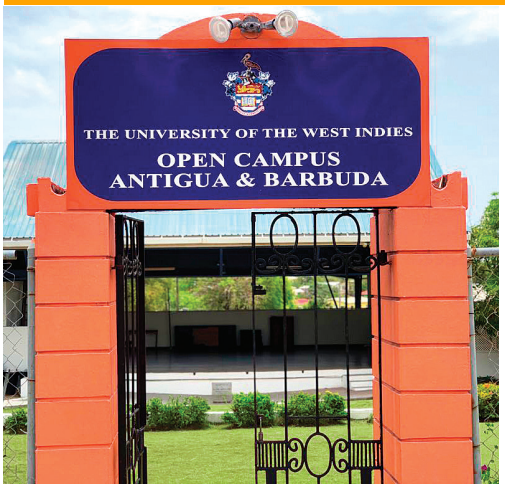
THE ANTIGUA AND BARBUDA REVIEW OF BOOKS

VOLUME 11 NUMBER 1 SUMMER 2018



Edris Bird on UWI

Elizabeth Beaubrun on the Open Campus.

Valerie Combie on Joanne Hillhouse

Lawrence Jardine on Talent and Development

Paget Henry on the 2018 Elections

Valerie Combie on Claytine Nisbett

And much much more…

THE **ANTIGUA** AND **BARBUDA REVIEW** OF **BOOKS**

A Publication of the Antigua and Barbuda Studies Association
Volume 11 • Number 1 • Summer 2018

The Antigua and Barbuda Studies Association was founded in 2006 with the goal of raising local intellectual awareness by creating a field of Antigua and Barbuda Studies as an integral part of the larger field of Caribbean Studies. The idea for such an interdisciplinary field grew out of earlier "island conferences" that had been organized by the University of the West Indies, School of Continuing Education, in conjunction with the Political Culture Society of Antigua and Barbuda. *The Antigua and Barbuda Review of Books* is an integral part of this effort to raise local and regional intellectual awareness by generating conversations about the neglected literary traditions of Antigua and Barbuda through reviews of its texts.

Manuscripts: the manuscripts of this publication must be in the form of short reviews of books or works of art dealing with Antigua and Barbuda. Thus reviews of works by writers and artists from Antigua and Barbuda such as Peregrine Pickle, Mary Prince, Tim Hector, Ashley Bryan, Novelle Richards, Gregson Davis, Jamaica Kincaid, Edgar Lake, Althea Prince, Keithlyn Smith, Adlai Murdoch and others will be particularly welcome. We will also welcome commentaries on reviews we have published. Reviews should be no longer than six double-spaced pages, with minimal if any footnotes. Submit reviews to Paget Henry, editor, as word documents at Paget_Henry@Brown.edu for consideration.

Photo Credit: UWI Open Campus Publicity

Designed and produced in partnership with Brown University Graphic Services.

Antigua and Barbuda Review of Books

Volume 11 Number 1

Summer 2018

TABLE OF CONTENTS

FEATURE ESSAYS

REVIEWS

EDITOR'S NOTE 2018

Welcome to the 11th issue of *The Antigua and Barbuda Review of Books*. In our tenth issue, through the love and conspiracies of several of my close friends, the focus was on my scholarly work. In particular, the issue focused on the essays collected in the volume, *Journeys in Caribbean Thought: The Paget Henry Reader*. This volume was edited by Jane Gordon, Lewis Gordon, Aaron Kamugisha, and Neil Roberts. Once again, many thanks to these good friends.

This eleventh issue of our *Review* will have a very different focus. We have oriented it towards the theme of this year's UWI/ABSA conference, which is, **Milestones for Celebration: Antigua and Barbuda at 37, UWI at 70, and the Open Campus at 10.** In this celebrating of the University of the West Indies, we are very pleased to offer you an interview with Dr. Edris Bird, the first head of what was then called the UWI Department of Extra-Mural Studies (Antigua). At 90, Dr. Bird with her memory still very sharp, takes us back to those early days of that department with its many teething pains. She was interviewed by Dr. Susan Lowes. Reinforcing this retrospective on Extra-Mural Studies in Antigua and Barbuda, is Elizabeth Beaubrun's comparative analysis of that same department now that it is part of the fourth or Open Campus of the University of the West Indies.

Next in our section of feature essays are two important pieces in the fields of religion and art. The first is by the recently deceased Methodist minister and New Testament scholar, Birchfield Aymer, to whom we have dedicated this issue of our *Review*. Rev. Aymer's essay is a sociological reflection on the books of Luke and Acts in the New Testament section of *The Bible*. Second, thanks to Prof. Valerie Combie, we also have for you a piece celebrating the work of our distinguished writer, Joanne Hillhouse. It is a comprehensive look at her work that you will enjoy.

Our last two feature essays are works that examine current and future trends in Antiguan and Barbudan politics and economics. Lawrence Jardine takes up the creativity of our people and the need to launch and support industries around them. Finally, in my essay, I offer some reflections on our general election that took place earlier this year.

In our review of books section, there are three pieces. First, Marilyn Sargeant's book of poems, *Carbon is Yellow* is reviewed by Lionel Hurst; second, Claytine Nisbeth's *Life as Josephine* is reviewed by Valerie Combie; and third, I revisit a 1981 volume that was edited by Dr. Edris Bird, *Economic Development of Small States*.

Before I depart, let me thank the department of Africana Studies at Brown University and the Heimark Fund for their continuing support of our *Review*. And last but by no means least, special thanks to my very able editorial assistant and artist, Janet Lofgren.

Paget Henry

DEDICATION

We dedicate this eleventh issue of *The Antigua and Barbuda Review of Books* to the life and work of the Rev. Birchfield Aymer, who departed this life earlier this year. As youths, Aymer and I were very good friends, along with my cousin Roy Daniel, particularly during our years at the Antigua Grammar School. Our paths diverged as we pursued higher education in the United States. We reconnected in the mid-1980s, when Rev. Aymer was pastoring a Methodist Church in Milton, Massachusetts, and I was teaching at Brown University in Providence, Rhode Island, which was not very far away. The issues that led to Rev. Aymer to invite me to Milton were the tensions arising out of the recruitment of Afro-Caribbean ministers in his diocese, and its impact on African American ministers. Following that daylong colloquium, we stayed in touch and resumed our friendship.

Rev. Aymer received his doctorate from Boston University in 1987 with a dissertation entitled, "A Socio-religious Revolution: A Sociological Exegesis of 'poor' and 'rich' in Luke-Acts". As the excerpt from that work that we have included makes clear, he was not only an excellent minister, but also a meticulous New Testament Scholar. His exegesis on the works of Jesus' disciple, Luke is both detailed and brilliant. Thematically, it leaves no doubt about Luke's commitment to a Christianity that is in the service of the poor. Rev. Aymer's passing left me with one of those profound silences I wish I could articulate. Goodbye, my friend and scholar.

Paget Henry

ON UWI (ANTIGUA): DR. SUSAN LOWES IN CONVERSATION WITH DR. EDRIS BIRD

The following is a wonderful retrospective interview which features Dr. Edris Bird and Dr. Susan Lowes in conversation with occasional interjections by veteran journalist, Milton Benjamin. The theme of the interview is Dr. Bird's reflections on her time as Head of the UWI Department of Extra-Mural Studies. - Ed.

Susan Lowes: Can I ask you a bunch of questions?

Edris Bird: All right.

SL: So, first of all, when did you first go to the University of the West Indies?

EB: I don't know, '56, '59….

SL: Somewhere in the late '50s, '59 I guess.

… Milton Benjamin: That's when I was in high school.

… EB: I got married in '56.

SL: Uh-huh.

EB: And then I went to work at the Golden Grove School. I worked there for about two years.

SL: As a teacher?

EB: Yes, uh-huh. And then I decided to stay home a bit and do some housework.

MB: Be a real lady, be a real lady….

SL: And then how did they talk you out of that?

EB: They wanted other senior staff at the University Center (Antigua). They called and said that they wanted to come and visit me. And I told them sure and Rex Nettleford came up one morning and said, "The main thing I want to ask you to do is to come and take over the headship of the…."

SL: Extramural. And how did he know you? How did he know about you?

EB: How did he know me?

SL: Yeah.

EB: Because as I said, they knew me well at the University of the West Indies.

SL: You knew him at the University?

EB: Yes.

SL: So he came from Jamaica or…

EB: I was at the University in 1953—from 1953 to 1956. And at the end of 1953, I was awarded a prize as Student of the Year.

SL: Okay.

EB: And the male Student of the Year was Rex Nettleford.

SL: Right.

EB: I'm sure you know him.

SL: I know that name, uh-huh.

EB: Yeah and Rex, when he graduated, I think he taught at the University in Jamaica for a little bit so he would have been with the….

SL: …with the administrators and stuff, right?

EB: Yeah. And he probably said to them, "Edris Bird is a good person to ask".

SL: ...to do this. So who was head of it when you took over?

EB: Before?

SL: Yeah. I mean was there somebody there?

EB: No, we built….

SL: Because it was Douglas Hall.

EB: Oh yes, but they operated from offices in town—they rented premises in town.

SL: Okay.

EB: Leonard Shorey was part-time. As he was teaching at the grammar school at the time, but then he was acting resident tutor.

SL: Okay, so he took over from Doug Hall as acting?

EB: Yeah.

SL: As a resident tutor, but you weren't resident tutor, you were—you had a different position, right? You were head of extramural studies.

EB: Well.

SL: Did they call you resident tutor at the first?

EB: Yeah, yeah.

SL: They did.

EB: I was a resident tutor and head of extramural studies. I worked with the architect on the building of the University Center.

SL: Who built that building? Wow, I will have to look that one up. So you are in charge of the move from town to wherever you….

EB: University Center.

SL: The University Center, right.

EB: And I was there for the opening of the University Center.

SL: Okay.

EB: Not that I remember much about that.

SL: So how many students were there at that point? Do you have any idea? Any memory of how many students were being tutored?

EB: We had the run of classes as normal A-level class like A-level English, A-level French, A-level History, A-level, you know, okay.

SL: Okay, okay, so you are like what state college is now.

EB: We worked outside somewhere in town where the students would go to an office after work and do these classes. And then we moved up to the University Center when it was built. Ian Mair!

SL: Oh yes, the architect, right.

EB: He was the architect.

SL: Uh-huh, so these were students who came to the campus.

EB: Yes, they came from the offices, from the schools, and they wanted to further their education.

SL: Right, and do A levels.

EB: Uh-huh.

SL: So when did they start the distance education?

EB: The main class that we had were students who didn't complete the O-Level English.

SL: Oh, so you did some sort of remedial O-level work.

EB: Yes, yeah.

SL: Interesting. So when did the distance part come in, the video-conferencing.

EB: Oh, that came in the years after that.

SL: Okay. I didn't realize. So it was a resident campus. People...it was from people in Antigua, and they came to the campus.

EB: We were there, and it (distance) came to the campus long after because….

SL: The distance came long after.

EB: What do you call it?

SL: The video conferencing?

EB: Yes, that came in recent years, you know?

SL: Okay, I didn't realize it was an A-level campus. So we didn't do university degrees.

EB: No, we didn't do university degrees at all.

SL: And you didn't do university courses?

EB: Uh-uh, uh-uh. It was all taught by local people.

SL: All taught by local people, okay. And nothing beyond O-level, just some, some.

EB: Yeah, then one or two people did try to do some A-level work.

SL: Right, right so when you were hired, what did they tell you they wanted you to do? What was your mandate?

EB: To coordinate or deploy the outside programs.

SL: So outside would be like….

…
12
…

EB: All people who would go into different places, different offices, have so much to do. Tutoring for me—who came to me to apply for work as a tutor. And I told them where the class would be and what pay they would get and that sort of thing.

SL: Oh, so this is not what I expected. So you would hire a tutor, and that tutor would go and teach a class or teach one person.

EB: Not one person.

SL: They would teach a group of people?

EB: At least four to six people to start with.

SL: Okay, and they taught them in their place of work?

EB: Umm, you know, we were able to, we formed a space.

SL: A space, oh, so how many tutors did you have under you? Do you remember?

EB: Not hundreds, maybe about 10 or so.

SL: Yeah.

EB: You know.

SL: It was not like a full-time job. They were teachers and did this on the side.

EB: After work.

SL: After work. Everybody did this after work.

EB: After office. They'd have so many classes a week, maybe about two or three classes a week.

SL: Huh, so then what happened at the campus?

EB: There was no campus. It was being built.

SL: Well, once it was built?

EB: Once it had been built, all this was assigned classroom space. We had three classrooms, three. I would say three classrooms, yes.

SL: And so they didn't have to go to other spaces anymore? You could come to….

EB: They would come to the University Center.

SL: University, and everybody came to the same space.

EB: Uh-huh.

SL: But it was still these little classes.

EB: Small classes.

SL: Small classes. How well did the students do? Did they do well on their exams?

EB: Yeah, I think so.

SL: Yeah.

EB: It helped them to pass the….

SL: A-level exams?

EB: Oh no!

SL: O-level exam?

EB: O-level exam because some of them might not have passed O-level. So they helped them to pass O-level, and few of them passed A-level subjects, you know.

SL: So why did they call it a University Center because it really wasn't university. Did they call it….

EB: But it had been operated by the University.

SL: Okay, so they called it extramural studies.

EB: Yes.

SL: Because it was from outside the University.

EB: Yeah, outside the walls of the University.

SL: Right.

EB: Mural.

SL: But it wasn't right outside the walls, but it wasn't anything at the University level until much later.

EB: Uh-uh. For instance, we had a class of women. I remember one of the things I wanted to do was to change the approach to the caring of children because we had a system of grannies looking after a set of children. And if they had parents who got home from work late, she might have about twelve children sitting on a bench.

SL: Right, right. So you wanted to change that or you wanted to help?

EB: We wanted to change that to do what I had seen. They had taken me up to the University for orientation, and I was looking around at what was happening at the University in Jamaica.

SL: Uh-huh.

EB: And one of the things that they saw, and they took me to August Town. That's a very poor village.

SL: Okay, August Town, yes.

EB: And there the University had a big old bush that they had reclaimed as….

SL: Converted, kind of.

EB: And turned it into children's center. There the tutor for the University class had a pre-school and various sorts of little children. These children were very, very busy in the day. They had on aprons if they were in the kitchen or if they were tidying up bedrooms.

SL: Uh-huh, it was a little work in different areas.

EB: Nobody was sitting around, you know, and they were under the direction of the person who was in charge. They knew when they came in who was going to be in charge of making little cupcakes in the kitchen that morning.

SL: So well-organized.

EB: You know, and they were all so busy around with their own.…

SL: Right.

EB: You know, and then they will get together for a session and there sing a song and that sort of thing.

SL: So you were able to establish this?

EB: So I said no, we have to get these children away from these old ladies or teach them to do something better than what they're doing at present. All over Antigua and I guess it was the same thing in St. Kitts and Montserrat. These women would have groups of little children just chanting, sitting around and chanting A, B, C, D, E.

SL: Right, right, right. So, interesting, so….

EB: I got them together. I used radio a lot.

SL: Uh-huh. So I vaguely remember there was a nursery school or something, right, next to the University Center?

EB: There was a what?

SL: A nursery school.

EB: That was it.

SL: That was it, okay.

EB: Uh-huh. We started that.

SL: You started that?

EB: Uh-huh.

SL: Okay, so you used radio to recruit?

EB: To recruit people, but they didn't come there right away. I remember they used to come to the Center first because that was being built—and the other part was being built on too, so they would come to the University Center and we would have people who would teach them. I ran a class for a few months and I sent the best two people to St. Vincent.

SL: To…

EB: To St. Vincent.

SL: To do further training or to…

EB: And see what they were doing there.

SL: Okay.

EB: To do further training, spend about six months in St. Vincent. And when they came back, I used them as tutors for these women, you know, and they showed them what they could do with crayons, what they could do with…

SL: So it was almost like teacher training?

EB: Teacher training in early childhood.

SL: From very early childhood, right, right.

EB: Yes, early childhood.

SL: Interesting. So you were able to do whatever you wanted to do? Nobody told you what to do?

EB: Nobody told me what to do or how do it.

SL: Nobody interfered?

EB: The University was so glad to get rid of being in charge of anything, you know. Once they knew that somebody was doing something, I would just have to send a report.

SL: Every year? And you had Mrs. Swift as your assistant?

EB: As my main secretary.

SL: And starting very early soon after you got there?

EB: Yes, immediately.

SL: Immediately? Okay.

EB: There were two people there, Mrs. Swift and her assistant, who dealt with the collection of fees for the classes because people had to pay fees for their classes.

SL: Okay, including the O-levels and A-levels and all of that, they had to pay for.

EB: Yeah, O-level and if any A-levels.

SL: They had to pay?

EB: Not the people who were coming from the downtown.

SL: Not them?

EB: Point, and so on.

SL: Not poor people?

EB: Yeah, you're right. They came in without paying.

SL: Okay.

EB: But to get the list of names, you know, we're going to…

SL: Yes, she was like the registrar.

EB: Yes.

SL: …who just kept the registers and collected the money and so on and so forth.

SL: So she was there from when you started?

EB: Yeah, from the very beginning.

SL: Wow, okay.

EB: And she was a great help because—I think she had come from the Barbados civil service. I had two very good people, Mrs. Swift and her assistant, but I don't remember the other name, but they were really good.

SL: I remember Mrs. Swift very well.

EB: But my neighbor here came from Guyana with two children. Her husband, who was in charge of a biscuit factory in Coolidge, and she came with two children. And I saw her sitting outside one day so I said, "How are you?" She said "Not good at all." And I said "What's happening?" She says, "I think I'm going crazy because I need work."

SL: I need something to do.

EB: "I need a job," and I said, "What are you accustomed to doing?" She said, "I was assistant or permanent secretary in Guyana," and I said, "I am at the University Center now and I'm in charge of an office and we are in need of a good secretary," because by that time, I think Margery had begun to get tired of me and I began to get tired of Margery as well. Margery worked until she was in her eighties, she never gave up this accounting business.

SL: Yeah.

EB: But, umm.

SL: So what—what are the programs that you begin? What other things did you get to do that you wanted to do?

EB: I did the early charity class of O-level subjects. I did, not many, a few of them, you know, because some people didn't want to work with our offering. For example, some people did not want to do O-level geography. The main classes were English and math and history.

SL: Because those were the ones they needed for jobs?

EB: Uh-huh.

SL: You need the English and the math to get a job?

EB: Uh-huh.

SL: So were you there when the distance education university courses came in?

EB: Yes.

SL: What was the thinking behind that? Because distance education was really different from what you were doing, and then suddenly to go up to university level? Did they decide that in Mona or the government here decided it? How did that happen?

EB: No, ….

SL: But when did they start offering university level courses through the distance education? Were you still there?

EB: Not until about ten years after.

SL: But were you still there?

EB: I was there at the beginning, yes.

SL: Yeah.

EB: Because I remember I had to arrange for the technicians to come and put in the, set up the screens and put in the…

SL: Right, right.

EB: …you know, if there were any problems they'd have to call them and to come and see what had gone wrong and so on.

SL: Right, right. So do you know why they decided to do that? Were they doing it in other islands as well?

EB: Yes, all around.

SL: All around?

EB: All around, yeah, and these were thing like for civil servants and trade union education.

SL: Okay, so these were older people who wanted to get more education?

EB: Education, yeah.

SL: And they could do a full degree, associate's degree or…

EB: Associate degree, yeah.

SL: Wow, do you remember who some of the students were? Anybody still alive?

EB: I remember the man who may be still at the union office, you know.

SL: So this would be AT&LU.

EB: AT&LU.

SL: Right.

EB: He... we had an adult education class.

... SL: And what does adult education mean—reading, writing, math?

... EB: We just called—we just talk about the importance of adult continuing education, you know.

SL: Uh-huh.

EB: We used to meet and talk about that and then I used to get a lot of magazines from various adult education places particularly in Africa and India. And I had them in the library, so I made them available so they could see what was happening in…

SL: Other parts of the world?

EB: Yes, like any.…

SL: As trade unionists, you mean, so they can understand.

EB: As trade unionists, and other adult people too because I remember that man that I told you about, I think he is still there now as secretary of the Trade Union Institute. His son was in one of my first university classes. We started first year university classes after a while. Students going to university could now do the first year.

SL: On campus though with a resident tutor.

EB: Yeah.

SL: Not distance education, but…

EB: Yes, they came every afternoon to a first year class. For instance, Harold Lovell, the head of …

SL: …of the UPP.

EB: Of UPP, he was a member of my first year law class.

SL: Okay, okay.

EB: And the next year, I employed him to teach a class in that same program.

SL: Okay.

EB: He had done so well, and he was so very interested that I employed him to teach the first year of the law program.

SL: Oh, so law was one of the first things that was offered.

EB: Yes, law was one of the first things.

SL: What else? Do you remember what else was offered? I can see law because so many people want to be lawyers—not medicine? … science?

EB: No, no, no.

SL: Sociology?

EB: Oh, Sociology.

SL: Because I remember Ermina [Osoba] had taught sociology.

EB: Ermina came in and helped me to teach sociology.

SL: Right, I remember that.

EB: She came in one day and said, "I could teach sociology with my eyes shut." I said, "Go right ahead, Ermina."

SL: Right. So she remembers that.

EB: She was teaching at the University too, before she came back to Antigua.

SL: Right.

EB: …because after she finished her program, they employed her to teach at the University of the West Indies before she decided to come back to Antigua.

SL: Right.

EB: And that is when I grabbed hold of her because our families are very close, and she taught at the University Center.

SL: Right.

EB: And then…

SL: And then she took over from you.

EB: I taught sociology too, you know, although never having studied sociology.

SL: Well, it's the first year.

EB: I used to take the book and read the first chapters ahead of the class, and then I would discuss with the students, they would have to read it too and then we will have to discuss.

SL: And wasn't there history? Was history offered too?

EB: One girl who was very bright, a very bright young woman, Cleon Athill.

SL: Uh-huh.

EB: She was one of the brightest young people I had in my class. She has become assistant to the chairman of the movement political party now in Antigua.

SL: Cleon Athill, yes.

EB: Uh-huh, and she lost her job just recently.

SL: Yes, yes.

EB: They sacked her—no, they didn't sack her. They moved her. They put her at an empty desk.

SL: I know, I've seen her there, out at the Vivian Richards Stadium.

EB: Ha?

SL: Out at the Vivian Richards Stadium.

EB: Right. You've been…

SL: I get around.

EB: You've been around.

SL: Well, I have a friend who is in the same office.

EB: Oh, uh-huh.

SL: But not—but she does work. She has work to do but Cleon was just...

EB: Cleon says she…

SL: So didn't you offer history? Didn't Adlai Carrot teach there?

EB: Adlai was there too, but you must remember that he was again persona non grata with the government because he had marched against it, you know. They had quite a little gang at the Princess Margaret School.

SL: Uh-huh, Basil Peters, who was older but...

EB: Basil was, he was older and more—and he would be more careful, you know.

SL: Right.

EB: But Adlai and these people would speak out, and not only that, they would speak to indoctrinate students because my son was one of Adlai's history students and my son got radical too.

SL: So what's your son's name?

EB: I don't think he would have caused me any problem, he was Clement Bird.

SL: Getting a lawyer?

EB: Clement Bird.

SL: Yes, he is my lawyer.

EB: He is your lawyer?

SL: Well he is my—he is the lawyer for where I live.

EB: Oh.

SL: Yes, you have to tell him that Susan came to see you. So he will laugh.

EB: So you have to go up—you have to pass my daughter then to go up to him.

SL: In his office?

EB: Yes.

...
24
...

SL: Is your daughter Jillia?

EB: My daughter is an optometrist.

SL: Yeah, Jillia.

EB: Jillia.

SL: Okay, I don't know her, but I know him.

EB: You have been around. I tell you much.

SL: So what other…

EB: I remember Clement when he was about fourteen, shouting as he saw me drive past the roundabout by Government House: "Mommy, mommy, the police held me," and he wanted to get into the car. So I said, "No, no, no I didn't send you into any march. You go and look for your father. I'm not taking you anywhere. You go and find your father and see if he can help you." I don't know what became of that because VC [Bird] told them to go easy on the students—not to treat them too badly, and VC was like that, you know, Milton.

MB: Yes, very much so.

EB: You remember when the Barbudans wanted their land? VC said, "Give them the land."

MB: Yeah, I was still working in journalism.

EB: You were working at the office?

MB: Yeah.

SL: In journalism.

EB: In journalism.

SL: Newspaper, yeah, yeah.

EB: What newspaper did you write for then?

MB: I did...

SL: *The Star*, *The Antigua Star* and *The Worker's Voice*?

MB: *The Worker's Voice*.

