Puerto Rican politicians have championed statehood for the island, whereas others fiercely resist it. Some leaders have consistently supported US international initiatives and have always voted accordingly in world forums such as the United Nations. Also, there has been much envy and idolatry of US culture and economic superiority, which has led to massive immigration—both legal and illegal—into the United States. It has also led to "brain drain," whereby Caribbean professionals and the intelligentsia abandon their own countries for US residency and citizenship. This loss of human resources has been extremely problematic for Caribbean societies.

Also, there has been substantial movement within the Caribbean: Dominicans to Miami and St. Martin; Haitians and Cubans to Puerto Rico, Venezuela,

Cynthia Sutton

Poster of Elián González, Havana, Cuba. The poster reads, "Return our Child."

and Miami; Jamaicans to Central America and Miami; Trinidadians to Jamaica and Venezuela; and so on. Movement out of the Caribbean has been a safety valve for overpopulation, political oppression, and especially economic depression. Recently, the European Union began financing border projects on Hispaniola, such that the centuries of animosity between the Dominican Republic and Haiti might be overcome in order to achieve a modicum of economic integration.[7]

Caribbeans nevertheless are proud of their countries, perceiving themselves as holding no candle to the United States or Europe. Michael Manley once remarked to me that "Jamaica is no little dive, it is a sophisticated country" (Hillman 1979:55). Similarly, Edward Seaga told me that "Americans have a dim view" of the third world (Hillman 1979:53). I have known West Indians who have worked their entire lives abroad in order to be able to retire in their homelands. These perspectives ought to be appreciated if we are to develop mutual understanding.

Therefore, *Understanding the Contemporary Caribbean* introduces readers to the region by providing basic definitions, outlining major issues, discussing relevant background, and illustrating the manifestation of these considerations in representative countries. The text employs both thematic and case-study approaches. Each chapter contains a general discussion, key concepts, ongoing questions, and reference to bibliographic resources (see Table 1.1).

Among the major issues discussed in the text, the most prominent are those related to Caribbean identity, socioeconomic and political evolution, debt, immigration, integration, and international relations. Those are understood in the context of a background strongly influenced by the legacies of colonialism and the predominant impact of the United States.

In 2008, the region continues to suffer the consequences of a post-9/11 atmosphere. As one would expect, the scant attention paid to the Caribbean in the past has shifted even further to international terrorism, wars waged in the Middle East, and homeland security. Issues such as human rights, civil rights, travel, economic assistance, trade, the global crisis in credit markets, and the economic recession, have affected Caribbean nationals as much as, perhaps even more, than US citizens.

The text is part of the series entitled Understanding: Introductions to the States and Regions of the Contemporary World. It is designed to generate knowledge and stimulate interest rather than bring these issues to closure. Each chapter is written as if to teach a class on the subject. In "The Caribbean: A Geographic Preface" (Chapter 2), Thomas Boswell discusses the impact of location, population trends, resource availability, and the environment on economic development and the people in the Caribbean. In "The Historical Context" (Chapter 3), Stephen Randall shows how major themes such as colonialism, plantation life, and slavery have created legacies that persist in influencing contemporary realities. In "Caribbean Politics" (Chapter 4), Thomas D'Agostino analyzes the impact of historical legacies on political development. He shows how different institutions converge in similar patterns of patron-clientelism, elite dominance, and Creole fusion.

In "The Economies of the Caribbean" (Chapter 5), Dennis Pantin and Marlene Attzs discuss various attempted solutions to the region's endemic problems and economic programs, the informal economies, tourism, and the emergent trend toward integration. Jacqueline Braveboy-Wagner, in "International Relations" (Chapter 6), employs a conceptual framework that includes cultural identity in her discussion of strategic geopolitical issues, economic regional integration, and external intervention in the region. "The Environment and Ecology" (Chapter 7) by Duncan McGregor contains his treatment of crucial issues such as the ecology of the region—the natural assets and liabilities inherent in essentially tourist economies challenged by hurricanes, depletion of coral reefs, and pollution.

In "Ethnicity, Race, Class, and Nationality" (Chapter 8), David Baronov and Kevin Yelvington elaborate on the significance of large arrays of peoples