SL: Uh-huh.

MB: Yeah.

SL: And I think he was with *The Worker's Voice* for a while.

MB: Yeah, he—I liked to stop and talk with him because he understood what the community was very much about, and therefore he knew how to attack people.

SL: So, back to the University a little bit—sociology, history, law, early childhood education...

EB: Oh dear, oh my, this sort of math that we have to do for business...

SL: Accounting?

MB: Accounting.

EB: Accounting and that kind of…

SL: Business kind of business math.

EB: Yeah.

SL: Like counting.

EB: Because the top girl in one year, the girl who topped the whole Caribbean came from the Catholic school in Antigua.

EB: Uh-huh.

MB: Really?

EB: She was teaching at the Catholic school and she came to classes. I tried to get her name from the headmistress, and she said that I must get in touch with her. But that was very difficult for me.

SL: Right, right. So accounting was offered?

EB: Uh-huh. Accounting definitely.

SL: So when they started the distance part, was that so they could do more than one year, so they could do the second year? Was that the reason for it?

EB: No. They did the first year and after that, if they completed the first year's subjects, they would go on to the University of the West Indies.

SL: When they put in the distance, the video conferencing, then could students do two years here and be here for two years?

EB: I can't remember the details really, but maybe Ermina could tell you.

SL: Ermina could tell us, right.

EB: But again she is going away shortly.

SL: I know. I saw her, and Juney had his 80th birthday party, wow. Yes, she is going to Nigeria.

EB: Uh-huh.

SL: So what else do you remember fondly about your days there?

EB: Well, the fellowship with the tutors.

SL: The fellowship with the students, yeah, because it was a small group, right?

EB: I remember Fons Derrick.

SL: Yes.

EB: ...people like that. Fons was an English major, English tutor.

SL: So the comradery, and a lot of people went and did their first year there.

EB: Yeah.

SL: Fons was at the University Center too, right?

EB: Yes, for instance.

SL: But after you, and before Ermina?

EB: Before Ermina.

SL: Was she after you? Was she the next one because I think he was there with us?

EB: He was a resident tutor.

SL: Wasn't it Fons, the one that lived up on the hill for a while, he was resident tutor?

EB: I can't remember.

MB: I wasn't home during that period.

EB: I remember Fons coming in after me.

SL: No. Do you remember him being there?

EB: Yes, uh-huh. I remember. He did do some work there, for how long I can't remember though.

SL: I have this memory of going to talk to him about something, but I don't remember when it was. But I'm sure Ermina will remember that kind of stuff.

EB: I don't know. Ermina came in right after me.

SL: Right after you. So maybe he came after her and before Ben.

EB: Maybe after her, yes.

SL: So I think it's…

EB: And I can't remember who I came in after or…

SL: Doug Hall.

EB: I came in after Leonard Shorey.

SL: Shorey, but he was interim after Doug Hall.

EB: Yeah, yeah.

SL: Because Doug Hall was the one that was the first.

EB: Yeah, yeah.

SL: Yeah, yeah.

EB: Then Shorey taught at the Antigua Grammar School and as headmaster…

SL: Right.

EB: And was not very popular.

SL: Was not very popular?

EB: Was not very popular.

SL: Shorey wasn't popular, sweetheart? Was Shorey at the Grammar School? Can you remember?

MB: It depended on the students—whether they liked him or didn't like him.

SL: Or, he liked them or didn't like them.

EB: You remember the fellow from Barbados, the short man?

MB: Yes.

EB: What was his name?

MB: I don't remember, sorry.

SL: Milton doesn't remember names or anything but, oh God, I wish I could be able to call that to mind. Black…

EB: Blackett.

MB: Bla…Blackett.

EB: Blackett, Dr. Blackett.

MB: Yeah, yes, yes, yes.

EB: You know, Dr. Blackett was very popular with the students, very, very popular.

MB: Yeah, like cricket and football.

EB: He was very strict with them.

MB: Extremely.

EB: But he was very popular because they felt they were learning something from him, you know.

SL: And they didn't feel that way about Shorey?

EB: Well, you can read the literature books and get something from them for yourself.

SL: Uh-huh.

EB: As they couldn't read the Latin. Blackett had them learning the Latin by heart and saying it by heart.

MB: That's how education went.

EB: Uh-huh, so we didn't do any extramural Latin classes or…

SL: Right, right. So did…

EB: I remember when this girl topped the whole Caribbean, they sent somebody down from Barbados to meet the tutor who was teaching the class to find out, what did he do. So we're very kind to students, we were very friendly with them, you know. We…

SL: So your program at the University Center was filling a gap for people who weren't at the Grammar School to do A-levels or at Princess Margaret School to do A- or O-levels. They had somehow fallen in between the cracks and couldn't stay in school, right?

EB: Uh-huh.

SL: They were over-aged.

EB: Those were the ones who would come to the University Center.

SL: Exactly, so it was filling a real need…

EB: Yeah.

SL: …for almost—I won't called it remedial, but…

EB: Tertiary, tertiary education.

SL: No, not really tertiary.

… EB: No?

… SL: O-level is not tertiary.

EB: No one knows.

SL: After that the first year of university.

EB: First year?

SL: Yes, absolutely because people couldn't afford to go away to University.

EB: Yes, they couldn't afford to go to University, if they didn't get a scholarship.

SL: Right. They had jobs…

EB: So they came to the classes.

SL: Right and they were working people. I mean they all had jobs, most of them, or did they come full-time?

EB: No, they didn't come full-time.

SL: They had jobs, right. So they could support themselves, do the first year. After a while they could do the second year as well, right?

EB: Uh-huh.

SL: …later on. So it was filling a real gap—still does, I guess.

EB: I suppose I can talk about this because there is a little rivalry between me and Mr. Reuben Harris because he thought he knew everything.

SL: I remember that.

MB: Me, too.

EB: You, too? I taught him at Teacher's College, you know, and I taught him at Spring Gardens. I said to him, "You don't spell that word that way," or "You don't call it that way." He said, "But it is here, and Shakespeare used it." I said, "Yes but Shakespeare was in the 1500s.

MB: Exactly.

SL: Yeah, right, 500 years ago. So what was the rivalry about?

EB: Because he became Minister of Education afterwards, and as head of the ministry he was able to look at what I was doing.

MB: I could not believe as an individual that that man got to that position at the University.

SL: So what was he trying to do? Tell you what to do?

EB: Because the people who came from international agencies just normally came to the University Center to talk to me, to see what I was doing.

SL: And they are supposed to go to see him?

EB: I remember one woman sort of asked me, "What are some of your needs?" you know, and I needed transport and I said I needed a bus.

MB: Did you get it?

EB: …so that the preschool people could have a bus if they want to take their children somewhere.

SL: Right, such as a field trip.

EB: I remember I went on an early short leave somewhere. And by the time I came back, I found that the UN woman had seen Reuben Harris and he impressed upon her that he was in charge of education in the whole island, and that he needed a bus.

SL: Right, right.

EB: And then took away my bus from me.

SL: He took your bus from them, oh. Did he like having the University Center here?

EB: Ha?

SL: Did he like having the University Center?

EB: No, because we are always coming up with something innovative like the early childhood program for women and their children all over the island.

SL: And he wanted come up with all the ideas himself.

EB: So he got a preschool coordinator to place in the office, and it was Winifred Peters. You remember Winifred? I remember Winifred telling somebody, "I'm going to be in charge of preschool, but don't say anything to Dr. Bird. Don't tell her that the Minister has asked me to come to the office to be in charge of preschool programs," and Winifred was in charge of the bus.

SL: The bus? So he was trying to take over your territory there.

EB: Ha?

SL: He was trying to take over—put his own person in to do what you had done.

EB: Yeah, but now Winifred had a lot of experience because she had taught in Montserrat and she had taught in Saint Kitts and she came having knowledge of early childhood education on some of the other islands.

SL: So that was good.

EB: Yeah. So she—I mean if you saw her bus, it was always filled up with old pans, old rehabilitated pans. She was really a junk center for early childhood.

SL: Right.

EB: She is really very good. She is good.

SL: Good.

EB: I didn't object to Winifred.

SL: Right.

EB: But I objected to the way that Reuben…

SL: Did things?

EB: …treated me.

SL: Right.

EB: You know, and the thing about it is Reuben knows that his wife and I were such good friends. He would come home from work and find me lying in their bedroom, you know.

SL: Right, and he still did this?

EB: Or I would go to see what fish they had in their freezer because he was Minister of Education, so he got everything.

SL: And got lots of cakes?

EB: Oh boy, and Bridget was quiet generous.

SL: Right.

EB: By the way she has twenty-nine cats in all.

SL: Twenty-nine cats?

EB: Yes.

MB: In a house?

EB: You can go and see them.

SL: No, thank you. No, that's a health hazard.

EB: She has to feed twenty-nine cats every day.

SL: Oh my God. She lives by herself?

SL: To continue, the important thing you did?

EB: A women's program. It was not a program, it was Women's Day.

SL: Okay.

EB: We always highlighted International Women's Day, don't ask me what date it was, but we always identified some group of women in the community, for example, one day it would be market women. I had a girl who wanted something to do. She was a teacher, but she wasn't very happy, and she used to come around me all the time. So, I used to give her little things to do and pay her a little something—not much, a little change, and she took on the job of organizing every year for about four or five years.

SL: A different group of women each year?

EB: Yes, a different group of women like market women, lawyers, doctors, ...

SL: Oh, how nice.

EB: …nurses, and we would pick whom they chose as the most outstanding among them, and we would have them all come up to the University Center. Each person was allowed, I think, two guests—maybe a husband or a mother or someone like that. And they would choose the person that they thought most outstanding, and we would give that person a prize and that prize would be collected from the community.

SL: Right, so donations?

EB: Yeah.

SL: Somebody would donate something?

EB: Somebody would give something.

SL: Right, right. Nice, why did you stop?

EB: I stopped because I was leaving.

SL: Oh, okay.

DISTANCE LEARNER ECOLOGIES OF THE UNIVERSITY OF THE WEST INDIES OPEN CAMPUS PROGRAM

Elizabeth Beaubrun

The Eastern Caribbean

The Caribbean region is a 2,000-mile archipelago southwest of the Gulf of Mexico in the Atlantic Ocean's Caribbean Sea. The region is divided into three geographical areas: the Lucayan Archipelago, the Greater Antilles, and the Lesser Antilles. The Lesser Antilles is comprised of the Leeward Antilles, the Windward Islands, and the Leeward Islands. The Leeward Islands include the United States Virgin Islands, the British Virgin Islands, and 10 independent countries, including the nation of Antigua and Barbuda. Dominica is one of the seven Windward Islands. "Eastern Caribbean" refers to the area spanning the Leeward Islands and the Windward Islands. Nine of these countries are part of the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States, an inter- governmental organization that promotes legal and economic cooperation, and whose members share a common currency (the Eastern Caribbean Dollar).[1]

The University of the West Indies serves the countries in the Eastern Caribbean as a regional institution connecting a network of 16 countries: Anguilla, Antigua and Barbuda, Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, British Virgin Islands, Cayman Islands, Dominica, Grenada, Jamaica, Montserrat, St. Kitts, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Trinidad and Tobago, and Turks and Caicos.[2] As of 2011, there were 42 sites throughout these countries. The physical campuses and administrative offices are located in Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, and Barbados, which are "large" countries in comparison with the other Open Campus countries.[3] Jamaica is geographically the third largest Caribbean island, at 4,243 square miles (approximately the size of the state of Connecticut). Trinidad and Tobago, at 1,980 square miles, is comparable to the state of Delaware. In terms of economy, Trinidad and Tobago is one of the most prosperous nations in the region largely because of its petroleum industry; 40 percent of its 21.2 billion Gross Domestic Product (GDP) is derived from oil and gas revenues.[4] Although Barbados is geographically one of the smallest Caribbean islands (166 square miles, or 2.5 times the size of Washington, D.C.), its GDP of 3.6 billion reflects a more expansive economy and stronger infrastructural development.[5] In comparison, Antigua and Barbuda is similar to Barbados in geographic size (171 square miles), but its GDP is only 1.13 billion. Although Dominica is the largest Windward Island (291 square

miles, or four times the size of Washington, D.C.), much of this territory is undeveloped. Its population is only approximately 67,675, and its GDP is only 377 million.

The concept of "small" or "large" is relative, and the countries in the Open Campus network are classified by the United Nations Development Programme as Small Island Developing States (SIDS). SIDS is a particular category in the development discourse, which reflects a high level of vulnerability to global economic shifts and to precarious environmental conditions (such as hurricanes and flooding) due to geographic location.[6] Technically, Jamaica, Trinidad, and Barbados are considered SIDS, but in the context of this discussion concerning the UWI Open Campus network, they are regarded as "large" countries because they have full UWI campuses, are comparatively more industrialized than the other countries in the UWI network, and are comparatively more affluent in terms of economic development. The generalization of Open Campus countries, for the purpose of this essay, focuses on the 13 satellite countries in the UWI distance learning program, and uses Antigua and Dominica as prototypes for understanding the conditions and learner ecologies of these Open Campus countries.

Table 1

Basic Comparison of UWI Open Campus Countries

Basic Comparison of UWI Open C ampus countries

Country (sq mi)	Size (thousands)	Population ($US)	GNI per capita rate (%)	Poverty	(Year)
Anguilla	35	14.2	499	23	(2002)
Antigua & Barbuda	171	89.6	10,610	18.3	(2005/06)
Bahamas	5,382	360	21,021	9.3	(2009)
Belize	8,867	322	3,740	43	(2009)
British Virgin Islands	153	20.4	4,554	*	*
Cayman Islands	102	56	60,526	*	*
Dominica	290	67.6	4,960	28.8	(2008/09)
Grenada	183	108	5,560	37.7	(2009)
Montserrat	40	3.6	8,110	*	*
St. Kitts/Nevis	104	50.3	9,980	21.8	(2007/08)
St. Lucia	238	167	4,970	28.8	(2005)
St. Vincent/Grenadines	133	93.9	6,320	30.2	(2007/08)
Turks & Caicos	238	33.2	10,346	*	*

Sources: UNdata, United Nations Data Retrieval System, U.N. Statistics Division 2012; CIA World Factbook, 2012; Country poverty assessment – Dominica, Volume I. Dominica: Reducing poverty in the face of vulnerability (2008/2009)(44); * data not available.

Each country in the Open Campus network is unique, which makes it challenging to generalize broadly across this spectrum. In terms of population size, Antigua, Bahamas, Belize, Grenada, and St. Lucia are comparably large among the 13 islands. If economic development is considered, Antigua, Bahamas, Cayman Islands, Montserrat, St. Kitts and Nevis, and Turks and Caicos are relatively larger islands, with per capita Gross National Incomes (GNIs) in the tens of thousands.[7] In comparison, Dominica is similar to the smaller islands in the network—Belize, British Virgin Islands, Grenada, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent and Grenadines—which have GNIs in the thousands (Anguilla's GNI is in the hundreds). For the purpose of this study, Antigua represents a median level of economic and social development among the more economically prosperous of the islands in the Open Campus network, excluding the three campus countries: Jamaica, Trinidad, and Barbados. Dominica represents a median level of economic and social development among the less affluent of the islands in the network. In comparison with other OECS countries, Dominica's poverty rate is considered average.[8] The next section will present a profile of social and economic development in Antigua and Barbuda, and Dominica.

Country Profiles of Antigua and Dominica

Situated in the Lesser Antilles, Antigua and Barbuda is 326 miles south of Puerto Rico. Heading south along the chain of islands following Antigua and Barbuda is the nation of Guadeloupe, then Dominica (182 miles south of Antigua and Barbuda). Antigua and Barbuda is 2.5 times the size of Washington, D.C., and comprised of two islands and an islet: 98 percent of Antigua and Barbuda's population (approximately 89,612) resides on the island of Antigua, which is 108 square miles, and the remaining 2 percent of the population resides in Barbuda (located 25 miles north of Antigua). The uninhabited islet of Redonda (1 square mile) is 25 miles southwest of Antigua. The country's population is predominantly Afro-Caribbean, British, Portuguese, Lebanese, and "Syrian."[9] The original Amerindian names for Antigua and Barbuda are *Wadadli* and *Ou'omani*, and the first British settlers arrived in 1632, by way of St. Kitts. During British colonization, sugar was exported from Antigua, and Barbuda was used to harvest other crops to feed the mainland population. In terms of accessibility today, Barbuda has a domestic airport, but there is no passenger-boat or ferry service. At the time of this study, there were no residents of Barbuda enrolled in the UWI distance learning program. For the purpose of this study, the nation of Antigua and Barbuda is referred to as "Antigua," implying inclusion of both islands.

Dominica is situated between the nations of Martinique and Guadaloupe, and is one- fourth the size of Rhode Island yet is the largest of the Windward Islands.[10] The last Caribbean island to be colonized, it is also among the least industrialized. Forty thousand acres of land are federally preserved. Volcanic craters, rainforests, and cloud forests make up a large part of the terrain, and a substantial rainfall (300 inches per year) contributes to sustaining its natural resources and ecosystems. The first inhabitants were Arawak populations (who were most likely early descendants of the Tainos). Another indigenous Caribbean population, the Kalinago, took control of the island away from the Arawak in the 14th century. The original name, *Wai' tu kubuli* ("tall is her body" in the Kalinago language), refers to the island's mountainous terrain. The first recorded contact with Europeans on Wai'tu kubuli was with French missionaries in the 1640s, who were attempting to proselytize the islanders. The present day Kalinago population of Dominica is generally referred to as "Carib," as the result of a historical inaccuracy: the Taino in other parts of the Caribbean called the Kalinago "Carib," so Spanish explorers arriving in 1493, and other European explorers who followed, began using this name in reference to Dominica's indigenous people (Honychurch, 1975, pp. 20–28).

Similar to Antigua, Dominica was an êntrepot during the 16th–19th century Triangular Trade, but retained the largest indigenous population in the region as a result of the Carib's fierce resistance during early colonization. The rugged landscape also enabled the Caribs as well as escaped African slaves (Maroons) to successfully hide within the mountains. Dominica's present population is predominantly Afro-Caribbean, Carib (Kalinago), Syrian, and European. English is the official language of both countries and the language of instruction in educational institutions. Antiguans also speak English-based "Leeward Creole." Dominicans speak a French-based "Antillean Creole," and in the northeastern part of the country, an English-based Creole called "*Cocoy*" (or "*Kockoy*"). In the Carib Territory, the indigenous language is taught in an effort to preserve it for future generations.

The linguistic and cultural differences between Antigua and Dominica reflect the historical struggle between French and British colonial governments for ownership of these islands. In particular, throughout the 17th and 18th centuries, Dominica alternated between French and British colonial control. The French colonized the two islands flanking Dominica— Guadeloupe and Martinique—in 1665. This advancement prompted the British Parliament to curtail further expansion of the French

and Dutch alliance in the Eastern Caribbean islands. Although the French colonial government captured and fully controlled Antigua by 1666, the French never actually occupied Antigua, and as a result (unlike Dominica) Antigua retained less of a French cultural and linguistic influence.

Once the Treaty of Breda (1667) granted the British colonial government control of Antigua, the struggle between French and British control of Antigua and Barbuda ended. In contrast, throughout the 1600s, the French and British colonial governments vied against each other for control of Dominica, while the indigenous Carib fended off the British and French colonial governments' efforts to occupy the island. In 1748, the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle proclaimed Dominica "neutral territory," but the struggle for control continued: the British commandeered Dominica during the Seven Years War (1761), then two years later, it was ceded to the British as part of the Peace of Paris agreement. The French colonial government invaded Dominica again in 1778, controlling it until 1782 (Cracknell, 1973, p. 60). In 1782, the British won Dominica from the French in the Battle of the Saints[11] and the Treaty of Versailles restored it to the British Crown the following year. However, French influence on Dominica continued: once the French Revolution began in 1789, between 5,000–6,000 White and free colored French royalist refugees immigrated to Dominica, and many remained there after the Revolution ended (Cracknell, 1973, p. 64). The French colonial government's last attempt to invade Dominica was in 1805 (Honychurch, 1975, p. 87). As a result of this history, Dominica retains a blend of French, British, and Afro-Caribbean cultural and linguistic influences as well as influences from Carib and East Asian culture.

Antigua's Economy

Antigua's early economic history began with tobacco production, which sugar replaced in the 17th century when tobacco became less lucrative due to overproduction. The sugar plantations relied on slave labor until emancipation in 1834. Plantations struggled due to competition from sugar beet production, and eventually, two of the country's largest estates monopolized the industry. In 1951, the United Kingdom's Commonwealth Sugar Agreement stabilized sugar-producing economies in the Eastern Caribbean by guaranteeing an export market, but by the 1960s, sugar was no longer a major export, and small-scale peasant farms replaced large sugar plantations (Myers, p. 3). Gradually, a new market emerged as infrastructural development in St. John's, Antigua supported the growth of the tourism industry in the 1960s and 1970s.

Today, Antigua's international airport creates local jobs, as a major hub for Caribbean and Latin American flights and as a service point for aircraft (Kairi, 2007a, Volume I, p. 16). The Caribbean Basin Initiative, which was first proposed in 1983, created jobs for Antiguans in apparel manufacturing and electronics assembly. This contributed to significant economic growth, until many transnational companies moved their factories to the Dominican Republic. In the 1990s, Antigua attempted to develop online gaming as part of its services industry, but these efforts were thwarted by U.S. legislators. The strongest sectors of the Antiguan economy are construction, government services, and tourism, with many of the working poor employed in the government services sector (Kairi, 2007a, Volume I, pp. 16–19, pp. 84–85). According to the most recent Caribbean Development Bank poverty assessment (Kairi, 2007a, 2007b, 2007c), Antigua's poverty line is an annual income of $6,318 ECD[12] (approximately $2,366 USD[13]) (Kairi, 2007a, Volume I, p. xix). The Caribbean Development Bank's poverty assessment noted that most of the working poor have more than one employer, and that the rural poor often engage in multiple forms of livelihood in informal and formal economic sectors (Comitas, 1964; Kairi, 2010a, Volume II, p. 16). Remittances from Antiguans and Dominicans working abroad are one of the means by which lower economic status households sustain themselves, but they are also a significant source of income for higher economic status households as well (Kairi, 2008/2009, p. 36). Since 2007, the dollar amount of annual remittances has remained the same for both countries: $26 million USD entering Dominica and $24 million USD entering Antigua's economy (The Migration and Remittances Factbook 2011, Migration and Remittances Unit, World Bank).

Immigration has also impacted Antigua's and Dominica's economies. Antigua experienced an influx of immigrants from Dominica after the banana industry in the latter country collapsed in the 1980s and early 1990s, and from Montserrat, when the Soufrière Hills volcano erupted in 1995 (Kairi, 2007a, Volume I, p. 30). More recently, poor immigrants from the Dominican Republic have settled in the St. John's Gray's Farm area (Kairi, 2007a, Volume I, p. 25). In Dominica, new Haitian immigrants are settling in Bellevue Chopin, Woodford Hill, and Salisbury (Kairi, 2010a, Volume II, p. 18). As receiving countries, Antigua and Dominica are struggling with the costs involved in extending social services to these new arrivals (Kairi, 2007a, Volume I, p. 66). Immigration has also affected particular employment sectors; for example, many of Antigua's (and to a lesser extent Dominica's) unskilled hotel and restaurant workers are

women at the lower end of the economic scale, and recent immigrants are filling these jobs at lower pay rates (Kairi, 2007a, Volume I, pp. 26–30).

In terms of the relationship between the economy and education, among Antiguan students enrolled in school, 26 percent of boys and 24 percent of girls are classified as poor or indigent (Kairi, 2007a, Volume I, p. 130). Few rural communities have public libraries, and the "hidden" costs of education create a cycle of under-education.

At the level of the households there were indications of the ways in which lack of education can contribute to the level of poverty being experienced. The majority, over 70 percent, of the household heads had primary education, only a quarter had had some level of secondary education, and a similar number were functionally illiterate/had problems with reading and writing. At the same time, children in some of the households were unable to make use of the available opportunities or to access and reap the full benefits of education because of lack of finance, and of their parents' inability to meet the costs of lunch, books, and transportation. (Kairi, 2007a, Volume I, p. 89)

These findings in Antigua are not new in poverty studies, nor are they unique to this country, but they underscore the significance of social distance created by poverty and its impact on education.

Dominica's Economy

Dominica's economic history is different than that of Antigua in the sense that slave plantations were smaller, and British estates did not expand until the 1760s (Honychurch, 1975, p. 39). Due to cultural and linguistic differences as well as differences in market activity (sugar estates versus coffee estates), British and French settlers in Dominica, respectively, remained socially separate (Cracknell, 1973, pp. 70–71). During the 1778–1782 French occupation, import and export trading was suspended, and many of Dominica's sugar plantations fell into ruin (p. 64). Sugar production ended shortly after the abolition of slavery (1838), and toward the turn of the century, the economy turned to cocoa and citrus production (Honychurch, 1975, p. 157). A series of hurricanes in the 1920s and 1930, however, ruined the economic growth afforded by cocoa and lime export. Unlike Antigua and Trinidad, the advent of World War II had no direct impact on developing infrastructure in Dominica, because the small island did not have an air base. To the contrary, mass immigration strained Dominica's food supply when

French refugees from Martinique and Guadeloupe arrived after these two Caribbean countries came under Vichy France's control (Cracknell, 1973, pp. 86–87).

The Dominican economy rebounded in the 1950s and 1960s with banana export (Honychurch, 1975, pp. 157–159). In 1975, the Lomé Convention granted African, Caribbean, and Pacific (ACP) countries preferred status in the banana export market to European Union countries, which guaranteed a market, but essentially forced Dominica's economic dependence on this product. At the time, most Dominican banana farms were owned and operated by families rather than large corporations, but the banana export market was extremely important to the island's economy.

In the Caribbean, bananas are grown on very small family farms, often on difficult terrain and in relatively small quantities. Caribbean growers had no hope of competing on price with the vast, industrialised, and much more productive plantations of Latin America. Only the privileged access granted by the E.U. [European Union] enabled their banana industries to survive. Yet their economies were very heavily dependent on their banana exports. On three of the four Windward Islands in the Caribbean (Dominica, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent and the Grenadines) bananas provided between 50 per cent and 70 per cent of all export earnings, and well over one-third of employment. (Myers, 2004, p. 2)

A series of hurricanes in 1979, and during the 1980s and 1990s, adversely impacted the agricultural sector. In response, re-negotiations of the Lomé Convention in 1995[14] were intended to support Dominica's economic recovery, but this effort failed when the Convention expired in 2002 (Kairi, 2010b, Volume III, pp. 25–26).[15] In the 1990s, Dominica experienced growth in the construction sector, signs of stability in agriculture, and toward the end of the decade, an increase in earnings from banana export. In contrast, tourism and manufacturing declined. Manufacturing created job growth for a short period, but similar to Antigua, several transnational manufacturing plants moved out of Dominica when their duty-free statuses expired (Kairi, 2008/2009, pp. 28–29).

Public utilities are universally available in Dominica, but not affordable to the poorest members of the population. Half of Dominica's electricity is generated using hydroelectric technology, and the island is nearly energy self-sufficient (Kairi, 2008/2009, p. 28). Yet, these projects have

resulted in lower water tables at major sites such as Trafalgar Falls, Fresh Water Lake, and Titou Gorge (Williams, 1971, p. 5).

According to the Caribbean Development Bank (Kairi, 2008/2009), 39 percent of Dominicans live in poverty; in Dominica, a family of two requires a minimum of $1,194 ECD per month (approximately $442 USD) to live above the poverty line (Kairi, 2008/2009, pp. 41–42). The Caribbean Development Bank's poverty assessment surmised that the quality of life for Dominica's poor is less abject and less visible than other islands, due to their utilizing the abundance of natural resources available in the rural and coastal areas (Kairi, 2008/2009, pp. 17–18). However, waste disposal and deforestation are now growing problems in these poor coastal and rural communities as a result of overuse (Kairi, 2010a, Volume II, p. 22).

Regarding education, many of the participants in the poverty assessment study (Kairi, 2008/2009) attributed their inability to transcend poverty to their poor education. The study cited that over 26 percent of male heads-of-household and over 23 percent of female heads-of-household surveyed had not received education beyond primary school (p. xvi). Ninety percent of the adults who participated in the poverty assessment survey identified themselves as illiterate, yet did not participate in adult literacy programs, and the study addressed the scarcity of adult literacy programs in poor communities such as Tarish Pitt and Fond St. Jean (Kairi, 2010a, Volume II, pp. 26, 176). As the national rate of literacy in Dominica is 94 percent (and 98 percent in Antigua[16]), the poverty assessment findings reflect the severity and concentration of illiteracy among the poorest segment of the population.

Participants in the poverty assessment study raised the issue of "hidden" costs to education, such as transportation and material resources. According to the survey, 74 percent of primary and secondary students reported that they do not have access to free textbooks, and 56 percent said they could not afford these materials (Kairi, 2008/2009, p. 94). As expected, this poverty assessment study also demonstrated that school enrollment increased proportionately with socio- economic status. When the researchers divided their sample of respondents into economic quintiles and looked at school enrollment rates among age cohorts, results showed a large disparity in enrollment between young people (ages 15–19 and 20–24) in the lowest economic quintiles, in contrast to their cohorts in the highest economic quintiles (Kairi, 2008/2009, p. 89).

This finding illustrates the limited access to post-secondary education among young Dominicans in poorer communities.

Internet Access in Dominica and Antigua

In terms of access to technology, 37.6 percent of Dominicans and 75 percent of Antiguans are identified as "Internet users" which, according to the International Telecommunications Union's definition, means "having access" to the Internet in some form.[17] According to the most recent population census (Dominica Ministry of Finance, Statistics Division, 2001), 12.6 percent of Dominican households have at least one computer and 8.5 percent of Dominican households have Internet connection, while 27 percent of homes in Antigua and Barbuda have personal computers (International Telecommunication Union, 2009). Although ownership of personal computers and Internet access is still not widespread, the application of instructional technology to distance learning is quickly becoming a significant part of the landscape in Caribbean education as a cost-effective way of delivering teacher training and professional development, and will enable a greater number of Caribbean nationals to complete higher levels of education.

Profiles of the Capital Cities St. John's, Antigua

Antigua's level of economic and infrastructural development today is tied to the manner in which it was exploited during British colonization. Like Dominica's capital, Roseau, St. John's port was active during the Triangular Trade[18] (approximately 1564–1865). Unlike Dominica,[19] substantial sugar plantations were established in Antigua, but these plantations were not developed to the same extent as the grand estate plantations of Barbados and Jamaica. Sugar export collapsed during the second half of the 19th century with the introduction of beet sugar in the United Kingdom, rendering colonies in the Caribbean less economically viable (Myers, 2004, p. 3). After manumission in the British West Indian territories (1834), the formerly enslaved remained entrapped in poverty through systems similar to share-cropping in the post-Civil War United States. High interest rates on materials bought on credit, such as seeds and farming tools, ensnared sharecroppers into a cycle of poverty. Social uprisings swept Antigua in the 1930s, but initiatives to improve conditions in the British Caribbean colonies were abandoned once World War II began. During this period, United States military bases

brought revenue to Antigua, particularly the St. John's area, significantly impacting infrastructural development and the consumer economy.

The World Cricket Tournament in 2006 revitalized parts of St. John's, when construction projects improved streets and sidewalks in anticipation of the large number of tourists expected to descend upon the small city. (Modernizing the sports stadium also created temporary jobs for Antiguans in the formal and informal sectors; for example, Antiguan construction workers migrated for work on a cyclical basis between St. John's and the Bronx, New York.) On a typical weekday, the sidewalks of St. John's bustle with men and women in business attire, alongside fellow Antiguans in well-worn street clothes. Some of the well-attired men and women endure standstill traffic during rush hour in new cars and sports utility vehicles, while older women wait at bus stops. Unlike Trinidad, Antigua and Dominica do not have petroleum reserves, and depend on importing most of their energy resources. The cost of gasoline in Antigua is $12.10 ECD (approximately $4.48 USD) per gallon.

The port of St. John's attracts crowds of shoppers and tourists from the cruise ships. "Local" businesses, such as roti shops, are mixed in with incongruently named transnational franchises such as "Kentucky Fried Chicken" and "Subway." Aged buildings stand alongside new storefronts with the exception of Heritage Quay, which is a section of new, high-end duty- free shops. Internet cafes have become equally popularized by tourists as well as locals, and regular users span a wide spectrum of ages. Some of these Internet cafes offer computer classes for children and adults. Although only 27 percent of homes have computers, cellular phones are ubiquitous.

As one travels further away from the city center, some of the residential streets are unpaved, or riddled with potholes. Pedestrian travel during rainfall becomes difficult because of the mud and uncovered gutters gaping between the streets and sidewalks. The surrounding neighborhoods of St. John's vary: some are lined with airy, large houses with manicured gardens, while other neighborhoods feature rows of neat, modest homes built closely together and roosters wandering the small yards. There are also neighborhoods lined with shacks and shanties, where some residents collect car parts or scrap metal for recycling.

Roseau, Dominica

Roseau is also a port city, but visibly less prosperous than St. John's. The section of the city where the cruise ships dock displays a handful of fashionable stores and restaurants. There are also many small, locally-owned shops with very little inventory on the shelves, and an open market where women sell local produce, including citrus, bananas, avocado, tania, and dasheen. In recent years, as the Haitian population has grown, the outdoor market has become an economic niche for Haitian immigrants.

Like St. John's, there are a few transnational franchises such as *Digicel*, an Irish-owned mobile phone network provider. Cars on the roads are conspicuously older than those of Antigua, and in the city, noticeably more people ride public buses or walk. Many of the businesses in Roseau are small shops selling items such as clothing, dry goods, and music compact discs, and there are two modestly stocked grocery stores in the city center. Poverty is not obvious (partly because begging is illegal), but neither is conspicuous material consumption. In the capital, it is not unusual to see buildings neglected by absentee owners to the point where trees grow through the windows and straight through roofs. Built in 1905, the Dominica public library is one of the capital's historical landmarks; however, the size and structure of the building are too outdated to accommodate the growing number of students using the facility today, as well as the public's growing demand for computer access. It is also symbolic of how economically developing countries still struggle with the high cost of print material: St. John's Public Library collection houses only 50,000 volumes, and Dominica's public library in Roseau holds only 7,500 volumes.

Schooling in Antigua and Dominica

Antigua's educational system consists of 56 primary schools (30 public and 26 private) and 13 secondary schools (9 public and 4 private). Dominica's school system is comprised of 63 primary schools (53 government-owned, 5 government-assisted, and 5 private) and 15 secondary schools (6 government-owned, 8 government-assisted, and 1 private). School attrition rates are a challenging issue for both Antigua and Dominica: Only 36 percent of Dominican boys and girls aged 15–19 are enrolled in secondary school, compared with 64 percent in Antigua (Antigua and Barbuda Ministry of Finance, 2001; Dominica Ministry of Finance, 2001).[20] Yet, Dominica's school enrollment is still considered high for an economically developing country (Kairi, 2008/2009, p. 87).

The percentage of secondary school students who pass the Common Entrance Examination (CXC), which determines eligibility to enter tertiary education, has risen to 73.4 percent in Dominica. However, the number of students applying to take the exam has decreased. In Antigua, the pass rate for the CXC was also 74 percent in 2010 (an increase from 68 percent in 2009).

Tertiary institutions in Dominica include Teacher Training College, Clifton Dupigny College (which offers Associate's degrees in Applied Arts and Science, Applied Science, and certification in technical vocations), Dominica State College, and Ross Medical School (a United States-based institution with a physical campus in Dominica). Dominica State College, established in 2002, offers degrees in Nursing/Health Sciences, Education, Technical Arts and Sciences, and Technology.

Antigua's tertiary institutions are Antigua State College, Antigua and Barbuda International Institute of Technology, University of Health Sciences, American University of Antigua (which includes colleges of Medicine, Arts and Sciences, and Veterinary Medicine), Cornwall International College, and University of Puerto Rico, as well as several vocational colleges and business schools. There are also several foreign-based distance learning programs, mainly offered by institutions in the United States, United Kingdom, and Canada.

Distance learning expands opportunities for workers in and around St. John's, and whether the transition to online study will increase participation among rural dwellers will depend upon the availability and cost of telecommunications in rural areas. Although online instruction, in theory, overcomes the barrier of physical distance, there are still socio-economic barriers (or "social distances") [21] to consider. The current student population at the Antigua and Dominica DECs represent neither the wealthiest nor the poorest members of these countries.

Higher Education in the Caribbean and the UWI Distance Learning Program

The UWI began as the University College of the West Indies (UCWI) in Mona, Jamaica in 1948, approximately at the same time as other Asquith Colleges in Nigeria, Ghana, Rhodesia, and Sudan. The Asquith Colleges were part of a plan to create "university colleges" throughout British territories in Africa and the Caribbean. In 1953, the British government formed a Colonial Higher Education Commission, chaired

by Justice Cyril Asquith, which researched the state of education in these areas. In 1945, the group, known as the Asquith Commission, issued a report recommending that the British government create university colleges affiliated with established degree-granting British universities. Primarily the University of London, and a few other British institutions, administered the university colleges: They determined admissions, syllabi, and exam schedules, and conferred degrees and certifications aligned with their own standards. The government created an Inter-University Council for Higher Education in the Colonies to monitor the alignment of these standards, and the project was funded by the Colonial Development and Welfare Acts of 1940 and 1950. The liberal arts colleges created during this period are Khartoum University College in Sudan (1947); University College of the West Indies in Kingston, Jamaica (1948); University of Ibadan in Nigeria (1948); University College of Ghana (1948); Makerere University College in Uganda (1949); and University of Rhodesia and Nyasaland (1955) (Howe, 2000, pp. 13–14; Lulat, 2005, pp. 227–228; Nwauwa, 1997, pp. 134–155)

As with the other Asquith institutions, enrollment in the UCWI in the 1940s and 1950s was limited not only because the majority of prospective students required scholarships, but also because entry requirements were prohibitively unrealistic for most secondary school graduates in colonial British territories; the quality of primary and secondary education available to most students was insufficient to pass the college entrance examinations. Sir James Irvine, Chairman of the Committee that recommended the establishment of the University College of the West Indies,[22] stressed the need for a regional educational policy, and advocated that the purpose of a regional tertiary institution should be neither solely to meet local labor needs, nor to encourage social stratification. Jamaican scholar and Vice-Chancellor Emeritus of the UWI, Rex Nettleford[23] (1993), alluded to this vision of Caribbean social and economic development in connection with regional identity:

[The University of the West Indies'] presence has indeed made a significant difference to the quality of cultural and intellectual life in the Commonwealth Caribbean as part of the decolonising process. The teaching departments, research institutes, and the outreach (extra-mural) activities have together produced a network of activities which facilitate the sharing of new and old knowledge and have inspired new perspectives about Caribbean society and development despite the much articulated complaint by political leaders from some of the contributing territories that the manpower supply from the institution is inadequate if not all

but useless. The West Indian University, admittedly, is also vulnerable on the question of its unspectacular display of intellectual daring in terms of the early restructuring of curricula and a bold and immediate thrust in new areas of inquiry contingent on third world development needs. But for all its 'Oxbridge' orientation and certain clear Eurocentric biases, the University of the West Indies has been a major instrument of indigenous cultural change in the region, raising levels of consciousness among its graduates and teachers—an achievement which has in turn fed not only rivers of rhetoric but also programmes of action in vital areas of the region's life. (Nettleford, 1993, p.136)

Lawrence Carrington,[24] Director of UWI's School of Continuing Studies from 1996 to 2007, was instrumental in the development of the Open Campus. His reflections in *The University of the West Indies: A Caribbean Response to the Challenge of Change* (1990) address the University's historical role in supporting regional identity:

[It is essential] that the UWI has as one of its focuses the development of West Indianness, rather than simply stating a set of academic service purposes; it should state some kind of ideal and work towards it.... If you look at the region now and examine who are the political figures and who are the functionaries who support these political figures, a significant proportion of them have gone through UWI. Now, at the moment there is a level of cross-region conversation that is possible among these civil servants, where one is talking to a former colleague from Taylor Hall, when he speaks from Antigua to Barbados on a particular matter related to a given Ministry. I fear we are going to lose this within the next few years when these people are replaced by others who might also have gone through UWI, but who did not have that linkage across the region. Now, if you find that happening at a time when the economic necessities push the politicians into increasingly isolationist positions, you are going to destroy a number of interactions that have become a part of what made CARICOM[25] possible. People forget that the existence of CARICOM is in a sense an outcome of UWI thinking. (Sherlock & Nettleford, 1990, pp. 130–131)

The University is regarded as a benchmark of regional autonomy and Caribbean scholarship. Among its alumnae are eight Caribbean prime ministers as well as the Nobel prize- winning economist Sir Arthur Lewis, Islamic scholar Imran Hosein, historian and political activist Walter Rodney (*How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, 1973), and Nobel prize-winning poet Derek Walcott. In addition to a full campus, Barbados

houses the University of the West Indies Distance Education Centre (UWIDEC),[26] which coordinates distance education services to the Open Campus countries that have DECs rather than full campuses: Anguilla, Antigua and Barbuda, Bahamas, Belize, British Virgin Islands, Cayman Islands, Dominica, Grenada, Montserrat, St. Kitts/Nevis, St. Lucia, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, and Turks and Caicos. These were formerly called "Non-Campus Countries" (NCCs), and "UWI 12+1."

The earliest form of distance learning in terms of outreach was the University's radio programs. The Radio Education Unit, which began in Jamaica in 1958, recorded programs for schools and teacher training programs, and distributed programs to public radio stations. In 1973, the "Challenge Scheme," offered through the Faculty of Social Sciences, created a means of training mid-level government employees in the Non-Campus Countries. The government employees were to study independently using print material, but the program was redesigned when administrators discovered that participants were unable to pass the exams without additional support. The UWI, therefore, created study centers with face-to-face tutors in the Non- Campus Countries (NCCs). Distance learning through teleconferencing was implemented in the early 1980s, following a United States Agency for International Development (USAID) feasibility study that explored the possibility of offering academic programs via satellite uplinks. The United States government offered the UWI use of the ATS6 satellite for academic purposes, which supported development of a teleconference-based distance learning system called the University of the West Indies Distance Teaching Enterprise (UWIDITE) (Dirr, 1999, p.51). This system eliminated the need for NCC students to incur the cost of travel to main campus countries in order to fulfill program requirements or take final exams (Office of the Board for Non- Campus Countries/Distance Education, 1998; Sherlock & Nettleford, 1990; Thomas & Soares, 2009).

The Renwick Report (Renwick, Shale, & Rao, 1992), an internal evaluation of the distance program, dissuaded the University from creating autonomous programs in the Non- Campus Countries (NCCs), arguing that "opportunities for mutual enrichment" between the main campuses and off-campus programs could be lost, as well as the possibility that the distance program would be regarded as inferior to on-campus instruction. As a result, distance course curricula are developed and taught by the same faculty, and follow the same examination schedule as on-campus programs. Courses taught on-campus are broadcast via teleconferencing. By 2001, the UWI offered 60 courses via distance learning, and the

number of course offerings continued to grow every year. At the time of this study, UWIDEC offered over 6 degree and certificate programs:

> General Degree with double major in Agribusiness and Management B.Sc. Accounting or Economics
> B.Sc. Management Studies
> B.Ed. Educational Administration
> Certificate in Gender and Development Studies Advanced Diploma in Construction Management
> (The Certificate in Business Administration and Certificate in Public Administration programs were discontinued in 2005.)
> (Source: UWIDEC, *The Distance Student Handbook 2004–2006*.)

For the 2012–2013 academic year, the program offers over 32 degree and certificate programs, which are still predominantly in Education and Business, and professionally-oriented, rather than a liberal arts and humanities orientation.[27]

Since teleconferencing was implemented, there has been a drop in enrollment of students from smaller "non-campus" countries on the physical campuses. Enrollment in distance programs has rapidly grown,[28] particularly as fewer scholarships are available for students from smaller islands to study away from their countries. Distance learning offers these students an alternative course of study at $810 ECD (approximately $300 USD) tuition per three-credit undergraduate level course, and $1,485 ECD (approximately $550 USD) per three-credit graduate level course. Although distance learning has made higher education more affordable in Antigua and Dominica, funding is still a challenge for prospective students. The Ministry of Education in Roseau, Dominica allocates only five full scholarships annually when students reach Advanced Levels (or "A Levels").[29] In comparison, Antiguan students have more scholarship opportunities: In the 2006-2007 academic year, 452 Antiguan students received Ministry of Education-funded scholarships.[30] In the 1970s, Caribbean governments instituted either free tuition, or low-interest loan assistance for all students upon admission to the University of the West Indies. Barbados, Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, and St. Lucia are some of the countries that have applied this policy to both students at their national colleges as well as their UWI students. Dominica, St. Kitts/Nevis, and other small islands only assisted students attending national colleges, and excluded UWI distance students from funding. In the 1990s,

most of these governments switched to subsidizing a percentage of the tuition, with the exception of Barbados, which still provides free tertiary education (Miller, 1991, p. 131).

While the UWIDEC's distance education program has alleviated obstacles for some students in Open Campus countries, distance and cost are still barriers. During the time of this study, the UWIDEC program required that students attend teleconferenced classes at local Distance Education Centres. Rural dwellers were, therefore, still disadvantaged. In countries such as Belize, Dominica, Providenciales, and Nevis, students reported that inadequate transportation and poor roadways linking rural areas to main cities remained major obstacles; during the rainy season, some roadways were impassable (Anderson & Thomas, 2001, p. 167). The University is in the process of phasing out teleconferencing, based on the cost-effectiveness of online instruction, and because distance program enrollment continues to grow at a pace that will inevitably make it difficult to accommodate the large number of students at the physical sites of local Distance Education Centres. Online instruction will still encompass "blended learning" (a course delivery system utilizing a blend of modes and media). The University's plan is that as teleconferencing is phased out, most of the printed material will be available online, and the University will offer fewer face-to-face tutorials.

UWI Distance Education Centre, Antigua

Antigua's UWI Distance Education Centre (DEC) is four kilometers from the city center. The buildings are tucked inside an open sports field and laid out in an enclosed rectangle. As one enters the site, the first room is the administrative office, which includes the Director/Resident Tutor's office. The Director/Resident Tutor oversees the administration of each site and initially, when enrollment was lower, the responsibilities of this position included leading face-to-face tutorial sessions (hence the title "Resident Tutor"). Across from the office is an air-conditioned computer lab equipped with 15 desktop computers. Classes are periodically held there, but its main function is to provide a space for students to work.

Next to the administrative office, a classroom, which seats roughly 40 participants, is set up for teleconferencing. The audio-visual coordinator sits at the front of the room, and is on-call during the broadcasting in case transmission is dropped. Before the class begins, one student is responsible for arriving early, and on behalf of the class, checking in with the site from which the teleconference originates (i.e., the teleconference host calls

"Antigua?" and a class member responds "Antigua online!"). The classroom is arranged with one table microphone at the front of the room and a screen for projecting PowerPoint presentations. During teleconference sessions, students pass the microphone when they have comments.

Next to the teleconference room are three classrooms, an open-air stage, and the library which is at the opposite end of the rectangle. The library is a large room, but the shelves are noticeably sparse and during the researcher's fieldwork, there were usually few patrons. A small parking lot is located in front of the school, but there is no place for students to sit and congregate before or between classes. If students arrive early, they usually wait inside their classroom.

UWI Distance Education Centre, Dominica

The UWI campus is 2½ kilometers uphill from the city center, and its location next to the national botanical garden creates a pleasant small-campus atmosphere. The DEC building is newer than that of Antigua, with a grassy area where students congregate, and a sheltered area between the buildings where students study together. Like Antigua, as one enters the single-story building, the administrative office is to the immediate right. Across from that is the library, which is smaller than the Antigua DEC's library in terms of physical space, but also relatively sparse. The collection is mainly comprised of textbooks and reference books. From that point, the building branches off to a room for teleconferenced sessions, and the audio-visual coordinator's office. Beyond that point is a grassy garden area also used for congregating. Branching out in the opposite direction, one finds the computer lab, which provides access to approximately 20 desktops computers. Next to the computer lab is a classroom that can accommodate approximately up to 40 participants, and the Resident Tutor/Director's office is located next to the classroom.

A main bus stop servicing several points on the island is located approximately three kilometers from the DEC. Like Antigua, many of the streets have open gutters, creating a gap between the sidewalk and the road. Some of the roads and major roadways leading out of the capital are paved, but many are packed soil and rocks. Roadway development began relatively recently because the task was costly and involved complex engineering.[31] Today, roads leading out of the capital are winding, with many blind-spots, and it is common for lorries and mini- buses to lose control while descending the mountains. Time, cost, and distance traveling to the Roseau Distance Education Centre are significant factors

affecting participation in the University's program, but most students live in or near the capital.