Table 1.1 Socioeconomic Indicators for Caribbean States

	Population	Population Growth (%)	Urban Population (%)	Life Expectancy (years)	Infant Mortality (per 1,000)	GDP per Capita (PPP $US)[a]	Literacy (%)
Anguilla	14,108	2.33	100	80.53	3.54	8,800	95
Antigua and Barbuda	84,522	1.3	31	74.25	17.49	18,300	85.8
Aruba	101,541	1.5	46.9	75.06	14.26	21,800	97.3
Bahamas	307,451	0.57	91.5	65.72	23.67	28,000	95.6
Barbados	281,968	0.36	55.7	73.21	11.05	18,900	99.7
Belize	301,270	2.2	49.4	68.19	23.65	7,900	76.9
British Virgin Islands	24,041	1.88	63.6	77.07	15.2	38,500	97.8
Cayman Islands	47,862	2.45	100	80.32	7.1	43,800	98
Colombia	46,000,000	1.4	78.5	72.54	19.51	7,400	92.8
Costa Rica	4,000,000	1.38	66	77.4	9.01	11,100	94.9
Cuba	11,000,000	0.25	77.4	77.27	5.93	11,000	99.8
Dominica	72,514	0.2	74.6	75.33	14.12	9,000	94
Dominican Republic	9,500,000	1.5	68.6	73.39	26.93	6,600	87
French Guiana	209,000	0.75	76	75	10.40	17,380	83
Grenada	90,343	0.4	31	65.6	13.58	10,500	96
Guadeloupe	452,776	0.88	100	79	8.41	21,780	90
Guatemala	12,902,500	2.5	50	70.29	27.84	5,200	69.1
Guyana	770,794	0.21	28.5	66.43	30.43	3,700	98.8
Haiti	9,000,000	2.49	45.3	57.56	62.33	1,300	52.9
Honduras	7,000,000	2.02	50.5	69.37	24.61	4,300	80
Jamaica	3,000,000	0.78	54.7	73.59	15.57	7,400	87.9
Martinique	381,427	0.30	98	80.5	6.0	23,931	
Montserrat	5,079	0.31	14.3	72.6	16.46	3,400	97
Netherlands Antilles	225,369	0.75	71.8	76.45	9.36	16,000	96.7
Nicaragua	6,000,000	1.82	58.3	71.21	25.91	2,800	67.5
Panama	3,000,000	1.54	68.7	76.88	13.4	10,700	91.9
Puerto Rico	4,000,000	0.37	98.8	78.58	8.65	18,400	94.1
St. Kitts and Nevis	39,817	0.72	32.4	72.94	14.34	13,900	97.8
St. Lucia	159,585	0.44	28	76.25	13.8	10,700	90.1
St. Vincent and the Grenadines	118,432	0.23	47.8	74.34	13.62	9,800	96
Suriname	475,996	1.09	75.5	73.48	19.45	8,700	89.6
Trinidad and Tobago	1,000,000	-0.8	13.9	67	23.59	25,400	98.6

(continues)

Table 1.1 continued

	Population	Population Growth (%)	Urban Population (%)	Life Expectancy (years)	Infant Mortality (per 1,000)	GDP per Capita (PPP $US)[a]	Literacy (%)
Turks and Caicos	22,352	2.64	45.2	75.19	14.35	11,500	98
US Virgin Islands	109,840	0.002	95.3	78.92	7.72	14,500	95
Venezuela	26,000,000	1.5	93.6	73.45	22.02	12,800	93

Sources: Central Intelligence Agency, *World Factbook 2008,* https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/The-World-Factbook/ (accessed March 2009); Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), *Statistical Yearbook for Latin America and the Caribbean 2008,* http://websie.eclac.cl/anuario_estadistico/anuario_2008/ (accessed March 2009); World Bank, *2008 World Development Indicators* (Washington, DC: World Bank Publications, 2008); United Nations Statistics Division, UNDATA, http://data.un.org/Default.aspx.

Note: a. Gross domestic product per capita purchasing power capacity in US$.

and groups living in the same small area. They also touch on the impact of Eurocentricity and the contribution of the different ethnic groups, as well as the creolization pattern. The contribution of women is the focus of "Women and Development" (Chapter 9), by A. Lynn Bolles. In "Religion in the Caribbean" (Chapter 10), Leslie Desmangles, Stephen Glazier, and Joseph Murphy show how imposed European religions have been embellished by syncretic belief systems such as Rastafarianism, Obeah, Vodou, and Santería.

"Literature and Popular Culture" (Chapter 11), by Kevin Meehan and Paul Miller, discusses the most notable writers and the politicized nature of their work. It also mentions the widespread impact of folklore and music—like reggae, salsa, merengue, rumba, *son, cumbia, tambores,* and calypso. In "The Caribbean Diaspora" (Chapter 12), Dennis Conway shows the geographical diversity and impact of the various groups who leave the region and contribute to brain drain, the safety-valve effect, capital flight, and financial remissions. Finally, in "Trends and Prospects" (Chapter 13), Richard Hillman and Andrés Serbin analyze where the region has been as well as the direction in which it appears to be headed.

Notes

1. The terms *Caribbean* and *West Indies* are used interchangeably throughout this book.

2. The phrase *import substitution* refers to a policy of trying to produce goods locally that were formerly imported. *Industrialization by invitation* is a strategy aimed at attracting foreign capital for investment in local industry.

3. Offshore banking includes financial operations conducted by foreign banks that have branches in countries like those in the Caribbean.

4. This has caused speculation that such operations have become money-laundering facilities for illegal activities such as drug trafficking.

5. Among my travels, I visited Cuba as a professor on the faculty of the University of Pittsburgh Semester at Sea Program and presented a copy of my book, Richard S. Hillman, ed., *Understanding Contemporary Latin America* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2001), to Fidel Castro during his four-and-a-half hour meeting with Semester at Sea students and faculty in Havana, January 25, 2002.

6. *Creole* is a term used in the Caribbean in reference to the unique admixtures of peoples and cultures.

7. Mireya Navarro, "At Last on Hispaniola: Hands Across the Border," *New York Times,* July 11, 1999, p. 3.

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