Both DECs are relatively quiet during the day, with students sporadically stopping by the administrative offices. A few on-site sessions begin between 4–5 p.m., and these are mainly Education classes. The largest classes begin between 7–8 p.m. and usually meet for two hours. At both Centres, some of the students arrive in business attire because the schedules allowed them to come to campus directly from work. The face-to-face tutorials run by lecturers align academic support with that of the faculty on the main campuses. The curricula, and exam schedule, are the same as the campus-based countries, but on-campus courses may present more supplemental reading. A number of lecturers are business community members who receive a modest compensation, but according to the Directors, participate out of willingness to support the University.

The countries themselves are part of the learner ecologies, and each country presents its own challenges and advantages to distance learning participants. Although each country within the Open Campus is unique, we can draw some general conclusions by considering the learner ecologies of Dominica and Antigua. The next two sections will explain and define "learner ecologies," "distance learning," and other terms used throughout the study.

Defining Terms in Distance Learning Research

"Distance learning" refers to a learner accessing instruction and resources at a distance from a learning institution or instructor, and is considered a form of non-traditional learning (Wedemeyer, 1981).[32] The term "virtual learning environment" refers to environments that are not face-to-face, traditional classroom experiences and, in particular, the online space where participants connect to communicate and access information about the course, as well as learning materials. This study refers to teleconferencing as "virtual" because part of the learning environment is not face-to-face. The UWI distance program is an example of "blended learning." As previously described, "blended learning" integrates different media, and modes of delivery. The UWI refers to blended learning as "dual mode" because it integrates both a form of technology and face-to-face learning experiences.

"Synchronous" means that the interaction between participants in a course occurs without a time lag (also commonly referred to as "real

time"). Teleconferencing is an example of synchronous delivery, as are online programs that allow participants to communicate instantaneously. In contrast, "asynchronous" does not bring together participants to work together at the same time. An example is online bulletin boards (or "WDBs"—Web-based discussion boards), where participants post messages for classmates to respond to at any time.

A key concept in distance learning, and addressed in this study, is constructivism. The term "constructivism" has been used across disciplines—including epistemology, mathematics, education psychology, and instructional technology—with different meanings depending upon the academic context. In education psychology, the well-known developmental psychologist Jean Piaget's concept of "cognitive constructivism" asserts that cognitive development occurs over stages in childhood, during which understanding and knowledge are constructed through "schemata" (mental models). A learner's construction of schemata is supported through exploration and "authentic" learning experiences. "Authentic" experiences are those which are not broken down into separate academic disciplines or skill sets. Piaget's work in cognitive constructivism was advanced by Professor Emeritus of Social Science in Psychology at Stanford University, Albert Bandura. Alternately, American educational psychologist Jerome Bruner's and Russian psychologist Lev Vygotsky's definitions of "social constructivism" treat knowledge as a social construct, and emphasize that learning occurs through social interaction, during which the learner comes to understand the norms and rules that are considered "knowledge."

Bruner (1996) identified four prevalent models of pedagogy, which are based on the various theoretical assumptions in education psychology: instruction through modeling specific skills; didactic instruction of facts, rules, and principles; collaborative learning through "intersubjective" (subjective and objective) discussion; and guiding the learner to distinguish between subjective and objective "knowledge." Drawing from both cognitive constructivist and social constructivist theoretical frameworks, "constructivism" in instructional technology refers to a manner of instruction in which learners problem-solve through researching, analyzing, and piecing together information. It emphasizes synthesizing and directly applying ideas in "intersubjective" and "authentic" learning environments.

Constructivism is also associated with the concept of "learner-centered instruction." For example, learner-centered instruction is distinguished

from lecture-based methods in the sense that the instructor facilitates and guides learning, but the learner is central to the process of seeking and analyzing information as well as drawing from individual knowledge and experience. The underlying assumption is that learner-centered instruction is an effective way to stimulate "critical thinking," the common definition for which is "purposeful, self-regulatory judgment which results in interpretation, analysis, evaluation, and inference… [It involves] …understanding the effect of *dominance structuring*"[33] (Facione, 2007, pp. 18–22).

Formerly, education as an academic discipline focused almost entirely on early childhood and adolescent learning processes. Since the 1920s, more attention has turned to learning across the life span, and the distinction between *pedagogy, andragogy*, and *heutagogy* has influenced how contemporary adult educators conceptualize learning. Adult education specialist Malcolm S. Knowles' [34] (1970) theory of *andragogy* proposed that adult learning must be approached differently from the traditional pedagogical models of primary and secondary education when developing adult vocational training and higher education programs. Christopher Cramphorn (2004), a senior lecturer in Information Systems at Nottingham Trent University, describes the andragogical perspective as "teaching and learning [that] is problem or task-oriented, based on requirements rather than a core prescribed curriculum" (p. 3). Stewart Hase of Southern Cross University and Chris Kenyon[35] (2001) expanded on Knowles' concept of andragogy, arguing that the next direction of vocational training and higher education in the "technological age" is "heutagogy," which privileges learning through practical, applied problem-solving and action research; according to Hase and Kenyon, heutagogy entails a greater degree of self-direction than andragogy.

This section identified and defined terminology used in instructional technology and distance learning research. As several of these terms are used in various disciplines, this section attempted to clarify meanings as applied within this study. Constructivism and critical thinking are considered here in relation to how UWI distance learning participants perceive their learning experiences, and the researcher assumed a neutral position on the effectiveness of these instructional methods. Constructivism, critical thinking, and student-centered learned are raised in this discussion, first, because they are currently part of the education discourse among the University of the West Indies administration and faculty, and second, because these methodologies have also come to the fore in the discourse on distance learning among Commonwealth

countries.[36] Following are more succinct definitions of common terms used in this study.

Endnotes

1 The exception is the British Virgin Islands, an associate member of OECS.

2 Bermuda became an associate contributing country in the Open Campus network in 2010.

3 In 2011, Grenada announced plans to build a physical campus.

4 The definition of per capita Gross Domestic Product is the value of goods and services produced per year. Jamaica's GDP is 12.07 billion, nearly half that of Trinidad and Tobago, yet its population of 2,868,380 is over twice as large as Trinidad and Tobago's population (1,227, 505).

5 The Barbados Statistical Service, which conducts the national census, estimates the population is 276,302.

6 Small Island Developing States is a distinct category among economically developing countries, sharing four characteristics of "vulnerability": a fragile economy, a remote location, insularity, and a predisposition to natural disasters (Kairi, 2007a, Volume I, p. 17).

7 Per capita Gross National Income is the national income in dollars per year, divided by the size of a country's population.

8 Poverty rate is calculated by the percentage of individuals in households where the per capita consumption of each person is below the poverty line. The poverty line is an estimate of the dollar amount needed for a household to meet basic needs. Although poverty line is relative to each country, the poverty rate still allows for a comparative overview across countries (Kairi, 2008/2009, p. 41).

9 In these countries, "Syrian" is a general term for all people of Middle Eastern ancestry.

10 The "Windward Islands" are the six islands comprising the Lesser Antilles. Dominica is sometimes included as part of the Northern chain of islands, the "Leeward Islands," and Antigua is sometimes included as one of the Windward Islands due to proximity.

11 British historians refer to it as the "Battle of the Saints" and French historians refer to it as the "Battle of Dominica."

12 Eastern Caribbean Dollars.

13 United States Dollars.

14 Renegotiations permitted Dominica a quota of 71,000 tons of duty-free bananas, with an excess tariff much lower than that of other ACP countries (Myers, 2004, p. 82).

15 Former U.S. president William Clinton's administration played a major role in the collapse of Dominica's banana export, severely disabling the island's economy. The Lomé Convention was set to expire in 2002, but the Clinton administration filed a complaint with the World Trade Organization (WTO) against the European Union for allegedly discriminating against Chiquita Banana Corporation, a major contributor

to the Democratic Party (Myers, 2004, p. 82). In 1997, Chiquita already had 50 percent of the E.U. market, while the Caribbean and Pacific islands combined had only 8 percent of the E.U. market, and ACP producers supplied only 2.5 percent of the global market. Yet, WTO ruled in favor of the United States and Chiquita (Louisy, 2001, p. 429).

16 Source: UNdata, United Nations Data Retrieval System, U.N. Statistics Division 2012.

17 Source: World Bank, World Development Indicators, 2008.

18 Triangular Trade refers to the transatlantic slave trade involving West Africa, the Caribbean/North America, and Europe.

19 Coffee and sugar were Dominica's main exports during the late 1700s, but Dominica was never a major part of the sugar trade during this period, and without internal roadways, it was too difficult to transport sugar cane over the mountainous terrain (Cracknell, 1973, p. 84).

20 Compulsory education in the Commonwealth Caribbean is up to age 16.

21 Sociologist Robert Park (1924) defined "social distance" as "the grades and degrees of understanding and intimacy which characterize personal and social relations" (p. 339). Park expanded on this concept, based on the work of George Simmel, with whom he studied at the University of Berlin in 1900. Simmel addressed normative social distance in *The Stranger* (1908). Durkheim wrote about normative social distance in *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* (1912), and applied the concept in analyzing disparities between socio-economic classes in France during the Renaissance (Lukes, 1972, p. 383). Starting around 1925, Emory S. Bogardus applied this concept to developing the Bogardus Social Distance rating scale, which measures affective social distance: a subject's sympathy for members of different social groups, at varying degrees of relation to the subject. Granovetter (*The Strength of Weak Ties,* 1983) and others have applied the concept of interactive social distance to the study of virtual social networks.

22 The Irvine Committee was a sub-committee of the Asquith Commission that focused on the "West Indies." James Irvine was Vice-Chancellor of Scotland's University of St. Andrews.

23 The late Hon. Ralston Milton "Rex" Nettleford was an esteemed scholar, historian, social critic, and artist. Trained in political science at Oxford, Nettleford co-authored the groundbreaking study *The Rastafari Movement in Kingston Jamaica* with M.G. Smith and Roy Augier in 1961. He also authored *Mirror, Mirror: Identity, Race and Protest in Jamaica (1969) and Manley and the New Jamaica* (1971). Nettleford served as Vice-Chancellor of the UWI from 1996–2004, as well as an advisor to Caribbean leaders and international organizations. As an accomplished dancer and choreographer, he founded the National Dance Theatre of Jamaica in 1962, and was a leading proponent of Caribbean arts and culture.

24 Professor Lawrence Carrington was also Pro-Vice-Chancellor of the Board of Non-Campus Countries and Distance Education from 2000 to 2007. Carrington is a well-known authority and Professor Emeritus of Creole linguistics. An alum of University College of London (B.A.)

and University of the West Indies (Ph.D.), he was awarded an honorary doctorate from University of Bern, Switzerland.

25 The Caribbean Community (CARICOM) is an organization that coordinates economic integration and development between its 15 members, which includes Antigua and Dominica. Commonwealth Caribbean leaders transformed the former Caribbean Free Trade Association (CARIFTA) of 1965–1973 into a Common Market and established CARICOM in 1972/1973, which allowed free movement of labor and capital, and greater coordination of economic policies. The treaty establishing CARICOM was revised in 1982 in order to transform the Common Market into a single market and economy.

26 In 2008, the Open Campus consolidated the Office of the Board for Non-Campus Countries and Distance Education, The School of Continuing Studies, the UWI Distance Education Centre, and the Tertiary Level Institutions Unit.

27 Please see Appendix A for a list of the programs.

28 Please see Appendix D for UWIDEC enrollment rates.

29 Based on the United Kingdom's education system, Advanced Levels or "A Levels" are subject area exams that are part of the series of exams administered toward completion of secondary school, and are used to determine university admission.

30 Of the scholarship recipients, 148 (33 percent) were male and 304 (67 percent) were female. Forty-five percent of scholarship recipients were pursuing Bachelor of Science degrees, which include Social Science, Bachelor of Arts degrees (11.6 percent), and Associate's Degrees (4 percent). Please see details in Appendix D.

31 Blasting through mountainous terrain and circumventing nine active volcanoes posed challenges to building the first Transinsular Road in 1956, as well as the first highway connecting Roseau and the northern town of Portsmouth in 1972 (Honychurch, 1975, pp. 137–140).

32 Charles Wedemeyer, the philosopher and scholar credited with pioneering distance learning in the United States in the 1950s, pointed out that the term "distance education" is broadly defined internationally, and he interchanged the terms "distance education" and "distance learning." He also pointed out that all of these modes of accessing instruction at a distance come under the category of "independent learning." Independent learning emphasizes the idea of autonomy (Wedemeyer, 1981, p. 48). Although correspondence study has existed in the United States since the late 1800s, Wedemeyer's ideas revolutionized the University of Wisconsin's Independent Study Program during his Directorship, and influenced other program models across the United States.

33 "Dominance structuring" is a psychology-based theory that describes decision-making through deemphasizing the disadvantages of a chosen option while bolstering its advantages, so that it appears superior, or dominant, over other possible options. Psychology Professor Emeritus of Stockholm University, Henry Montgomery (1983), delineated decision-making into four phases: pre-editing, locating a promising

option, testing the dominance of the option ("dominance testing"), and structuring/restructuring the dominance of the option ("dominance structuring") (p. 343).

34 Malcolm S. Knowles, who served as Executive Director of the Adult Education Association of the United States in the 1950s, is renowned for his theoretical writing on adult education. He developed theories on informal adult education and the concept of "self-direction" (essentially defined as initiative, goal-setting, resourcefulness, and self-assessment). Knowles also wrote a comprehensive history of adult education in the United States.

35 Hase and Kenyon both earned degrees in psychology. Hase's research specializes in organizational learning in higher education and the corporate sector, and Kenyon specializes in government and corporate consulting.

36 A key organization at the center of this discourse is the Commonwealth of Learning (COL), an intergovernmental organization created by the Commonwealth Heads of Government for the purpose of dialogue, and exchange of resources and technology among Commonwealth nations.

A SOCIORELIGIOUS REVOLUTION: A SOCIOLOGICAL EXEGESIS OF "POOR" AND "RICH" IN LUKE–ACTS

Birchfield Aymer

Scholars have always recognized the importance of the theme "poor and rich" which runs throughout Luke-Acts. Some interpreters understand Luke's "poor" and "rich" in economic terms. For them, the poor are those who lack adequate or sufficient material possessions. The rich are well-to-do. This interpretation focuses on the socioeconomic and sociopolitical disparities between the "haves" and the "have-nots" and has been most appealing to Liberation theologians and many New Testament scholars. I have argued that this interpretation of Luke's theme limits Luke's message, and is therefore untenable. I have challenged advocates of this view to explain why Luke frequently includes in his community persons of property or wealth. They must also explain why Luke does not pinpoint the causes which created the conditions of poverty, or why he does not tell his audience how the rich obtained and maintained their wealth. Moreover, they must deal with the fact that Luke combines the poor with the maimed, the lame, the blind, those who mourn, the weeping ones, and those who are imprisoned. If Luke's theme of poor and rich is limited to the economically powerful and powerless—the "haves" and the "have-nots"—then Luke's community must be viewed as a group commissioned to rectifying social wrongs. It is merely a social action group.

Others tend to spiritualize the terms "poor" and "rich". Their understanding of them is informed by what they consider to be the "spiritual" mission of Jesus Messiah. Because Jesus' mission is viewed in this manner, it follows that "poor" and "rich" must be devoid of any social, political, or economic dimensions. It has been my contention that those who propose a merely spiritual interpretation for Luke's theme have misrepresented the author of Luke-Acts. Such a position fails to take sufficiently into account the social dimensions of "poor" and "rich" in Luke-Acts. As a result, this interpretation does not always appreciate the revolutionary nature implicit in Luke's theme.

The primary materials that I examined are selected from a broad cross-section of Luke-Acts. However, for purposes of highlighting and contrasting certain religious, historical and sociological tendencies of nascent Christianity as depicted in Luke-Acts, references have been drawn from Old Testament passages not mentioned by Luke, other New Testament writings, and from some relevant non-canonical literature.

In order to analyze Luke's historical setting for the pericopae that have been studied, I have combined some social-critical components with the historical and critical methodology of biblical research. By this method I have shown how Luke's message as proclaimed and lived would be regarded as a socioreligious revolution in the age of Christianity's beginning.

Luke dedicates his writing to Theophilus (Lk. 1:3; cf. Acts 1:1) whom he addresses as someone of great importance. Certain "reports" concerning nascent Christianity had been received by Theophilus and others in the Graeco-Roman world. Because Luke deems such accounts to be incomplete, he produces his two-volume work so that Theophilus and people like Theophilus will know the certainty of the things in which they were being instructed. (Lk. 1:4). Although Luke does not state explicitly the contents and the nature of such accounts he, nevertheless, provides many recognizable clues in his theme of poor and rich. Normally, these clues are found in the various negative judgments on Christianity which Luke records. Theophilus would have learned, e.g., that John the Baptizer was imprisoned and beheaded by Herod Antipas, that Jesus Messiah was crucified on a Roman cross, that Stephen was stoned to death, that James the brother of Jesus was beheaded by Herod Agrippa I, and that various Christian leaders were habitually imprisoned by Jewish and non-Jewish authorities. He would have received instructions, also, that Christians were known as people responsible for "turning the inhabited earth upside down" (Acts 17:6[b]), and that they were often at the center of riots. Finally, Theophilus would have understood that Christianity embraced people of all sorts (social and religious deviants, women and others of low status) into a single homogeneous fellowship of love (*koinonia*). Luke is sure that his narrative will put such reports in their proper perspectives and that Theophilus and the others who may read it will accept the veracity of the Christian witness, come to faith in Jesus Messiah whom God has sent, and join the Christian community.

In the first chapter I examined the rhetoric and the praxis of the charismatic community. I have shown there that each of the heralds, without exception, declared that God has acted decidedly to bring salvation to those who are socially and religiously marginalized within and outside of Israel by allowing them to participate fully in the present yet coming eschatological Kingdom of God. I have also shown that the message, authenticated by Christian *koinonia* and communitarianism, clearly communicated that in Jesus Messiah God has brought about a radical change in the old social order and values of Graeco-Roman

society. However, people do not readily welcome such changes. Those who enjoy high social status, power, and prestige in the old order might even resort to violence in order to maintain the status quo. Luke explains to his readers that the reports they have heard concerning Christian persecutions are true, but they must be seen in this light.

According to Luke, the Christian message, complete with its praxis, is destined to rob Israel's leaders of the religious eminence which they enjoy in the old order. This is underscored by Mary's Magnificat, the teaching of John the Baptizer, Jesus Messiah, Peter, and Paul. Socially and religiously marginalized people (tax-collectors, soldiers, the economically poor, the lame, the blind, the maimed, Samaritans, Gentiles, and "sinners") are all promised a share in God's Kingdom. Therefore, "the Jews" rightly understand Christianity as a religious revolution which they are determined to squelch at all costs. Also, the economically rich who love to flaunt their wealth and the high social status it affords them, see Luke's theme of poor and rich as malevolent to the accustomed ways of Graeco-Roman society. Should the Christian life-style of communitarianism be allowed to go unchecked, and should it replace the old norms, then their enviable positions would inevitably be endangered. Consequently, they viewed the Christians as advocates of a socioeconomic revolution and dangerous trouble-makers that must be opposed.

Luke does not exculpate the Christian message or its messengers from either charge. In this regard, Luke's readers must understand four things. First, the Christian message is good news because it affirms the saving acts of God in Jesus Messiah for all peoples—regardless of their sex, nationality, age, or social and religious status. Second, this good news is firmly rooted in Scriptures and authenticated by the manifestation of the Holy Spirit in the life of the community. Third, the Gospel, proclaimed and lived by Christians, has definite sociological implications. Fourth, the Gospel is not a vendetta against the political rulers. However, because salvation is holistic, it follows that it affects all of human life—including societal customs, norms, and values. Whenever people embrace values and norms that are contrary to the Gospel (as was the case in Graeco-Roman society in the age of Christianity's beginnings) Christians have no alternative but to become deviants of society. They *must* obey God rather than people. According to Luke, God has acted in Jesus Messiah to break down the old religious and social prejudices that divide rich and poor, Jew and Gentile, women and men. God has made it possible, through the presence and the power of the Holy Spirit, for all to live in *koinonia*.

God has offered salvation to all peoples. Because Luke's audience is predominantly Gentile, the Christian message is GOOD NEWS indeed!

The point is made all the sharper by Luke's report on the composition and nature of the Christian community which I have studied in my second chapter. Whether by Jewish or Graeco-Roman standards, the constituents of Luke's community are, in the main, socially or religiously marginalized people.

Small-time artisans like Lydia the dealer in purple cloth, Priscilla and Aquilla, and Simon the tanner are also members of the community. Quite apart from those of the Gospel (Lk. 8:2–3; 24:22,24; cf. Acts 1:14), Luke mentions a large number of other women who are members of the community. Among them are: Dorcas the seamstress, Mary the mother of John Mark, Damaris of the Areopagas, a substantial number of prominent Gentile women, and widows. Children, and a great number of uncircumcised Gentiles are also included in the Christian community.

Luke's information on the initial band of disciples heightens the case. His readers are presented with a group of people—women and men—who, in obedience to the word of Jesus Messiah, endures persecution and ostracism on account of the Son of Man. To be sure, some of them have possessions, others do not. But, under the mandate of the Gospel and enamored by the Holy Spirit, they are in unanimity and actually live together as friends. Theophilus and the others who read Luke's writing may have learned that Christianity embraces all sorts of people. In Luke's opinion, such reports are true. Not only do Christians engage in a socioreligious revolution, but they are proud to do so; and they joyfully accept the necessary maltreatments that result from their message and praxis. They understand the life of unreserved sharing with all people as the way to becoming "rich" towards God. They know that as surely as God has acted in the resurrection and ascension of Jesus Messiah, God will vindicate them also! This is GOOD NEWS! Therefore, Theophilus and Luke's wider audience are invited into this community of the socially and religiously marginalized which has spread to all parts of the inhabited earth.

Luke's portrait of Paul, the focus of my final chapter, assures his readers that people who are religiously rich also have a place in the Christian community and inherit the eschatological rewards of the Kingdom promised to disciples by Jesus Messiah. If the economically rich are to be welcomed and are to share their possessions with those who lack, then

the religiously rich must give of their religious wealth in like manner. This, according to Luke, is precisely what Paul does from the moment of his call onwards.

Although Paul was not among the original disciples and, therefore, does not meet Luke's criteria for the apostolate, Luke calls him an apostle (Acts 14:4,14) who, like the original apostles has been appointed by the Lord to be a servant and witness. I have shown how Luke legitimizes that claim for Paul through his theme of poor and rich. He portrays Paul as using his Pharisaic riches—belief in the resurrection—for advancing the Gospel in Synagogues, before the Sanhedrin, and rulers. Paul is like the economically rich Zacchaeus, who upon receiving Jesus Messiah, uses his possessions in generous service to others. Luke also uses his theme to portray Paul as a role model of caring, sharing and serving. Paul does not lust after the status symbols of Graeco-Roman society (luxurious foods, clothes, gold and silver). Instead, his ministry is patterned after that of Jesus Messiah (Lk. 4:18ff.; cf. 19:10); he must help the weak—that is, people who are socially and religiously marginalized. However, caring for, sharing with, and serving the weak in the age of Christianity's beginnings mean the supplanting of the old social order and religious values with new (i.e., Christian) ones. For the elites, living in obedience to the words of the Lord—"It is more blessed to give than to receive"—constitutes a socioreligious revolution that must be crushed. For Luke, it is part of God's pre-ordained plan for bringing salvation to all humankind. This is the Gospel (the Good News) of God's salvation in Jesus Messiah. To oppose it is to fight against God, which is surely a losing proposition.

My thesis is that the polemic between the interpreters of Luke's theme of poor and rich is indeed unfortunate. To be sure, elements of each are right. To emphasize the spiritual dimensions at the expense of the socioeconomic and sociopolitical components, or vice versa, is to distort Luke's theme. When one recognizes that "poor" and "rich" are not merely limited to economic poverty and riches, then much of the scholarly embarrassment that is presently experienced will be overcome and it will be discovered that in Luke-Acts one has in hand documents which portray nascent Christianity as a socioreligious revolution.

JOANNE HILLHOUSE'S ICONIC STANCE THROUGH HER WORKS

Valerie Knowles Combie

Who is Joanne Hillhouse? How does she fit into Antigua's literary scene? Perhaps I should rephrase that question and ask: How does she fit into the Caribbean literary scene? I may even expand that question and ask: How does Joanne Hillhouse fit into the world's literary landscape?

A few years ago, I was assigned the task of writing a review of Hillhouse's recently published book *Oh Gad!* My initial reaction was to wince at the apparent blasphemy of God's name (Yes, I was raised with the fear of God.), but that was a transitory reaction. I was in Antigua, then, and I thought I should meet the author, so I called her, and we made an appointment to meet the following day. At that time, I hadn't visited her website, nor had I read any of her other published works. Since then, I have read three of her books, a few short stories, her flash fiction, and several of her poems published in *The Caribbean Writer*. I have also visited her website, and I've read her blogs. Those encounters with her written work have exposed me to a versatile, multitalented Renaissance woman who describes herself as "journeying." This word captures the essence of Joanne Hillhouse, not only as a traveler, but more specifically as an individual who is in transition from one stage of her productivity to another. This is so very appropriate because Hillhouse's versatility facilitates her movement among her roles as a journalist, a poet, a freelance prose writer—producing fiction, nonfiction, creative nonfiction, and flash fiction—a film producer, a music aficionada, an editor, a writing coach, an activist, an ecologist, and a workshop/course facilitator who runs the Wadadli Youth Pen Prize writing programme to nurture and showcase the literary arts. In addition to those roles, she is most deliberately an Antiguan who "doesn't want to live in a world without mangos, music, and sunsets" (*TCW* 343).

One brief interview doesn't usually reveal much about a person, but as I read her work, I learn so much about Joanne Hillhouse. Of course, it is important to know that her roots lie in Seaview Farm, where her ancestors worked in the pottery business which, I think, affords her the credibility to write about the indigenous Antiguan and Barbudan and their bond with the land, that piece of soil that gives them claim to their birthright. She also writes with passion about the traditional and cultural businesses that enable them to maintain their dignity. Her commentary on the pottery industry from which she extricated the title of her book

Oh, Gad! is one such example. Hillhouse is a credible, authentic writer whose voice courts universal appeal. She presents an unassuming passion to retain cultural practices of Antigua and Barbuda that are imperceptibly passing away. Her passion resonates with me, an Antiguan and Barbudan, with a Barbudan maternal grandfather. I, too, cherish the culture and I observe the losses that are depriving our children of their cultural heritage. Hillhouse addresses this issue in her writing; however, in spite of my regrets, I can live in hope because I detect that same regret in other writers' works, but Joanne Hillhouse addresses those issues either directly or indirectly in her writing.

Hillhouse is a prolific writer who experiments with various genres. Her impressive list of publications between 2002 and 2017 attests to that passion and corroborates her statement that "Likkle likkle full bucket." Her poetry, short story, and flash fiction have been published in a wide array of periodicals throughout the Caribbean and the Americas, thus expanding her reach and her voice. Even though she has remained in Antigua and Barbuda, Hillhouse continues to produce and mentors youth through the Wadadli Youth Pen Prize that she founded in 2004. As an avant-garde, she exposes the best of Antigua and Barbuda through her activities, primarily her electronic archive of Antigua and Barbuda Writings, which she began in 2005 for the Independence literary arts exhibition at the national museum. Through her efforts, practically all published Antiguan and Barbudans are arrayed in the literary pantheon for the world to see. I applaud her for her commitment to her roots, and while Elizabeth Nunez claims that Hillhouse is "a pretty brave soul" (*NPR Books*), I regard Hillhouse as the visionary who prepares the soil for Antigua and Barbuda's future literary scene. Her versatility knows no bound; in addition to her writing, she has contributed her expertise in producing two feature films: *The Sweetest Mango* (2000) and *No Seed* (2002).

Hillhouse's inherent and perpetual theme embodies the landscape of Antigua and Barbuda, which includes movement of many sorts—actual literal movement, existential movement, and the resulting consequences of those movements. Under the umbrella of those movements lie the following themes that expand and grow and manifest themselves as the tentacles of the proverbial octopus:

1. Culture and tradition
2. Family relationships and identity
3. Rite of passage
4. Youth empowerment

5. Migration
6. Community involvement/Trust
7. Environmental concerns
8.Loss and grief/Healing and restoration.

Culture and Tradition

Hillhouse's work is replete with references to and examples of her Antiguan culture that evokes great longing in her readers. Not only does she focus on cultural activities such as carnival and traditional practices such as foods and dress, but she creates scenarios where specific actions of her stories occur in historical locations, so that her readers will be exposed to various locations of historical or personal interest on Antigua (*Oh Gad!*). She is so entrenched in her culture that she exploits it in her writing to the extent that the reader is moved emotionally and physically to explore each facet of her culture that is so appealing. In *Musical Youth*, as in *Oh Gad!,* Hillhouse uses her characters to disseminate aspects of the culture through their speech, their involvement in the community, and their wearing of the culture and tradition. Hillhouse's authenticity reverberates through her use of the Antiguan dialect that so poignantly conveys her message not only in her poems, but in her fiction as well.

Hillhouse's pen documents the cultural tapestries of a society that is evolving and simultaneously experiencing the concomitant issues relating to change that are associated with evolution. But can change accommodate the old as well as the new? Must change include the annihilation of tried and true traditions, practices that have stood the test of time and have reaped rich dividends for our community? I think Hillhouse's message resounds in the depth of our consciousness: Know yourself; be content with your circumstances, and hold on to your tradition, your history, and your culture while being open to those of others. We can only enrich our lives as we add to them. Changing them completely can be disastrous. We are traveling a path that manifests the results of our practices, which may reap unfavorable results where our children/descendants may be devoid of their history, their cultural trappings on which they can rely, and lose all sense of self-worth. Our children need a firm foundation, which only we can give. Hillhouse's message is a clarion call for introspection and a determined effort to value our traditions and ourselves. In her poem, "An Ode to the Pan Man," Hillhouse lauds the commitment of the pan man to the music that only he knows can "mek man cry, man" (*TCW* 17).

Family Relationships and Identity

Hillhouse understands the role of the family—a strong family—in building a community and helping members forge their identities. In her writing, she shows that personal circumstances and life choices have created fragmented families, but in the final analysis, family remains family because "blood is thicker than water," and Nikki Baltimore reminds her sister Audrey in *Oh Gad!* that even though she was not raised with her mother, she still remained her mother.

In *Musical Youth,* the families of the characters are not featured at the beginning of the book, but Hillhouse introduces "Zahara like the Sahara" (1), who is an orphan cared for by her grandmother, Granny Linda. Her counterpart, Shaka, lives with his mother and his grandfather, Pappy, who plays an integral role in his life, providing the essential paternal image for the young boy. These are typical Caribbean parents whose reluctance in showing love creates a bridge between grandmother and granddaughter, mother and son, and grandfather and grandson respectively. The differences between grandparents raising children and younger parenting styles are seen with Nicola whose mother assumes a laissez-faire attitude in her parenting. It is significant to note that in these three families, the father is noticeably absent, but the family continues somewhat intact.

When Kong's mother—the prayer warrior—contributes to the summer project by praying for the group's success, his friends observe his embarrassment—a typical reaction of a youth among his peers. It is not surprising that another mother is featured, though in a different role. Through the interactions of the teens and their peers, the author exposes latent and demonstrated talents, which are developed through informal mentoring as in the case of the priest, Father Ellie (7, 8), Mr. Patrick (10), and Mr. Perry. The fact that Hillhouse's characters seem to exude musical talents may appear contrived, but further reading discloses inherited traits as in Zahara's fascination with music. Her absent father is a skilled and gifted guitarist—"A hell of a guitar player, yes!" Granny Linda claims (192). He is an absent figure, but as Granny Linda opens up to her granddaughter, Zahara learns of her rich musical heritage. She learns also of her mother and the clandestine relationship between her and Shaka's father, which provokes the possibility of kinship between them.

The author skillfully transcends the silent censorious attitude of Granny Linda's generation to forge a companionable, though respectful, bond

between children and parents. That newfound relationship enables Granny Linda and Pappy to express their pride in their grandchildren's performance, but it is made possible only through the involvement of other people under the guidance of the mentors.

The peer group also becomes a family as in Shaka's case with his friends (11). They are the "brothers he didn't have" (17). Unlike Zahara, Shaka feels "safe, loved," which he attributes to his grandfather's presence in his life (39).

Zahara's initial description claims "[e]verything about her was like an echo of her mother . . . . There was her butternut-coloured skin and her thick, bushy, Brillo Pad-textured hair (1, 9). Zahara interprets her grandmother's penetrating looks at her to mean "disappointment." She believes that her grandmother would rather have "the real thing, [which] was always better" (2). Zahara's complexion and her hair texture assume a new dimension later in the book when it surfaces.

The fact that her complexion stands in great contrast to Shaka's "Africa black" complexion (11) raises questions. When his friends discover his interest in her, expressions such as "socie girl," "butter skin," "brown," and "ah beautiful Nubian sistren" (12) are uttered. Very early, Shaka learns that "Skin colour didn't make anyone of them better than the other" (13). He has transcended the pain of ridicule about his skin (11, 13). Pappy's esteem-building speech enables Shaka to retain his high self-esteem. "His head had snapped upwards as if pulled by a string" (15). It is not surprising that Pappy uses Miriam Makeba's "Mbube" to enhance Shaka's pride. "The name began to feel like something he should be happy to claim, if for no other reason than his grandfather thought so" (17).

When the Social Sciences teacher assigns a report on "Colourism or Shadeism in the Caribbean," generated by the viewing of *Dark Girls (*48), the issue of race assumes a new dimension. The contribution of musicians such as Buju's "Love Me Browning" and "Love Black Women" prompts Zahara to text Shaka, asking a very important question: "Did u liik me becuz I'm liit?" (49). His admission that it does "likkle bit" (51) surprises her.

Later, Zahara quizzes Nicola about Shaka whom Nicola admires, but seems inhibited by his dark complexion. ". . . . He's blacker than an APUA blackout . . . during a quarter moon . . . at midnight" (95) is Nicola's unflattering description. This leads to Zahara's question about Nicola's sense of self-identity.

The youth learn a lesson in self-love as they watch *Brown Girl in the Ring* (107–108). The topic generates deep thoughts as they examine practices such as bleaching, which introduces the concept of "social advantage" to those of a lighter complexion (110). As an expert on the topic, Ms. George sows the seeds of self-love:

"The bottom line," she said, "is self-love no matter what colour, shape, or size you are. If you don't love yourself, who goin' love you?" she asked. "No other race of people has to work so hard to know their worth because no other race of people had it so beaten out of them, so beaten we can't even see what we doing to ourselves.

"Love yourself," she said. "Dig deep for the things that reflect you, and if it not there, you make it. You're part of this too." (116)

The message is reinforced when later, Zahara shows up in Nicola's borrowed clothes and Shaka tells her " . . . it's not you that's all" (152). He then introduces his rap "My Name is Melanin" (154).

These relationships are vital to the development of the youth and for the adults as well. They create an environment that both need to succeed in life (39). In *Oh, Gad!* Hillhouse focuses on family and identity by bringing the family together for a funeral. The terse statement: "Mother dead" tells it all. As the story unwinds, she enlightens the reader about the bond that connects families.

Rite of Passage

In one interview, Hillhouse admits that she has a penchant for coming-of-age writing, which is seen primarily in her young adult works. In *Musical Youth,* she deftly introduces the two main characters, Zahara and Zulu, as she captures the interest of youth by capitalizing on their interests and modes of communication via electronic media. She simply discusses the importance of trust by thrusting the youth into rather compromising situations where they interact and develop without compromising their morality. She exposes the importance of religion and its inherent role of guiding and mentoring youth into productive citizens. She also revisits the importance of the community in raising its children.

In "Country Club Kids," as well as in *The Boy from Willow Bend,* however, Hillhouse skillfully addresses the discrimination and stratification of people that exist in our community. She hints at the living arrangements of individuals with nonexistent fathers and the opportunities available to

the privileged classes as opposed to the less fortunate individuals, which continue to some degree today. These examples appeal to the reader who understands the author's commitment to real life as it exists for the youth. Discrimination is an issue that youth will face, and the author prepares them as they experience growth passing from one stage to another. As in her poetry and her prose, she uses realism to portray her characters. In so doing, she creates credible characters who eat, dress, and speak Antiguan. Characters with whom we can identify. Even the Asian Ted in *Musical Youth* confirms "ah ya me barn" (p. 156).

History has shown that a conquering or colonial power uses specific strategies to subjugate the conquered or colonized people, and one of the most dominant strategies is changing the language. We see that in the book of *Daniel* in the *Old Testament*. When Nebuchadnezzar conquered Judah, he took its brightest and best young men to Babylon where he changed their names and attempted to change their language and diet. The dialects of the Caribbean, be they called Creole, Patois, Antiguan, or Crucian, are our home languages, and they need to be acknowledged, valorized, and appreciated, not denigrated and dismissed as a corruption or distortion of the Standard version. A people's language is a manifestation of their identity. When that is denied, what is left? Hillhouse remains true to her beliefs. That is manifested in her use of the Antiguan home language of her characters in her books and in her poetry. An excellent example is "Tongue Twista" published in the 24th edition of *The Caribbean Writer* (2010) where Hillhouse concludes by saying: "When dem wan know/ A wha bran' ah talking dat/ Tell them that we are multilingual/ An' hab nuff chat" (67).

Hillhouse demonstrates a strong hope in the youth. In her short story "Country Club Kids," as well as in *Musical Youth,* she allows the reader to experience the youth's rite of passage. Rosie and Swiss are so immersed in their game of tennis, they "both lost track of time," and Rosie says, "This feeling, this moment, is what I still love about tennis" (134). But that's not all. "We end up in the bushes," and there she is kissed for the first time. This is similar to the experience of Zahara and Zulu in *Musical Youth.* She tells her story of young love beautifully and keeps it very clean.

Youth Empowerment

Hillhouse's writing has a global appeal, but her young adult novella and novels should be read by all youth, as they embrace their millennial worldview with its accompanying accoutrements of technology,

contemporary music, and general interests of youth. The author's focus on the island's cultural activities such as carnival is an integral part of the book. It heightens the youth's involvement in an important activity while grooming them for the future. That carnival has morphed into a new creature, associated with other activities geared primarily to the youth speaks of the nation's vision and foresight. The author exposes the youth to situations where the reader may question such wisdom, but these youth are focused. Though they are deprived of "the talk," they receive insinuations that provoke concern. Shaka and Zahara's late night meetings in the Botanical Gardens, their trysts in Shaka's room, are dangerous grounds, which make the reader question the wisdom of their choices, but these youth are focused on their music. They provide the support each other needs, and in their disorganized manner, they empower each other.

Additionally, in *Musical Youth*, the mentors and Mr. Perry are the most visible forces, but the youth benefit from each other's insight. It is not incidental that Kong's mother is thrown in as the prayer warrior. The Caribbean society is steeped in religion and possesses a strong tradition of reliance on God. Hillhouse's inclusion validates that fact and reminds us that through its evolutionary growth, some facets of the community remain constant. It's that constancy that energizes the parents and moves them into action when Mr. Perry appeals to them for help. Their altruism inspires the youth to excel because they are motivated to make their families and community proud.

Migration

Through her admission during an interview, Hillhouse claims that the issue of migration is uppermost in her mind. Always on her radar, the movement of people in her Antigua and Barbuda community poses some concern. She realizes that the volatile economic situation in the region combined with the fluidity of each community and the ease of travel contribute to migration on various levels. Some travel from one locale to another to improve their economic status, while some, primarily youth, migrate for educational opportunities and family situations. In *Oh Gad!* Nikki's departure from Antigua and her subsequent return to funeralize her mother is a bone of contention between her and her older sister Audrey. This example of migration is an excellent reference to parents' attempt to provide what is best for their children. Nikki's mother knew that Nikki would benefit more from being with her father, and in her pragmatic way, she chose to send her away, even though she

knew Nikki's absence would have caused her much pain. In *The Boy from Willow Bend,* Vere migrates with his family for similar reasons, and in *Dancing Nude in the Moonlight*, the process is reversed when Selena and her family migrate to Antigua from the Dominican Republic also for economic advancement. Migration is always accompanied by problems. Finally, in "The Other Daughter," the main character emigrates for the educational advantage that her "lawful" siblings enjoyed.

Hillhouse subtly addresses Antigua and Barbuda's precarious economic dependence on tourism that prompts migration, which results in arrivals and departures. In *Oh Gad!* she also underlies the destructive nature of immigration, where developers who lack the sense of history connected to one's home, as well as the emotional attachment forge their way and desecrate residents' home through development because they have the economic means that the country needs. In *Oh Gad!* she exposes the conflict between the developers and the landowners, where she demonstrates how land owners would sacrifice their lives to save the land, which is their inheritance for their children and future generations.

Community Involvement/ Trust

Hillhouse's sense of community is seen in all of her works. In *Musical Youth*, even though Father Ellie has been transferred to Jamaica, he remains a member of the community, thanks to the infusion of technology into the youth's lives. Zahara skypes him with her very important news: "I met a boy" (28). Another Caribbean tradition surfaces, a reminder of the essential role of members of the community in the lives of the youth. Zahara must share her very important news with an adult, but that person cannot be her grandmother. She has forged a closer relationship with Father Ellie, which allows her to confide in him.

Shaka's quasi-internship at the community radio station is a deterrent from mischief, but that also contributes to his development as a musician under Diva's tutelage. He feels more comfortable in introducing Zahara to Diva before he introduces her to his mother.

The summer program by the youth theater, sponsored by the Culture Department, involves youth of varying talents in *The Dancing Granny*. Mr. Perry's appeal to parents bridges the gap (169–174). The pride demonstrated by the members of the community is a direct result of their involvement and investment in their youth.

Granny Linda's past experiences forced her to tighten the leash on her grand-daughter. Like most Antiguan (Dare I say Caribbean?) mothers, she has trust issues. She has suffered through Sheena's death, and she wants to protect Zahara from a similar fate, but her silence and harshness are impediments. It takes another character from her generation—Pappy—to disclose the story, which provides an incentive for Zahara to confront her grandmother. This is where the community lends a helping hand giving credence to the saying: "It takes a village to raise a child."

Parental trust in the Caribbean region, especially in Antigua and Barbuda, is an unspoken request. Parents want their children to honor that trust, but it remains silent, unverbalized. The hints and apparently random-selected proverbs may be the only means by which children learn of their parents' expectations. Zahara is alert to these nuanced expectations. She wants her grandmother to trust her, but she also understands that trust is earned. Granny Linda's delayed responses to grant Zahara permission to attend the annual Hope School fete is unexpected, but it generates a sense of trust in Zahara.

Trust is also demonstrated between Shaka and Zahara. His gentlemanly behavior makes her trust him because "when they walked through the gate of the Gardens, he didn't try to pull her off into some over grown corner. No, they sat right there on the roots of the huge ficus, private but not hidden" (27). That incident later allows her to trust him further "to sneak her" into his home where they are alone. Then they progress to his bedroom (66). Pappy's question: "What you doin' lock up in your room with girl?" (68) is significant. His reference to Shaka's mother's reaction: "You lucky is me and not your mother. Lord, looka muddy!" (68) gives a peek into male/female interpretations of such situations.

Of course, the nightly meetings in the Botanical Gardens (84–86) draw them closer, but Shaka's request to "[t]rust me" (90) takes Zahara's music to a newer dimension. It also enables her to engage in introspection that leads to clearer self-knowledge and self-confidence.

Environmental Concerns

As an activist who is intricately aware of situations in her community, Hillhouse supports the Caribbean Family Planning Association as well as the ecological groups. Through her writing, she expresses that great love for Antigua and Barbuda, which is extended to the Caribbean region. "Cockroach no hah no right inna Fowl House" is an Antiguan proverb that gets to the area of interest. That Hillhouse applies this

proverb to the section that addresses the land dispute is no accident. As the proverb claims, there is a situation with a victim (cockroach) and a victor (fowl). The "top local businessman," Kendrick Cameron, "wielded a lot of influence due to the depth of his pockets" (94). He represents the diversity in the Antiguan populace. It is important to note Cameron's disenchantment with the Barbudans who are more confrontational. Sadie predicts God's judgment on Cameron for the "rape" of the land. It's not surprising that the development goes up in smoke with Tanty sacrificed in the process. The cockroach analogy also applies to Nikki as Stephens' "keep-woman. Outside woman. Mistress. Adulterer" (113). She becomes the victim, but through her determination, she extricates herself from the situation, not unscathed, but wiser and less naïve. Nikki then seeks refuge in the graveyard where she engages in her one-way communication with her mother. To embrace her family, Nikki must begin with her mother. As the titular head of the family, though dead, Mama Vi's approval, is essential.

"Whey Laugh Day, Cry Dey." The scene changes from the gleeful abandonment of carnival to death, destruction, and dismay. The shift from St. John's and the revelry of carnival to the conflagration at Blackman's Ridge transforms the laughter into crying. Hillhouse's wide-encompassing view of the island presents a picture of historical import to the reader, while simultaneously igniting a spark of historical and aesthetic interest. The long-hoped for development promises opportunities for many, but the apparent danger to the environment must be considered.

Loss and Grief, Healing and Restoration

The sense of loss and grief is an accepted emotion, which is not verbalized or pondered. That Zahara's mother and Shaka's father were killed in a car crash is granted only a brief mention. That Granny Linda is grieving her lost daughter, and Shaka's mother is grieving her lost husband do not seem to be issues. This is a typical Caribbean behavior because the family is supposed to support each other and heal their collective illnesses. These women, as others, suffer silently, and that deprives the children of an outlet for their grief. It is only after the topic surfaces, through Pappy, that Zahara develops the courage to confront her grand-mother about her parents.

Absent parents and other loved ones who may have simply changed their addresses do contribute to loss and grief, but they, too, must be forgotten while the business of living continues. Healing and restoration

will materialize only when these losses are acknowledged and individuals go through the stages of grieving, though silently. Pappy expresses his views on Granny Linda's condition:

". . . Seemed like she'd retreated from the world, you know . . . . Is why I hadn't seen her in so long, she didn't go no-where, like she been in mourning all this time. But, come a time in life, a little light peep through and you have to punch your way out of the grave you build for yourself or get buried alive. I was there once, after your tanty died. Maybe more recent than that. But the Lin I saw the night of you-all show, bwoy she was a woman coming back to life." (238)

The author seems to imply that individual grief may require community aid for restoration to be made. Pappy becomes the instrument through which healing and restoration arrive in the novel. He helps Granny Linda focus on the present and the gifts of the present, so that she accepts her grand-daughter, not as a replacement for her daughter, but as another individual, another member of the family. Zahara helps in the healing process by reminding Granny Linda of the potential for the future. She gives Granny Linda a reason to live and enjoy life.

The grand finale of the summer activity brings the community together and enables Shaka's mother to claim that "the past is the past" (260). Full healing comes when she informs Shaka: "You not your father," and continues by saying: "Zahara not her mother. I not goin' judge her based on what her mother did. May her soul rest in peace" (264).

It is significant to note that in her writing, especially her works for young adults, Hillhouse refrains from "pontificating." She creates scenarios for her characters and allows them to be themselves. Even though the "normal" behaviors or pranks of teenagers with their accompanying confusions, heartbreaks, and poor choices aren't documented, her youth are portrayed as real children. They are a group of youth who are typical in their behaviors. They are music lovers with a passion for the art. Music lovers will identify and enjoy the genuine references to different types of music and musicians, while non-musicians will accept the youth's passion for their music and champion their cause for an audience in pursuit of their dreams.

The scene of loss and recovery is repeated in *Oh Gad!* The well-known Antiguan proverb "WaBuk Cho 'Way" is a simplistic way of resolving a situation, but it's also a practical way. It forces the individual to move on

and not dwell on the past. Mama Vi expresses that view to the Professor: "That boy father don' even cross my thoughts" (182). The past is over; it remains only as an experience, but it is buried, thrown away. That may have been Mama Vi's experience, but it is not Nikki's; it is not Carlene's; nor is it Tanty's or Sadie's.

This proverb belies the family's situation. They must pick up the pieces, examine them, and attempt to remold them into a whole product. This is the story of their lives. There is much brokenness, but it does not require a psychologist. It's not surprising that the author introduces a psychologist into the story even though it's not clear that Carlene actually benefits from the services. This family, like most of Antigua, needs to be made whole. Its members need to rid themselves of resentments and jealousies. They need to realize that as a family, they can love each other while remaining vulnerable. To her credit, Hillhouse moves the family into that direction through the picnic at Long Bay and the visit to the caves at Blackman's Ridge. These episodes take them back to their roots and to their ancestors. It's during the outings that Fanso's spiel is restated: "Blood thicker than water." Because the blood of their ancestors flows through their veins, they possess the qualities to overcome all of life's vicissitudes and be connected as a family.

Awards/Recognition

Joanne Hillhouse has earned the awards and recognition that have been presented to her, such as *The Caribbean Writer's* David Hough Literary Prize to an author residing in the Caribbean and the JCI West Indies Outstanding Young Person Prize for Excellence. With her unbounded energy, she continues to exploit the literary scene producing works of great insight. If the past is any indication of Joanne Hillhouse's future, we can anticipate more work in all genres as she continues her journey. "May [her] tribe increase" ("Abou Ben Adhem").

Works Cited

Hillhouse, J. C. *The Boy from Willow Bend*. London: Hansib, 2009.

----------. *Oh Gad!,* Strebor Books, 2012.

----------. *Musical Youth.* Basseterre, St. Kitts: CaribbeanReads Publishing, 2013.

----------. *Dancing Nude in the Moonlight.* Canada: Insomniac Press, 2014.

The Caribbean Writer. USVI: University of the Virgin Islands.

WANTED: OFFSPRING, TALENT, INHERITANCE AND ASSETS MANAGEMENT

Lawrence A. Jardine

In Antigua and Barbuda we play a game called *Warri*, which is our national game. This game, which was played by kings, was brought here by our African ancestors. In the 1980s, I often stopped at the Bata Shoes Store pavement to watch *Warri* masters play. I can recall Dagon, a soft spoken character when compared to his peers, masterfully playing *stump,* which is the local name given to *Warri's* endgame.

It is at *stump* time—*the endgame*—when players concentrate most fiercely, displaying craft, patience and foresight, trying to acquire the final decisive *seeds*. During this battling period of *stump—the endgame*—players repetitively tally their *seeds*—doing the math. The player who captures the most *seeds* wins. Instructively, *seed* is a synonym for offspring. With that connection made, we could say that *Warri* is an African game for dignified men, engaged in meticulous offspring corralling and management.

However, in 1997, Antigua and Barbuda's Miss Saklie Richards became the World Warri Champion. From 1998 to 2002, it was Grand Master Trevor Simon, and in 2006, Grand Master September Christian won the World Warri Championship. On their journey to this prestigious title, they defeated players from Europe and our Motherland because of their mastery of the endgame. We have not yet converted this achievement and talent to an industry. An endgame not envisioned, not realized.

Saklie Richards, Trevor Simon and September Christian, in collaboration with students at the Antigua and Barbuda International Institute of Technology, could have been commissioned to develop the definitive *Warri* software and smart phone app. That is, a computer *Warri* program against which local students and international players would compete. Of course, this would include a database to track the performance of top local students, thereby providing useful statistical information for STEM planning. My question really is, could *Warri—our national game—an old gift from Africa*, in a computerized version, as a component of an organized software industry in this electronic age, increase our foreign exchange earnings and directly employ 100 persons? Could these, what I call *Talent and Tech* industries, diminish the effect of

Sandals Resort International's punitive decision to close for five months, thereby affecting 700 employees?

In his book, *Black and White The Way I See It*, the visionary Richard Williams, father of tennis super stars Venus and Serena, illustrated the potential of sports, and, perhaps more importantly, the art and wisdom of *stump* as he managed his offspring to fame and fortune. What if Mr. Williams was an advisor and honorary director of the Antigua and Barbuda Sports Economy Board? Mr. Williams could also be a member of our Citizen by Intelligence Program (CIP).

Preoccupied with the old relationships and developmental economic models, we fail to see, to believe and to invest in our own and the talents that we possess. What if we had Sir Vivian Richards International School of Sports, a state of the art Sports Academy? This institution would showcase our finest sport performance professionals—nutritionists, educators, historians, therapists, psychologists, strategists, etc. They would converge to produce the finest offspring. In addition to its positive effect on West Indies Cricket, it could result in the probable direct employment of 100 persons.

But we have Crossroads and the American University of Antigua, among others. Why don't we believe and build industries around our offspring and their talents? The anxiety and economic hardship that workers of Sandals will experience are nothing new; they are repetitive fouls from the capitalist's playbook. It's just a re-run of the same old sequel: episode 1, starring Moody Stuart; episode 2, starring Allen Stanford; episode 3, starring Butch Stewart.

All these re-runs have the same ending; the workers lose. But when will we start taking full and collective responsibility for our economic destiny? Continuously, our intelligentsia refuses to invest meaningfully in Antigua and Barbuda to provide employment for our own. By intelligentsia I mean the top 20 percent of our older academic achievers.

In fact, this class is prominent in the brain drain exodus, sometimes flaunting education for prestige and personal development, but not for local economic production and our collective liberation. Metaphorically speaking, this class has learned to fish, but it is not fishing. It is looking for the bottom 80 percent to be entrepreneurs. In my view, it is time that the top 20 percent envision an economic endgame to produce, and to *recapture* the landscape. I am not letting the politicians off the hook,

but it is also my respectful opinion that the economically delinquent top 20 percent needs to pitch in to assist our desperate and wit-exhausted politicians, who are left economically stranded, genuflecting to foreign investors—even on the Sabbath.

Endgames are the embodiment of vision and mission statements. For example, Walt Disney's previous mission statement: *Make People Happy*. Or the woman who was so intoxicated by Carnival spirits and revelry that she told Calypsonian Stingray, *"Do as You Like with Me."* Perhaps a more sobering, uplifting and dignified endgame is: *"Never Again."*

But let me continue with an economic relationship between the top 20 percent and the bottom 80 percent. In the last 50 years virtually every major and minor enterprise created by the bottom 80 percent of African Antiguans, in and around the city of St. John's, has disappeared. Here are some of my time:

> John I. Martin, Keith Edwards Wholesale, Dicky Lake's Supermarket, Daniel Bakery, The National Bakery, Mary King Bakery, Laurent Drug Store, Mark's Restaurant, Brother B's Restaurant, Bailey's Store, O'Neil Pharmacy, Shannon's Upholstery, Wallace, Graham Supermarket, Alexander's, Masses House, Stanley R. Walter Store, Cornwall Supermarket, Chelsea Electrical and Refrigeration, Outlet Printery, Benjies Department Store, H. C. Grant, Christian Windows and Doors, Food City. And the list is increasing…

With few exceptions, the offspring of these early commercial pioneers have received tertiary education and have become members of the top 20 percent class. As the above closures would suggest, the economic and entrepreneurial baton was not passed, received and relayed. There has been no transition from a merchant class to an educated productive class. As such, when compared to our ethnicities, our top 20 percent has not acquired as much capital by the means of local commercial activity to create meaningful employment, and to financially assist our artists: musicians, painters, sculptors, poets, etc.

As this trend is indicating, the typical African Antiguan family enterprise struggles to endure the second generation. Is there a communication gap or a philosophical divide between generations? Do the parents not trust their offspring? Is it offspring envy? Do the offspring

scorn its parent's business model, not understanding that assets are generally accumulated across generations, starting from very humble beginnings? What is the reason for this generational dissonance? Is it that African Antiguan businesses are poor at succession planning? This is perhaps a phenomenon that requires in-depth research and analysis.

This economic discontinuity also means that acquired entrepreneurial wisdom and intelligence are not significantly transferred to or inherited by the offspring. This creates an undesirable disruption in the continuance of economic enterprise and culture, as the nation struggles with the unemployment problems.

Generally speaking, this IT generation, which is arguably void of the cultural moorings of its parents, is starting economically from scratch, again. Economist, Professor Thomas Piketty, in his book *CAPITAL in the Twenty-First Century*—a discourse on wealth, capital and income distributions, highlights the significant contribution of inheritance in related economic mobility.

Do the African Antiguan offspring tend to prefer education as prestige climbing a perceived social ladder, as compared to inheritable enterprises that require vision, discipline, sacrifice and frugality to successfully manage and expand? As an example, I know of a successful organic farmer who cultivates a sizable acreage, and who has an aversion for artificial preservatives. To his resignation, his offspring is off to study AI – Artificial Intelligence. This disconnection between generations appears to be a pervasive African Antiguan problem, affecting our abilities to develop long-term enterprises and to transition to secondary production.

So far, I have been sketching an observed generational disconnection in some Antiguan Black family enterprises and talents over the past 50 years, and the fact that during that very same period, the offspring of *Freed People* have acquired unprecedented tertiary education. I have not discerned a comparable increase in corporations or co-operatives to suggest that our offspring have moved on to adopt those business models. In fact, I know that in the IT sector most are jobbing and freelancing—doing *their own little thing on the side.*

Let me share with you one of the inherited dilemmas of our newly educated offspring. I am in the software development business, so I have met a few accountants, HR managers and IT professionals. Their "*abundance*" has led to this new trend; they are all working on contracts:

12, 18, 24, or 36 months—if lucky, mainly in the hospitality and food supply sectors. There is basically no full and open-ended employment for these young qualified offspring anymore. One actually told me that because of this, they have become very proficient in writing resumes and job applications. Needless to say, they can hardly acquire a bank mortgage to construct a home, or start an enterprise. However, they can—and often do, purchase used cars online.

We need to create new economic models and relationships for our offspring, by looking at other linkages between their managerial, technical and enterprising abilities. For example, take a look at my neighbor of the 80 percent class, a road-side master automobile mechanic, who desperately needs administrative and technical assistance. What if Kebra the accountant, Marsha the business major, Deon the Information Technology wizard and Joyce the HR manager, harmoniously and *respectfully* rallied around Roy, the master mechanic? Just imagine the LED sign… *Roy's Professional Auto Repair Shop—the Trade-in Killer*. We need to incentivize this entrepreneurial convergence and model for our offspring.

I have borrowed the term *Freed People* from Natasha Lightfoot, who used it in her book, *Troubling Freedom*. To my mind, Lightfoot used that term and wrapped it in a very creative narrative to zoom in on the predicament of a people in limbo—freed but still not free. As such, she mitigated some distractions of racial labeling, thereby moving a human struggle to the fore of her discourse.

However, shouldn't *Freed People*—even when they are celebrating, be always suspiciously looking over their shoulders, in perhaps a phobic and relentless pursuit to secure and extend freedom? Shouldn't that be a primary agenda item of our curricula from kindergarten to university? Isn't that what our education is also for—never again, but freedom?

Are we just laid-back, with eyes wide shut, counting chickens, waiting for the Reparations bonanza, which from current projections, our offspring will most likely squander—one way or the other? Professor Hilary Beckles, in his book *Britain's Black Debt*, which I believe should be compulsory reading in secondary schools here, said this:

> The British state believes that the longer the reparations case is denied, the more remote it will become. These officials seem to believe that as each generation comes

> to maturity, the less concerned they will be with matters of history. Playing the time game is considered their best strategy. Future generations of black youth, they believe, will have less interest in the experience of their forebears and are unlikely to commit politically to matters such as reparations.

Having recognized Natasha Lightfoot for the classification, *Freed People*, it appears to me that as *Educated Freed People*, we are losing our way; we are to some extent off course.

So far, I have mainly looked at disconnections on the merchandizing side of the enterprise equation. Now, I would like to reflect at the consumption patterns and preferences of our offspring.

If the world is a stage, then our offspring are members of the supporting cast, playing the roles of walking mannequins, spiritedly but unaware, displaying our trade deficit—smart phones from China, leather shoes from Spain, ankle chains from Switzerland, tattoo ink from Japan. Respectfully, I will not numerate the items between the knees and the shoulders—gold chains from USA, lipstick from France, and false hair from India—all mainly acquired online, circumventing local brick and mortar enterprises.

This deficit will be paid, if not by trade and foreign exchange earnings, then eventually by the currency of land. As the Russians say, *the only place you can find free cheese is in a rat's trap.* Our offspring are offline, disconnected from our *Troubling Freedom*, schooled with a curricula that is history neutral, consumption loaded, pride insensitive, production indifferent, past experiences submerged, future blind-sided and liberation aborted. When will the *Educated Freed People* rise to the occasion and eradicate this recursive pathological indifference in our offspring? To elevate their minds, straighten their posture, and sharpen their sense of justice and worth… Perhaps the success of the African Reparation Movement hinges on this.

An Englishman, with whom I worked, once told me this: "*Do you know what's wrong with you guys; you don't nip things in the bud."*

Micro biologist, Ernst Mayer in his book, *What evolution IS*, said this:

> Indeed, the selection event is to favor individuals that have succeeded in finding a progressive answer to current problems. The summation of all these steps is evolutionary progress."

In one of the most disturbing books I have read, *Childhood Under Siege,* Joel Bakan explains how corporations assemble the finest psychologists and marketing experts, who use concepts such as the *Nag Factor*—how children nag parents to purchase products—and addiction, to influence the youth, who internalize the subliminal suggestions of about 30, 000 video commercials per year. Incidentally, they also use racial factors when marketing to Black communities. Among other things, here is a fact Bakan investigates:

> A massive and growing kid marketing industry is targeting children with increasingly callous and devious methods to manipulate their forming and vulnerable emotions, cultivate compulsive behavior, and addle their psyches with violence, sex, and obsessive consumerism.

Brothers and sisters there is urgency to design and rollout new curricula of enlightenment for our offspring. As I have tried to show, the lack of formal education is no longer our major problem. We have the tools and the talents. But our mindset—*the pregame*—is wrong. This new curricula for our offspring must focus on pregame requirements to execute the economic endgame strategies as our celebrated Warri Grand Masters do—as they tally seeds.

The Indians are doing it, the Chinese are doing it. They have moved homework to the classroom, and the Chinese are teaching mathematics at the rate of the slowest student. That is, they do not move on or change the topic until every student masters it. We must teach our *Troubling Freedom* and history at the rate of the slowest student, until they all understand. This too is a prerequisite and beginning of a new economy.

As the Chinese are demonstrating, patience with our offspring could be a most rewarding virtue….

ENTREPRENEURIAL SOCIALISM VS PRAGMATISM: REFLECTIONS ON THE 2018 ELECTIONS IN ANTIGUA AND BARBUDA

Paget Henry

The general elections of March 21st 2018 resulted in a major victory for the Antigua and Barbuda Labour Party (ABLP), which won 15 of the 17 contested seats. In these reflections on that recently concluded election, I will look at it from the perspective of past elections and the broader political history of Antigua and Barbuda. This history suggests that when we use the word politics, we quite often have in mind the competition between our political parties. The intensity of this rivalry has dominated our thinking about politics, to the point where other dimensions or aspects of our political system are taken for granted or cast into the background. However, our political history also strongly suggests that these intense rivalries have been very costly leading to significant breakdowns in the machinery of government, and to partisan narrowing of its visions. Like all forms of machinery, the machinery of government can go out of alignment as vital parts get worn or damaged in the course of daily use. Such wear and tear often require replacement, leading to periods of long and medium-term reforms. 1967–68 was one such period of reform, with another following the 1986–1994 period during which one-party dominant rule replaced the two-party system. During such periods of political decline, the developmental capabilities and performances of the state were also impaired with negative effects on our economy. The period since 1994 can be seen as one in which we have been struggling to repair and reform our political system, restore and keep two-party democracy, and to strengthen the developmental capabilities of our state. This is the broader perspective from which I will be viewing these elections.

Among the areas of our political system that have repeatedly gone out of alignment with our constitution and our social philosophy have been the following: excessive party polarization, excessive accumulation of power by the executive, excessive partisan interventions in the workings of the judiciary, the media, the civil service and the police, irregular election practices, party splintering, and unsatisfactory compromises with the foreign capitalists we continue to import. These have been some of the key areas of political breakdown or disequilibrium that have made repeated appearances as we have struggled between one-party dominant

and two-party systems of rule. Thus, in taking this longer view of the recent election, these are some of the issues that I will be touching on.

The nature and contents of elections change over time as they often reflect the major political and socio-economic challenges confronting the government and citizens of a nation at a particular point in time. Given the fact that we live in a community of nations, some large and some small, some imperial and some peripheral, these major challenges have often been both internal and external in origin. Antigua and Barbuda is about to enter its 37th year of political independence and over the decades much has changed in terms of the major economic and political challenges that the leaders and citizens of our young nation have had to confront.

In the years immediately following independence from Britain in 1981, the international context was still dominated by the cold war between the nations of the West and those of the Soviet Bloc. This conflict not only affected the foreign policy positions of Antigua and Barbuda, but also the strategies of economic development that were adopted. In the early 1980s, intense debates raged over which of the available options - Keynesian mixed economic policies, democratic socialist policies, or revolutionary socialist ones – should be adopted. To give us a more concrete feel for this earlier policy environment, here is then Minister of Economic Development, Lester Bird in 1981:

> Arising from our history as a colonial people, who were largely brought here as slaves and then formally freed only to become 'slave labour' the people of Antigua had no power. They did not own productive areas; they did not own the means of trade and exchange; they merely served and were paid a wage, which in most cases, was below the level of subsistence. In very real economic terms they had no power … The early education and mobilization of workers to stand up for their rights initiated a transfer of power from the hands of a few, wealthy plantocrats to the broad masses of the people (1981:8–9).

For most Antiguan and Barbudans, it was a social philosophy of this type of Black democratic laborism that guided their approach to politics and economic development during this period.

Further, within the Western Bloc, the United States had not long replaced Britain as the dominant imperial power in our part of the Caribbean. The tradition of Black democratic socialism in the early years of the ABLP, had deep roots in the traditions of the British Labor party but could not find any similar echoes in either of the major American political parties. Thus, the rise of American hegemony had profound effects on the evolution of both the ABLP and then opposition party, the Progressive Labour Movement (PLM). It pushed these two parties towards more Keynesian economic policies with the state intervening or governing private markets and development policies that emphasized incentives for attracting foreign investment in industry and tourism.

In terms of issues arising from the local context, there were three big ones. The first was that of extreme political polarization with very intense battles raging between the ABLP and the PLM. These battles led to a number of repressive practices that made the period between 1968 and 1976 a particularly authoritarian one. Second, there was excessive power being accumulated by the executive with the consequent eroding of constitutional checks and balances. Third, there was major party splintering as the PLM imploded under the pressures of intense party competition. Fourth, the compromise with the imperial side of the West resulted in terms of corporate entry into our economy that undermined the power of workers and trade unions. This latter issue was championed by the Antigua-Caribbean Liberation Movement (ACLM), which kept alive the possibilities of a socialist revolution. These were some of the major national and international challenges confronting the building of a Black democratic laborist nation during the early years of statehood and right after independence.

By the middle of the 1980s, the challenges from the external environment had changed dramatically. Economic competition from Japan, along with a stagflation crisis in the U.S., which started in the mid 1970s, forced significant changes in the economic policies of the major Western countries. Neoliberal policies replaced Keynesian ones, and they were based on the ideas of Milton Friedman and Friedrich Hayek. These policy shifts also redefined the roles of the IMF and the World Bank, turning the former into an international financial policeman with packages of structural adjustment to impose on increasingly indebted postcolonial economies. The end of the 1980s also saw the collapse of the Soviet Bloc, which gave the West a much freer hand in imposing and policing its neoliberal order across the globe.

In terms of correspondingly significant changes and challenges arising for the local context, we had the rise of the United Progressive Party (UPP) and our second major attempt at two-party democracy. Initially this produced rising levels of party polarization, similar to what we are seeing between Republicans and Democrats in the U.S. today. However, this round of political polarization did not reach the levels of the ABLP-PLM years. Thus, since the election of 2004, in which the UPP defeated the ABLP after the latter's 28-year stint in office, we have been in a period of political depolarization. Parties have continued to compete fiercely but without the life one being at stake. These are some of the broader historical forces, both local and external, that have shaped this election and are reflected in its execution and results.

Party Polarization 2018

It is now more than three decades since the UPP has been in existence. It has won two elections running against the ABLP and has now lost another two. The next election will be crucial for assessing how long the Antiguan and Barbudan electorate will go before feeling the need for a change of administration. Is this the start of another period of ABLP dominance? Or, will a reinvigorated UPP continue to grow in strength and keep this phase of two-party democracy alive? So far, the conduct of this election and its aftermath point to a good future for this phase of two-party democracy. They suggest that the two parties have become more comfortable with each other's existence; that they can compete without resorting to repressive practices or electoral irregularities. Claims of election fraud have certainly been significantly less this time around, and the Committee for Free and Fair Elections has not been as active as it was in the past. Thus, one of the conclusions that we can draw from the conduct of this election is that the trend towards political depolarization, which started in 2004, is indeed continuing.

The fact that Prime Minister Browne called the election one year earlier than it was due is a strong indicator of the changing nature of the competition between the two parties. His decision to call an early election was clearly based on a strong sense of his party having a significant strategic advantage at that point in time. This advantage was not based primarily on the charisma of the leader or on what the ABLP had done in past, but on what it had done in the last three years and its plans for the future.

Sure, there were personal attacks coming from both sides, but these were much more muted than in the past. Thus, in the opening statement of the UPP's 2018 election manifesto, the party's leader, Harold Lovell fired this salvo at Browne: "Despite his penchant for tossing numbers around, the truth that all of us – outside of the Browne circle – know and live is that life is harder than ever, after nearly four years of this wicked government" (2). In the opening statement to the ABLP's 2018 election manifesto, party leader, Prime Minster Browne fired his own salvo at Lovell: "The choice before our nation is proven incompetence and maladministration by a UPP government led by the principal architect of the economy's ruin, the former Finance Minister, Harold Lovell, or the return of the ABLP government, under my decisive stewardship, which has recovered our economy from catastrophe, improved its wealth, and positioned it to continue to deliver tangible benefits for all our people" (3). These salvoes are good indicators of the nature of the vitriolic exchanges that were traded between these two party leaders.

But much more important than the trading of salvoes such as these was the competition over the growing and managing of our economy in these more challenging times. For example, in the UPP manifesto we can read: "As the UPP prepares to assume control of the affairs of the country again, we find ourselves confronted with a similar mission of Rescue and Restoration of Antigua and Barbuda's credibility and creditworthiness … The records show irrefutably that the UPP administration cleaned up after the ABLP's mal-administration, and this allows us to say proudly and confidently, we did it before and we will do it again" (4–5).

In his party's election manifesto, Prime Minster Browne declared: "the ABLP, in four years, reduced the UPP-incurred debt of $320 million with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to $18 million, which we intend to pay off by June of 2018, if not before … Our determination is to continue to build Antigua and Barbuda over the next five years and to erect the pillars of our development for years to come" (2–3). These statements make it clear that among the major issues that drove this election was a very real tussle over whose plans would deal more effectively with the problems of our economy. The salience and urgency of these economic issues, in my view contributed to the decline in the vitriolic exchanges and ultimately in the levels of party polarization. It is the seriousness with which both parties took these economic issues that is significant here for understanding these declining levels of political polarization.

Party Splintering 2018

Party splintering due to leadership struggles has been one of the already noted problems that have plagued political parties in Antigua and Barbuda for many decades. The primary reason for raising this issue here is that this phenomenon erupted in the life of the UPP and in a manner that definitely affected the outcome of this election. After losing the 2014 election, the departure of the former leader and Prime Minister, Baldwin Spencer, led to a very open leadership fight within the UPP. This fight, between the current leader, Harold Lovell and Joanne Massiah, eventuated in a split within the party. Massiah and a small group of followers left the UPP and formed the Democratic National Alliance (DNA). The latter remained a small party as it never really gained a substantial electoral base. Nonetheless, the DNA fielded a partial slate of candidates and published its manifesto, *Our Vision 2040*. This document outlined in very broad terms the plans of the party, but was very short on details compared to the plans outlined in the manifestoes of the other two parties. As in the cases of the ABLP and the PLM, a procedural mechanism for democratically accommodating opposing factions within the UPP is absent. As a result, fights, like the one between Lovell and Massiah have too often led to splits that have weakened our political parties. This case of party splintering certainly weakened the UPP at a time when it needed all the strength it could muster. This obvious weakness in the position of UPP clearly contributed to the ABLP's sense of having a strategic advantage, and no doubt was a factor in the early calling of the election.

The Rise of Western Neoliberalism

The current American-led attempt to liberalize financial and commodity markets across the globe is not the first Western attempt to undertake such an economic project. The first was the British-led attempt (1846–1914), which ended in a dramatic collapse that helped to trigger the First World War. It should be noted here that, as a young industrializing nation, with infant industries to protect, the U.S. did not participate in this European experiment. The period between the First and Second World Wars was, not surprisingly, one of high levels of protectionism, which produced major contractions in world trade. But, trade had been a major engine of growth for the Western economies, thus concerted efforts had to be made to revive international trade while not returning to a similar project of liberal globalization. The theoretical architect of this post-liberal international economic order was John

Maynard Keynes. Within it, there was room for the protecting of infant industries, core industries, state ownership of some industries, important roles for the state in managing aggregate demand, and governing some markets particularly that between savings and investment. Thus, it was a mixed model of economic organization with definite roles for both state and private sector.

As Left-leaning labor-based organizations the major political parties of Antigua and Barbuda took many of these Keynesian policies for granted. Further, they added to them ideas from Sir Arthur Lewis, and populist and cooperative ideas of their own. These were the pool of economic ideas that inspired developmental initiatives in Antigua and Barbuda between 1940 and 1985. However, by the early 1980s, these economic policies and the theoretical foundations upon which they rested began to show major cracks in the form of declining terms of trade, growing indebtedness, and rising levels of unemployment in Third World countries. In Antigua and Barbuda, our growing indebtedness was the result of three crucial events: rising oil prices after 1973; the impact of the 2001 attack on the Twin Towers in New York on our tourist industry; and the impact of the financial meltdown of 2008. As these economic cracks were opening in developing countries, a deepening crisis of stagflation began engulfing the developed economies, particularly the U.S., after 1972. This crisis brought declining dividends to shareholders, rising prices to consumers, and higher levels of unemployment to workers.

The initial response of many Caribbean and other developing countries to their growing debt crisis was to take a new and more structural approach to their economies, which came to be known as dependency theory. This theory peaked in practical influence with the 1974 vote in the UN General Assembly, which called for a New International Economic Order (NIEO). From the Caribbean, the leading advocate for the policies contained in the NIEO was Jamaican Prime Minister, Michael Manley.

The response of the West to its stagflation crisis and to Third World increasing indebtedness was the call for a second attempt at a liberalized global economic order. This began with a series trade negotiations to progressively lower tariffs and other restrictions, but these eventually collapsed in 2008 with the unsuccessful Doha Round. In short, we had two very different views of how to restructure the global economy in response to these two widening sets of economic cracks in the Keynesian economic order. The two resulting policy positions clashed with the neoliberal one, which had the greater power behind it, carrying the day.

The prospects for the NIEO, declined sharply with the rapid maturing of the Third World debt problem, and the designating of the Western controlled IMF as the policeman in charge of addressing these problems with structural adjustment solutions.

By 1980, over 70 heavily indebted developing countries were knocking on the door of the IMF seeking relief. As the new global policeman of the rising neoliberal order, the arrival of these indebted countries provided the perfect opportunity for imposing neoliberal structural adjustment packages in exchange for desperately needed loans. In short, this is how this second Western project of neoliberal globalization got launched and became the living reality that our political parties have had to deal with. It has forced them to shift out of their earlier, Lewisian, democratic socialist and laborist years, and into a variety new class and peripheral compromises with the imperialist aspects of the neoliberal order.

The difference in outlook that this new economic order brought can be clearly seen when we compare Lester Bird's 1981 statement to one he made in 1992 as Prime Minister:

> This is a time of great ferment in our country, a time when as a people we are engaged in searching for answers to worrying questions about how we can go forward as a nation … There is little or no discourse about how we deal with the serious threat posed to our well-being by the coming single market in Europe. There is little or no discourse on the likely effects on our economies of the North American Free Trade Agreement. There is little or no discourse on how we respond to a world in which there is only one superpower, one which has set new rules for the game. Rules which insist upon "the magic of the market place", the triumph of economic liberalism and the centrality of the private sector. Our societies, meantime, cling to outmoded concepts of state ownership, protection for inefficient industry, and a marginalized private sector (2002:251).

This was the post-Keynesian economic order that the administrations of Lester Bird and Baldwin Spencer have had to navigate.

Gaston Browne and Western Neoliberalism

Under the leadership of Gaston Browne, the ABLP has made a comprehensive and multi-leveled response to the increased market oriented pressures that have come with the neoliberal project. At the start of his first term as Prime Minister, Mr. Browne made an open and dramatic break with the IMF and with the policies of the UPP, who his party had just defeated at the polls. His rejection of the IMF's structural adjustment policies was bold and explicit, asserting the view that these policies were contributing to the declining levels of investment in Antiguan and Barbudan economy. Further, he announced that he would secure a loan from Venezuela on better terms, pay off the IMF, and then repay Venezuela. This move constituted a break in economic time, as one sensed the opening of new phase in Antigua and Barbuda's economic history. After three years in office, we can see that his response has been one that engages the neoliberal order at the ideological level and also at the level of medium and short-term reforms. Consequently, it constitutes not only a sharp break with the policy responses of the UPP, but also with the earlier Lester Bird administrations of ABLP. Of course only time will tell if this break with the policies of the past will result in Antigua and Barbuda becoming the "economic powerhouse" that Mr. Browne has promised.

As an ideological alternative to neoliberalism, Prime Minister Browne has put forth what he has called entrepreneurial socialism. The unusual combination at the core of this ideology means that "government partners with the private sector for profit. Where government is required to invest land, money, or guarantees for private sector economic projects, government expects such assets to be rendered into shares in those enterprises that will pay dividends from profits to the people of Antigua and Barbuda" (2018:10). In other words, the state will now be partnering with private businesses through shares on behalf of the people of the nation. In *Shouldering Antigua and Barbuda*, I argued that given the extent to which the U.S. had succeeded in pushing the project global markets for all commodities, one consequence for us would be that we would have to become much more entrepreneurial. It was in response to this increased pressure that I called for the creating of an entrepreneurial sector to raise the performances of entrepreneurs in all classes of our society within the larger framework of a democratic socialist project.

The entrepreneurial element in Prime Minister Browne's entrepreneurial socialism is a vigorous and very conscious response to these increased demands of the neoliberal order. Across our region and

beyond, we have seen many labor or worker-oriented political parties re-inventing themselves in response to these new pressures. The Democratic Party in the U.S. under Bill Clinton, and the British Labor Party under Tony Blair are two good cases in point. In our region, the most dramatic case was that of the Michael Manley regime in Jamaica, after being one of the strongest advocates of the NIEO. It is in the context of these worldwide responses of worker-oriented and Labor parties to the rise of neoliberalism that we must see Browne's entrepreneurial socialism.

An entrepreneur of working class background, Prime Minister Browne is very comfortable in the world of entrepreneurs and is quite sympathetic to their concerns. The tensions that existed between the sugar planters, who were seen primarily as surplus labor extracting entrepreneurs, is much more muted in the present period. Prime Minister Browne sees and emphasizes the capabilities of entrepreneurs for developing our economy through the establishing of a variety of business enterprises that will employ people and contribute to tax revenues. In these aspects, Browne's economic strategy follows closely the Arthur Lewis model. As in the case of Lewis, the transformative entrepreneurial drive will be coming primarily from foreign capitalists, who are interested in investing in our tourist and real estate sectors.

The party's 2018 manifesto lists very clearly the major investments by foreign capitalists that the ABLP hopes to see come on stream over the next five years. These include the expansion of the Royal Antiguan Resort, the Callaloo Cay Hotel project, the upgrading of Jolly Beach Hotel, the expansion of Tamrind Hills, Nonsuch Bay and Veranda Hills hotels, and the big Yida Project. Together with other private investments in this sector, the ABLP hopes to see an increase of over 1500 rooms in our existing capacity. These investments are the major engines that will drive the growth and development of the Antiguan and Barbudan economy over the next five or so years.

In addition to expanding the role of the foreign capitalist class, the entrepreneurial element in Browne's entrepreneurial socialism includes a significant shift in his attitude towards local investors. At the start of his first term, the Prime Minister still referred to this group as being "risk averse". Now he is seeing them more as potential partners in various enterprises that could be income generating for the state. This new attitude can be seen in the ways in which Browne has been able to reduce the debts of various government agencies. The strategy of buying private debt in exchanges for shares in these companies and the converting of

public debt into shares that private companies can buy – all this marks a new and more intimate relationship between the state and the private sector. Further, it is important to note that this very active role for the state is very much outside the norms and guidelines of the neoliberal model. In short, these are the first set of novel features marking the entrepreneurial element in Prime Minister Browne's entrepreneurial socialism.

What then are the more socialist elements in this new and hybrid ideology? First, we have already been describing the leading and highly interventionist role of Browne's state. Instead of decreasing and downsizing the role of the state, it is definitely being increased and made into a strong developmental state. The Browne state is closer to the model of democratic socialist states, Keynesian states, or Lewisian states than it is to the neoliberal state. This is largely an inherited state structure from the past, but the Prime Minister has certainly added something significant here that has a very local flavor.

The second important socialist element is the long-standing project of empowering the working class. However, this time around it is not so much through trade union organizing, as was done against the sugar planters, but through developing the entrepreneurial capabilities of workers. This is indeed an unusual twist and goes a long way to explain the rather paradoxical combination embodied by this ideology of entrepreneurial socialism. Normally, we associate entrepreneurs and even aspiring ones with the bourgeoisie and not the working class. So what is different here?

To give both theoretical and practical teeth to this entrepreneurial strategy for worker empowerment, Prime Minister Browne and his team have borrowed some ideas from the well-known Peruvian economist, Hernando de Soto, and have added them to ideas from the Lewis model. Hernando de Soto is the author of the now classic work, *The Mystery of Capital*. As the more state-centered Keynesian, Lewisian and socialist models entered periods of crisis after the mid-1970s, there was a sharp turn among economists and sociologists of development to theories that focused on the creativity and entrepreneurial capabilities of the people who made their living in what economists called the informal sector. In Antigua and Barbuda, this sector would include: people who sell various goods on the sidewalks, or at special events such as cricket matches or carnival, roadside mechanics, and illegal drug traders. Unlike territories like Jamaica and Guyana, this sector remained comparatively small in Antigua and Barbuda. Thus in the high period of IMF structural

adjustment packages, we also witnessed a ballooning of the informal sectors of many developing countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America. This was also the period in which the Higglers or female traders of Jamaica became international subjects of study. This widespread eclipsing of the formal sectors of developing economies by formal ones was never really a major trend in the Antiguan and Barbudan economy.

Hernando de Soto and Muhammad Yunus were among the leading theorists the entrepreneurial creativity of the citizens of the informal sector. Yunus was the major theorist of micro-finance, for which he received a Nobel Prize. He advocated the making of very small loans to informal entrepreneurs, particularly women. Like Yunus, de Soto also thinks that the biggest obstacle to unleashing the entrepreneurial creativity of the citizens of the informal sectors is their "inability to produce capital" (2000:5). However, he does not think that giving these informal sector entrepreneurs small loans is the best or even a sufficient way of helping them to produce the capital that they need. In contrast, de Soto suggests that "even in the poorest countries, the poor save. The value of savings among the poor is in fact immense – forty times all of the foreign aid received throughout the world since 1945 … In Haiti, the poorest nation in Latin America, the total assets of the poor are more than one hundred fifty times greater than all the foreign investment received since Haiti's independence from France in 1804" (2000: 5). What then is the problem of converting all of this wealth into capital by the poor? de Soto's answer is the following:

> They (the poor) hold resources in defective forms: houses built on land whose ownership rights are not adequately recorded, unincorporated businesses with undefined liability, industries located where financiers and investors cannot see them. Because the rights to these possessions are not adequately documented, these assets cannot readily be turned into capital, cannot be traded outside of narrow local circles where people know and trust each other, cannot be used as collateral for a loan, and cannot be used as a share against an investment (2000:6)

In short, the assets of the poor, although immense, are often not adequately represented by legal documentation, and it is this lack of a legal identity why they are not convertible into capital. Further, de Soto points out that "the single most important source of funds for new businesses in the United States is a mortgage on the entrepreneur's house" (2000:6).

Thus, giving the existing wealth of the poor proper legal representation is for de Soto a better way of enabling this group to produce the capital needed for the realization of their entrepreneurial capabilities. This legal documentation of their assets would give the poor much more than a small loan. It would also give them financial options such as collateral for larger loans, or for more profitable trading.

From what we have already said about Prime Minister Browne's handling of the debts of various government agencies, and changed attitude to local but more middle-class entrepreneurs, it should be clear the extent to which he is drawing on the ideas of de Soto in responding to these important challenges. Thus, the transferring of the title to the lands of the former U.S. military base at Coolidge to the Social Security Administration to cover $120 Million of government debt, or the giving to Medical Benefits legal title to the Mount St. John's Medical Center as settlement for $125 Million of additional government debt, are workable exchanges only on the assumption that these titles will be converted into capital. Further, de Soto's ideas have informed Brown's response to the rebuilding of Barbuda after the devastation left by Hurricane Irma. Proper legal title for all lands owned is what he wants for Barbudans, as he sees these titles as aiding both the financing of the rebuilding process and the stimulating of the entrepreneurial spirit of Barbudans. In all of these cases, the Prime Minister is counting on the power and magic of legal title solve "the mystery of capital" as de Soto argues so effectively in his book.

This very strong and explicit incorporation of the ideas of de Soto is an integral part of the ABLP's current response to the increased entrepreneurial demands of the neoliberal order. These ideas are being applied to issues of government debt, to changing the long history of troubled relations between the state and the local bourgeoisie, and to further the party's goal of empowering workers, this time through the stimulating of their own entrepreneurial capabilities. Together, they represent a new and distinct phase in both the economic and political history of the ABLP – the entrepreneurial socialist phase.

The UPP and the Neoliberal Order

The response of the UPP to the challenges and imperatives of the neoliberal order has been significantly different. The party's response has been a less comprehensive one, which offers less of an alternative ideology that would enable us to preserve more of our Black Laborist,

and democratic socialist ideals and political philosophies. The UPP's 2018 election manifesto offers no clear ideological response to the challenges of neoliberalism or what they mean for long-standing political and economic traditions of Antigua and Barbuda. If we read carefully between the lines of this document, we can hazard the guess of pragmatism as this unthematized ideological response to the increased pressures and demands of the neoliberal order. The UPP's ideology is pragmatic is the sense of making the best of the political and economic spaces and possibilities left open by the neoliberal order, without any major attempts at pushing back in the interest of preserving one's social values and ideals. As a party that inherited the democratic and laborist legacy of the PLM, the divide between the values and strategies of this legacy and those of neoliberalism remain muted in the UPP's manifesto and agenda.

Forced to confront the devastating impact of the early phases of the 2008 financial crisis of global neoliberalism, which began in the U.S., the UPP entered into an agreement with the IMF, and worked quite diligently within the terms of the agreement. Consequently, their attitudes towards the IMF and its structural adjustment policies have been much more accommodating than those of the ABLP. There has been much less overt resistance from the UPP, much less of an alternative vision to the economic thinking that has informed IMF policies and the larger projects of neoliberalism. As a result of this implicit pragmatism, there was no unifying vision to give coherence to the policies of medium and short-term reform proposed and clearly listed in the party's manifesto. This I think was a significant factor in the outcome of this election.

However, when we leave this broader ideological level and go to the levels of medium and short-term reforms, the specific projects proposed are quite similar – pointing clearly to the local and global constraints operating on both parties. As in the case of the ABLP, the primary area of economic focus is the tourist sector. Cautioned by fluctuating occupancy rates, the emphasis of the UPP's manifesto is on improving the quality of our tourism product, and less on quantitative increases in the number of rooms. In particular, the party has taken note of a declining trend in stay-over tourist, which it will seek to reverse by making our tourism product "more diverse and competitive" (8).

The strategies of a UPP government for reversing these declines would include the following: increase the availability of high quality rooms, incentives for refurbishing existing establishments, and "introducing

more captivating activities including sports and international events" (8), and making Barbuda a more "significant part of our brand" (8). Within the category of more captivating activities, the party's manifesto lists such things as faith tourism, education tourism, medical and wellness tourism, historical and heritage tourism and diaspora tourism. In its attempts to improve the quality of our tourism product, the UPP also plans to deepen the linkages with agriculture, improve cruise tourism, and increased opportunities for local ownership in this sector of the economy. Finally, a UPP government would aim to create a new paradigm to promote and market both Antigua and Barbuda more effectively. Reflecting the above noted pragmatism informing the UPP agenda, these strategies must be more results-oriented and focused on yield and return on investment (ROI)" (8). In addition to these medium-term reforms of the tourist sector, the UPP election manifesto also outlined policy positions on agriculture, land use, housing, education, technology and health.

Without explicitly linking them to the increased pressures and demands of the neoliberal order, the UPP's manifesto also outlines a series of programs to improve the technical and entrepreneurial performances of workers and citizens of the informal sector. The first of these programs, the Enterprise Achievement Program (EACH), aims at training unskilled young people in a number of trades such as carpentry, auto-repair, clothes-making, plumbing and upholstery. The second of these programs, Partnership for Reform and Inter-Community Development (PRIDE) will create pools of talent from graduates of the EACH program, which the government would draw on for a variety of practical projects. Individuals who have displayed, in their employment, mastery over the skills they learned in EACH would be eligible for the third of these empowering programs, Young Entrepreneurs Set-up (YES). It is a program designed to help some of these retrained workers and citizens of the informal sector transition into entrepreneurs with their own businesses. The UPP manifesto stipulates that the YES program would be managed by the Antigua and Barbuda Investment Authority, which would take these budding entrepreneurs through the steps from creating business plans to negotiating finances. The fourth and final link in this chain of entrepreneurial development is the REAP initiative. This undertaking, the Real Enterprise Assistance Program, is designed to give further assistance to young entrepreneurs who are prepared to go into areas of our economy that were clearly marked by a UPP government. These areas include agriculture, app design, and software development.

In short, this integrated set of worker empowering programs has as its goal developing and enhancing the technical and entrepreneurial skills of the Antiguan and Barbudan working class. Although not recognized or stated as such, this set of programs would seem to be the UPP's response to the increased entrepreneurial demands introduced by the neoliberal economic order. These demands have forced both parties to adopt new and more entrepreneur-friendly policies, and to adjust the nature of the class and peripheral compromises with the imperial aspects Western capitalism. Consequently, these programs can be compared to the de Soto based policy shifts of the ABLP.

Conclusion

In this brief survey of the course of the 2018 election, there were many things that we did not cover. For example, policies directed at agriculture, the environment, education, water, housing and many other areas. For reasons of space and time, we concentrated on a number of long-standing issues in our political life that we have been trying to resolve: constructive party competition that would strengthen and enhance our democracy, and the challenges of economic development within the framework of a changing global economy, which continues to grow in power.

On the first of these issues, patterns of party competition, I think that we can conclude that the conduct of this election points to a continuation of the period of political depolarization that we entered in 1994. The earlier impulses not just to win, but to eliminate the other are continuing to stay in check as both parties have shown that they are able to survive major defeats and return as able competitors. The fact that these impulses remained in check in the course of this election is further evidence for assuming that these positive trends toward more constructive but competitive exchanges between these two parties will continue. Both parties contributed to the more constructive competition of this election and should be acknowledged for their contributions.

On the second of these issues, strategies for economic development, our discussion made clear the seriousness with which both parties have been taking their responsibilities as leading agents of the ongoing process of economic transformation. They have guided our ship of state through difficult neoliberal waters, past the single market in Europe, the North American Free Trade Agreement, the ending of protected markets upon which we depended, the collapse of the Soviet Bloc and the rise of the U.S. as the only superpower, the latter's calls for downsizing the

state, and for the centrality of the private sector. Neither of our political parties operates with this night watchman conception of the state called for by neoliberal models of economic development. On the contrary, both parties operate with conceptions of a strong developmental state that is active in the everyday life of the economy. This has been the case since statehood, given the low level of development of bourgeois and other entrepreneurial groups at the start of the postcolonial period. The above shifts in the entrepreneurial practices of both parties point to the increased need for the Antiguan and Barbudan state to facilitate the growth of stronger entrepreneurial capabilities and practices by both bourgeois and other entrepreneurial groups in our society. This is the phenomenon of class creation that Guyanese economist, Clive Thomas has identified as one of the major responsibilities of developmental states in peripheral societies.

However, although in this election both parties shared this basic view of a strong developmental state, our comparative analysis revealed significant differences in their responses to the challenges of the neoliberal international economic order of the West. The ABLP had a more vigorous and original response to the demands and pressures of this order, Indeed, by drawing on de Soto's ideas about the entrepreneurial significance of legal title, the party has succeeded in opening up a new policy space for the Antiguan and Barbudan economy to explore and maneuver within. In their manifesto, the UPP expressed strong skepticism regarding Browne's strategies for settling and reducing government debt, and suggested the alternative of using the monies generated by the Citizenship by Investment Program. We must all watch carefully and note accurately and fairly the consequences of this new policy initiative. In this way, our contributions to the next election will be constructive and based on the lessons that we will have learned from this introduction of the ideas of de Soto into our policy environment.

As we keep an eye on the results of this local experiment, we must also watch carefully significant changes in the global experiment of neoliberalism. Particularly since the collapse of the Doha Round of negotiations and the financial collapse both of 2008, the future of this experiment remains very uncertain. This growing uncertainty is associated with the rise of China, and the dramatic increases in income and social inequality that this neoliberal experiment has produced so far. This sharp increase in inequality has created billionaire classes, who have been behaving like our old planter classes. Further, the return of Keynesian economics, the Brexit vote in Britain, the climbing of

America's debt to $21 trillion, and President Trump's attempts to use American muscle to change the terms of trade deals with Europe, Canada, Mexico, and China, are other important indicators that all is not well with this experiment. These and other internal pressures are likely to produce significant changes in its structure, which will surely affect how our political leaders will manage our economy.

Works Cited

Bird, Lester, 2002. *Antigua Vision,* London: Hansib Publications

Bird, Lester, 1981, "Economic Development in Small States" in Edris, Bird, (ed) *Economic Development of Small States (With Special Reference to Antigua*) St. Johns: UWI Extra-Mural Department

Browne, Gaston, 2018. *ABLP Manifesto*, St. Johns: ABLP

de Soto, Hernando, 2000. The Mystery of Capital, New York: Basic Books

Henry, Paget, 2009. *Shouldering Antigua and Barbuda: The Life of V.C. Bird*, London: Hansib Publications

Henry, Paget, 2016. "Between Arthur Lewis and Clive Thomas: Gaston Browne and the Antigua and Barbudan Economy", *The Antigua and Barbuda Review of Books, Vol.9. No.1*

Lovell, Harold, 2018. *UPP Manifesto*, St Johns: UPP

DNA, 2018. *DNA Manifesto*, St Johns: DNA

MARILYN SARGEANT, *CARBON IS YELLOW*: A BOOK OF POETRY

Baico Publishing, Canada. 2016.
Lionel Max Hurst

Marilyn Sargeant was born in Bolans, Antigua, more than six decades ago. Her first 20 years were spent on her island, imbibing the lure of the tropics and its many beauties. Like many of her generation, the world could only be experienced by moving to a big city in North America. She chose Toronto, Canada. There, she pursued higher education and discovered the beauty of poetry.

This publication of poetry, *Carbon Is Yellow*, is not accidental, nor a mere whim, nor a recently-discovered dream. The poems are written from as early a decade as 1970 to the present—or, constructed through forty-eight years of literary pursuit. She has preserved her thoughts from adolescence through to senior adulthood, with an amazing clarity that adorns these pages.

The collection is filled with paeans to beauty, nature, race, Africa and ambition. Yet, when visiting me at the Office of the Prime Minister, she chose to point me to page 129 where her ode to Vere Cornwall Bird was enshrined. My very presence in the building where the most important decisions of governance are made, and my presence in government as a result of the success of the political party once led by Vere Bird, pressed her, I think, to make clear her love for the great man. Marilyn Sargeant is genuinely interested in governance, excellence and politics. Vere Bird is a towering political figure, and she thought I may have been a relative because of similarity in height and skin colour.

At any rate, the politics of Antigua and Barbuda is not a dominant theme in this magnificent collection of poetry. The baring of Marilyn's soul and the uncovering of Marilyn's consciousness through poetry dominate the publication. Yet, Marilyn is sufficiently sophisticated to spread layers of complex thought upon the blackness which her castle of a skin enfolds.

I find the poems refreshing and insightful. They teach about the discoveries of an immigrant black to a snowy, rainy, wet and cold Canada. Though that country's name does not appear in the poems, the dominance of its presence is felt throughout. Congratulations to Ms. Sargeant for compiling her poems into a single publication and for sharing them with us. May the future shed more light.

"BEAUTY IS IN THE EYES OF THE BEHOLDER": JOURNEY TOWARDS IDENTITY

A Review of Claytine Nisbett's *Life As Josephine* (2017)

Valerie Knowles Combie

Life As Josephine is an autobiographical work that encapsulates a teenager's search for her identity, which includes her exposure to typical experiences of life as she engages in her pursuit. The individuals she encounters on this journey—her parent, friends, teachers, and other adults—guide her through her passage from puberty to young adulthood with the appropriate balance of love and discipline to the extent that she navigates the unchartered ocean of her young life, which proves to be a very important lesson. This coming-of-age book is a quick read succinctly delivered, packed with words of wisdom and relevant experiences for both parents and children as they explore this troublesome period of their lives.

Author, Claytine Nisbett, infuses her Caribbean connection through the main character's disclosure about her mother's ancestry. That knowledge provokes the subliminal conflict inherent in Caribbean traditions of child rearing as opposed to American practices. It is not surprising that Josephine learns very early in the book that her mother wants her to have a better life than she had, which is accompanied by the trappings of appropriate behavior, academic success with the economic success as a bonus. Nisbett captures Josephine Peters' formative years in her first novel, which is written deliberately as Josephine searches for her identity. She resents her name until at age eleven, she is introduced to Josephine Baker through the *Josephine Baker Story*. To this adolescent, Josephine Baker the "performer, actress, and activist" (1) becomes her role model. That Josephine Baker is a Black American who seeks refuge in her adopted home in France makes her more alluring to the youth who admires Baker's assertiveness in acquiring the respect she deserves.

Nisbett portrays her characters very simply yet clearly. An excellent example is the protagonist Josephine who demonstrates a typical relationship with her mother. Josephine claims that she "loved" her mother, "but she just didn't understand me." While her friends live in the here and now, Josephine is light years ahead of them, longing for that "great escape" from her life of poverty, even though to some she lives a

"privileged" life (2). This foreshadowing, accompanied by hints dropped throughout the story, is important for the reader who is not surprised when Josephine does make her escape ultimately.

The active and passive role models in Josephine's life create a constructive, loving, supportive environment that guides her through the turbulent adolescent period. Her friends, their parents, and their homes are safe havens for the girls. Esther, Rhoda, and Peniel are also well defined through the author's character description. As young as they are, they are supportive of each other. Esther is "a good listener and very tender" (5). Rhoda is "bold" and impulsive (6). Peniel, on the other hand, is "a fighter" (6). These portraits present the balance that Josephine needs. The fact that Esther becomes the victim of domestic violence is another reality of life, which adds another dimension to the novel. It reminds the reader that alcoholism, parental abuse, and other domestic situations accompanied by the shame and secret that they afford are life's realities. Does it change the tenor of the book? To some extent it does, because it introduces a negative slice of life that exposes the girls to death and its accompanying emotions and fears at an impressible time in their lives. On the other hand, however, it increases the authenticity of the work. Death and dying are essential parts of life, and they are meant to give the girls a realistic portrayal of life.

As a child, Josephine Peters knows how she wants to wear her hair, even though her model Josephine Baker wears her hair differently. However, Josephine Peters soon meets someone who indirectly introduces her to the afro hairstyle (7). This serendipitous encounter is important as it foreshadows another similar encounter that enriches Josephine's life in far greater ways. At that young age, Josephine is obsessed with her natural hair and she "made a mental note to one day achieve this [afro] hairdo" (8).

Another strong woman who introduces Josephine to another avenue through which she learns how to love herself as well as others is an African professor of Women's Studies at Hunter College. Josephine's encounter with her is serendipitous, occurring from an incident with a harmless "friendly" poodle (20). Not only does Sis, later Auntie Abeo, prevent Josephine from falling, but she opens a new world for the teenager. The thematic approach of the furnishings and décor of Aunt Abeo's house attract Josephine's attention and comfort her. Out comes the "wooden box" with the letters that transform the youth's life. Letters from Nigeria teach Josephine the importance of friendship in her quest for identity. The

epistolary style harks back to a format introduced by the Roman poet Ovid, later used in the 1600s, but popularized by Samuel Richardson in the 18th. Century. Even though the letters are confined to her visits to Auntie Abeo's home, they do extend their reach to Nigeria, where a third character is included in the conversations between Josephine and Auntie Abeo. This is a skillful technique introduced by Nisbett, which works very well. It situates the novel in the pre-technology period that has literally eliminated the need for and the practice of letter writing. More importantly, it enables Josephine and the reader to get a third person's point of view, which appears more credible than any advice Auntie Abeo may impart to Josephine from her storehouse of experiences. The epistolary style resurfaces later as Josephine and Sam develop their friendship.

The roles played by the strong women in Josephine's life are significant. Her late grandmother whose name she bears is described as a "strong woman of character" (1), an attribute that her mother wants Josephine to emulate. Her mother, on the other hand, is a strong female, which provokes the question: Is Josephine a younger version of her mother with that fierce determination that is so entrenched in the average person/Antiguan to carve a path for her family? It is not surprising they are not immune from the typical mother/daughter conflict, which the mother seems to handle maturely. Her mother employs her strength to manage her strong-willed daughter. Though widowed, she works hard and keeps her daughter in check. Her determination is manifested at the end of the book when she surprises her daughter with the keys to the newly purchased brownstone.

Zora Neal Hurston is another strong woman whose influence on Josephine comes later, after she graduates from the school. Even though she is ignorant of the author's identity when she enters Zora Neal Hurston Academy of Fine Arts and Leadership, she learns of her years later when she reads her graduation gift from her mother: *I Love Myself When I Am Laughing and Then Again When I Am Looking Mean and Impressive* (55). This gift presents a clearer perception of Josephine's mother who seems to move imperceptibly but deliberately in her daughter's life. The book is a small act, but its consequences are far-reaching. Frances Georgetta Marie Peters knows exactly what her daughter needs, and she satisfies that need. Hurston helps Josephine to understand that her coloredness does not have to be a liability. Josephine's introduction to the book is her reading the essay "How It Feels to Be Colored Me," which not only helps her to understand that others before her experienced discrimination, but it prepares her for her experience with prejudice when it raises its ugly head.

Josephine's friends' parents, especially their mothers, are also strong characters whose lives impact her. The Scotts' Christian influence leads her to engage in introspection. Their gentleness and kindness impress her to the point that she concludes that they are "genuine" (9). She admires Penny's "assured faith in God," and her other positive qualities, which are qualities of her home environment. However, she falls victim to the halo effect surrounding Penny when she describes her as a "fighter," which contradicts her demonstrated Christianity and a life of peace, as opposed to fighting. This she clarifies by rationalizing Penny's fighting (6). Her prayer life also impresses Josephine who says after Penny prays:

> I went to bed that night thinking about what Penny said about God helping us to be strong for each other because she knew that we would need to be. There was a strange confidence in her voice that gave me an eerie feeling. I fell asleep pondering what was to occur. (10)

Later, Mrs. Scott helps Josephine accept Esther's death by demonstrating a mother's love and praying with Josephine when she suffers from insomnia. Her kind, genuine words comfort and assure Josephine: "God loves you and if Esther was able to she would tell you that she is in a better place. She wouldn't want you to forget her, but she wants you to go on and live the best life you can" (19). Those words lull Josephine to sleep. I admire Nisbett's inclusion of a genuine Christian family because that is a significant component of a typical Caribbean family life.

Josephine's determination to raise funds for her study abroad trip to London forces her to conscript her friends in this endeavor, which helps her meet her goal (29). The experience is outstanding for Josephine and her group as it exposes them to another cultural experience and expands her horizon. Her euphoria is short-lived when a small English child's announcement in an English restaurant leads Josephine to intense self-examination (45). She says:

> Until that moment, I thought my hairdo was beautiful. Now I wasn't too sure. . . . It was the first time I felt insecure about my hair and the first time I experienced any type of prejudice based on my appearance. On Saturday, June 28, 1997 I was called beautiful by an African woman, and more or less ugly by a young white British girl. (46)

Later, when she returns to New York and recaps the incident to Auntie Abeo, the latter confirms Josephine's exposure to prejudice in that London restaurant, and affirms Josephine's desire to retain her natural coiffure. Another letter from the wooden box reconfirms Auntie Abeo's statement: "Yes, Josephine, you are beautiful," even though Josephine isn't "completely convinced" (53). However, Samuel's Robertson's letter on her 16th birthday helps Josephine to feel loved and beautiful.

At the end of the book, the reader wonders if Josephine accomplishes her goal of self-knowledge and acceptance, but that's the hallmark of a good book; it leaves the reader wanting more. It also provokes more questions than answers. Nisbett's *Life As Josephine* is a quick read of an authentic story of a determined girl who starts her quest for identity at a very young age and learns to love herself in the process. This is another coming-of-age work by another Antiguan author that should be required reading for all youth. Adults can benefit from reading the book as they discover the positive roles played by adults who not only provide the essentials of food, clothing, and shelter for their children, but who embrace them in love while boosting their confidence and self-worth by their support. The complete adult community of teachers as well as neighbors and parents can learn from positive role models as they are portrayed in the novel.

I do applaud Claytine Nisbett on her successful attempt at writing her first novel, a little book, which presents a great message as it portrays the main character's rite of passage with its accompanied trials and triumphs.

ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE AT THE TIME OF POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE: A REVIEW OF EDRIS BIRD (ED) *ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF SMALL STATES*

Paget Henry

The theme of this year's 13th annual UWI/ABSA Conference is "Milestones for Celebration: Antigua at 37, UWI at 70 and the Open Campus at 10". In keeping with this theme, it seemed very appropriate to revisit, in the form of a review, a volume of short essays on the prospects for our economic development, which was published in October of 1981, truly on the eve of our political independence. The volume was entitled, *Economic Development of Small States: With Particular Reference to Antigua*. The foreword to the collection was written by then Premier, V.C. Bird, and the introduction by Dr. Edris Bird. The essays collected in this volume were written by then Deputy Premier, Lester Bird, Sylvia Jackson-Charles, Development Economist, Ruth Spencer, Caribbean Program Director of the Freedom from Hunger Foundation, Alister Francis, Principal of the Antigua State College, Bernard Percival, General Manager of the Antigua and Barbuda Development Bank, and Ernest Benjamin, Industrial Development Advisor in the Ministry of Economic Development. Much has transpired in the intervening 37 years, so it has been quite instructive re-engaging with these essays.

In her introduction, Dr. Bird, Head of then UWI Extra-Mural Department (Antigua), noted that the essays by the above contributors were presentations from a series of seminars that her department had sponsored between 1976 and 1981. These seminars focused on some of the challenges that the already independent small states of the Eastern Caribbean were facing, and that Antigua and Barbuda would soon be confronting. She further noted that "as the publication coincided with the attainment of Antigua's independence on November 1st , 1981, it seems appropriate to select the lectures which were presented by qualified Antiguans" (5). Dr. Bird also thanked Alphonso Derrick, who" during my absence on leave, pursued the idea of the seminars with enthusiasm" (5). Also included in her thank-you list were: Oscar Bird (husband), Marilyn Newfield, Marjorie Swift, and Joycelyn Sterling for their help in preparing the papers for publication. In his foreword, Premier Bird lauded the publication as exemplifying the kind of enthusiasm about independence that he liked to see "displayed by voluntary bodies in the community" (3).

Moving a little more into the substance of the volume, the essays in it cover the Antiguan and Barbudan economy very comprehensively and at the same time quite specifically. To give you a quick taste, Lester Bird's opening essay lays out the broad framework of his party's economic thinking on the eve of independence. Sylvia Jackson-Charles performs a very careful weighing of the financial costs and benefits of moving from statehood to independence. In his paper, Dr. Alister Francis takes up the issue of "man-power resources in small states". Ruth Spencer makes a very strong case for not only paying greater attention to agriculture, but also for making it our number one engine of growth and development. Bernard Percival argues strongly for appropriate reforms in our banking system if we are to make a success of being responsible for investments leading to post-independence development. Finally, Ernest Benjamin makes a very strong case for greater local participation and ownership of the tourist industry, if this endeavor is going to make substantial contributions, not just to growth, but also to our economic development.

Reading through these essays, I was in indeed taken on a journey back in economic time to the last years of associated statehood and our hopes for our coming political independence. Looking at the figures on the size of our economy, the language of Premier and Deputy Premier, the invisibility of Barbuda, the international activities that we could not engage in without British permission, certainly produced a graphic sense of how far we have come in the 37 years of our independence. At the same time, it was impossible to ignore the continuities; particularly in regard to the economic challenges examined in these essays that we are still wrestling with. Consequently the current value of this collection that Dr. Bird has edited is the clarity with which it enables us to see, economically speaking, what we have done and what we have not done after 37 years of independence.

Sylvia Jackson-Charles

I will begin with Sylvia Jackson-Charles' essay, "Economic Aspects of Political Independence for Antigua", as it is the essay that is most rooted in the conditions of the political status of Associated Statehood. As an Associated State of Britain, "Antigua manages its internal affairs, while Britain retains responsibility for external affairs and defense"(19). As a result of these arrangements, "approval must be given by the British Government before Antigua can enter into agreements with any other country" (19). The major exceptions to this general rule was that the British Government permitted "Antigua to negotiate and conclude agreements for financial and technical assistance of a cultural

and scientific nature with any independent member of the (British) Commonwealth, the United States and any organization of which the United Kingdom is a member" (19).

Further, "Antigua was given authority to apply for full or associate membership in the United Nations specialized agencies … of which the United Kingdom is a member". However, "Antigua is barred from (full) membership in the United Nations and some of its specialized agencies, e.g. the IBRD (International Bank for Reconstruction and Development) and its affiliates – the International Finance Corporation (IFC) and the International Development Agency (IDA)" (20). Our associated state was also barred from the IMF and the World Bank, and from "membership in the Organization of American States (OAS) and its affiliate – the Inter-American Development Bank (IADB)" (21). These were clearly classic colonial restrictions that made it unmistakably clear that Antigua and Barbuda was not a nation.

Further, Jackson-Charles pointed to continuing cases of colonial neglect that contributed to our increasing indebtedness in the 1970s: "in the period of the oil crisis which resulted in worsening balance of payments for many countries, Antigua was among the few who were not eligible for assistance from the IMF. Neither did Britain, with responsibility for foreign affairs, negotiate any agreement with the IMF where by temporary assistance may have been given Antigua and the other Associated States, through the Eastern Caribbean Currency Authority (ECCA) (21).

After examining these and other disadvantages of the political status of Associated Statehood, Jackson-Charles proceeds to examine carefully the likely financial costs of Antigua and Barbuda becoming an independent state and joining as a full member these organizations that as an Associated State we were barred from joining. In this regard, she examined the cases of the already independent territories of Barbados and Grenada. Using the case of the United Nations, Jackson-Charles estimated that the cost to a newly independent Antigua and Barbuda would be .04 percent of its budget.

Leaving it to the powers in charge to make the decision, Jackson-Charles concludes her essay by laying out the advantages of becoming an independent state – access to loans and greater assistance – versus the costs of joining these organizations - .04 percent of the budget and other resources to service membership in these international organizations.

Lester Bird

Most revealing of differences between that period of imagining our economic future after political independence and our present realities 37 years later is the essay by Deputy Premier, Lester Bird, which was entitled "Economic Development in Small States". The Deputy began his paper with the following claim: "if I were to describe the objectives of my Government's economic policy in a simple phrase, it would be 'power to the people' "(8). This power of which Mr. Bird spoke was economic in nature, as by 1981, the people of Antigua and Barbuda had already secured a substantial degree of political power through the labor movement of the preceding decades. Thus, the real challenge after gaining political independence is the achieving of economic independence through placing real economic power in the hands of the people.

However, the Deputy cautioned that economic power "cannot be achieved overnight" or "through the barrel of a gun" (9). On the contrary, the achieving of economic power required mastering the technical and managerial know-how of running profitable business enterprises. Until we have acquired these skills, they will have to be imported from abroad as suggested by the distinguished St. Lucian economist, Sir Arthur Lewis. In other words, the real challenge in the independence period will be that of making sure that the Antiguans and Barbudans with capital acquire and master these sets of skills. Given this steep learning process, the Deputy suggested 'there could be no quick transformation of this situation. Overnight, economic power could not be transferred to Antiguans for, by and large, we were kept as an uneducated people … We had been trained as labour for the most part … Indeed, we were the classic example of a colonial people" (12).

To achieve this goal of bringing economic power to a formerly colonized people, the Deputy Premier and Minister of Economic Development outlined a seven-point plan. First, there would be the creation of a unit in his ministry that would "develop projects for Antiguans who wished to enter the productive sector of the economy" (15). Second, this unit would be linked to the Antigua and Barbuda Development Bank for funding. Third, certain areas of the economy would be reserved exclusively for Antiguans and Barbudans. Fourth, there would be areas of our economy that would require 50% or 25% local participation. In other words, the Ministry of Economic Development would be "ensuring that no outsiders can become wholly involved in enterprises without local participation, unless no locals were interested" (15). Fifth, there would be significant incentives given to local investors such as duty free concessions on

imported inputs. Sixth, an understudy or apprenticeship program for potential local managers, which if not undertaken by companies would result in the denial of work permits for managers they wanted to import. Seventh and finally, an expanded and much more inclusive system of tertiary education must be created, so that Antiguans and Barbudan would be able to get the diverse forms of training that they needed to improve their entrepreneurial performances.

Looking back at this bold and ambitious proposal, we can see very clearly the wide gap between these imaginings of our economic future and what we have so far been able to achieve in this area of giving economic power to the people. Several things come to mind when we ponder this gap. First, there is the imperial stance of the West with regard to its right to penetrate and profitably dominate the markets of peripheral countries like our own. Thus the resistance to replacing or pushing them out has been very strong with the push back making use of both soft and hard power. Thus China has been the only developing country to successfully impose the kinds of participation percentages proposed by Deputy Premier, Bird.

Second, local learning of the technical and managerial skills of running successful business enterprise has been even slower than anticipated. Thus the transfers of authority and control that would have brought genuine economic power to the people of Antigua and Barbuda have not taken place for these and other reasons. Thus many of the challenges raised in Mr. Biird's essay are ones that we are still wrestling with today.

Indeed, looking at the above proposal through the neoliberal lenses of our time, its core suggestions seem almost unimaginable. They would place the Deputy on Far Left of today's ideological spectrum. The rules of the World Trade Organization have made illegal many of his policy positions, which were clearly put forth in good faith as reasonable. What is so striking today is the boldness and candor with which this problem of foreign economic control was articulated and clearly linked to our colonial past and to the hegemony of the West. Within the framework of the neoliberal philosophy that has come to dominate our economic thinking openness to foreign control has been normalized and has almost ceased to be a problem. In contrast to this neoliberal economic outlook, the policy positions outlined by the Deputy reflected very much the economic thinking that was circulating in our region at the time, and in particular the work of William Demas – author of the influential work, *The Economics of Development in Small Countries*

with Special Reference to the Caribbean. My own 1985 book, *Peripheral Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Antigua*, shared many of these assumptions and policy positions. Also very striking is the optimism and sense of possibility that we had in spite of our size and just coming out of centuries of colonial domination. Our sense of our freedom and capability to remake our economic world was clearly exaggerated, and has definitely been corrected and scaled down by the experiences of the intervening years.

Ernest Benjamin

Also reflecting the influence of Demas' ideas is the essay by Ernest Benjamin, "The use of Tourism Resources in the Development of Small States". It is a detailed examination of the tourist industry around 1980, looking at it as a potential leading sector or engine of growth and development. Benjamin makes a clear distinction between growth and development. He defines growth as increases in the production of goods and services. Development, he defines as "a continuous process of empowerment of man's political and economic condition. Economic empowerment involves the harnessing and mobilizing of all economic resources with the objective of achieving self-reliance" (60).

Given this definition of development, Benjamin wanted to know how "were tourism resources being used towards growth and development, and what contribution does the tourism sector make to national development" (60). To answer this question, he focused on three key issues. The impact of the tourist industry on the diversification of our economy, the industry's impact on levels of employment, linkages with manufacturing, agriculture, education and the creative arts, and finally the consequences of the industry's high level of foreign ownership for our economic development. These are all issues that we continue to struggle with as they featured quite prominently in the elections that took place in March of this year.

To contribute significantly, not just to growth, but also to national development tourism must function as a leading sector or carrier industry. That is, an industry that brings on stream other industries, carries them with it through linkages of supply and demand, thus transforming our mono-crop economy into a more diversified one. Although noting some linkages to restaurants and entertainment, Benjamin reported that the more dominant pattern was a "lack of inter-sectoral linkages" (57), and thus little of the diversification needed for economic development. In particular, we continue to struggle as we did then with establishing

linkages between tourism and agriculture. As a result, says Benjamin, "a significant proportion of the tourist dollar leaves the country for the purchase of foods and souvenirs, etc. It is in this connection that measures need to be taken to create and forge strong linkages between tourism, manufacturing and the agricultural sector" (65).

Very revealing, particularly when compared to present policy thinking, is Benjamin's discussion of "the issue of foreign versus local ownership and control of hotels" (71). He begins by acknowledging that "ownership, management and control of the tourist industry are predominantly in the hands of expatriates" (71). He then goes on to take note of two competing policy positions on this issue. First, "the current opinion by some minor groups is that these hotels should be nationalized" (71). The second was a more liberal view "that here should be more local participation" (71). Benjamin clearly took a middle position that called for "much greater local participation and involvement without nationalization" (71).

The primary reason that Benjamin gave for the predominance of foreign management was "the shortage of local persons competent to assume managerial positions" (71). Thus similar to Deputy, Bird's understudy program, Benjamin suggested that "greater effort will have to be made to train Antiguans for these management positions as well as the formulation and implementation of sound policies, and a commitment and obligation by hoteliers towards the realization of the goal of the Antiguanization of the management structure of the hotels" (71). Benjamin's position on the tourist industry was a very nationalist and development-oriented one. He concludes this bold essay in the following way:

> Support and encouragement should be given to locals to own and manage hotels of a size ranging between 25 to 50 rooms. This would cause at least two things to happen: through a gradual process, the development of a local managerial class and the fostering of greater local ownership and involvement (75).

Ruth Spencer

For a very different view of how Antigua and Barbuda should have approached economic independence after it gained political independence, we turn to Ruth Spencer's contribution to the seminars organized by Edris Bird and Fons Derrick. Spencer suggested that in the post-independence period, we should try to live as independently as

possible, and that "growing our own food is a step in that direction" (37). Further, she argued that "a solid agricultural base can also function as an engine of growth for the rest of the economy" (45). Like tourism, Spencer sees agriculture as a potential leading sector capable of developing significant linkages with other sectors of our economy, employing large numbers of people, and so contributing to diversification and the growth of national income. Spencer also emphasizes that a big advantage to agriculture as a leading sector is that it would for the most part be locally owned, bringing us all of the benefits that come with such an ownership structure.

However, to transform what was left of the sugar plantation economy around 1980 into a leading sector would require strategic government leadership and careful planning. First, the entrepreneurs would be small and medium sized farmers, who would have access to sizable, high quality portions of land. They would need the support of extension services including such resources as water and tractors. Next, these farmers would require access to loans at low rates of interest from institutions such as the Antigua and Barbuda Development Bank. In making this point about financing, Spencer was also highly critical of existing loan policies to farmers by banks, suggesting that these have been major obstacles the rebirth of agriculture in Antigua and Barbuda.

With these policies in place, Spencer suggested that agriculture could be made to play the role of a leading sector by supplying the local demand for food and later expanding into exporting. Further, she suggested that "a solid agricultural base can lead to the establishing of agro-based industries in our economy" (44). These industries could also contribute to solving the problems associated with period of surplus, which often results in the waste of agricultural produce. In addition to such linkages with industry, Spencer argued strongly for developing the linkages with the growing tourist industry. She went on to point out that "if we increase the numbers of tourists but cannot feed them with what is grown locally, the money will still leak out and we will not get the effect from tourism that we desire" (45).

In short, in 1980, Spencer was suggesting a model of economic development based, not primarily on tourism, but on agriculture. The Antigua-Caribbean Liberation Movement (ACLM) in several of its publications also proposed a model of economic development based on agriculture. Spencer concluded her essay as follows:

> The item on the agenda of development is to transform the food sector by producing the agricultural surplus to feed the entire nation, thereby creating the domestic base for industry and modern services (47).

Bernard Percival and Alister Francis

The contributions by Bernard Percival and Alister Francis reinforce and complement many of the themes in the more visionary essays by Lester Bird, Ernest Benjamin, and Ruth Spencer. Francis' essay emphasizes the importance of carefully planning and training the "man-power resources that will be needed for development in the post-independence period. He cautioned that a "small state cannot afford to develop its human resources haphazardly as this can result in frustration and unemployment, especially when jobs for the trained are not available" (31). Percival's essay contains a sharp critique of the loans policies of the existing banking system from the perspective of the future needs of Antiguan and Barbudan development. This critique calls to mind that of Ruth Spencer's. As a new nation embarking on projects of development, Antigua and Barbuda would require a changed and more development-friendly banking system. As a broad guiding principle, Percival asserted that "throughout most developing countries, the non-availability of credit on easy terms has been one of the major handicaps in the development of small-scale industries, which are the framework of any developing economy" (49).

Choosing the term "funds mobilization" over "capital formation", Percival argued that the banks in Antigua and Barbuda were not mobilizing and making available sufficient funds for the investment needs of national development. In particular, he noted the critical shortage of funds in the areas of housing and agriculture – reinforcing points made by Spencer and Benjamin. Percival writes: "housing has not remained the only black sheep of commercial banking activity. The risk-avoidance behaviour of commercial banks has also played havoc with agriculture in the Caribbean by affording that sector a very low priority in their investment portfolios" (53). Percival goes on to point out that becoming homeowners and entrepreneurs were not easy undertakings in the Antigua and Barbuda of 1980. Thus when these transformations are made "more difficult by the scarcity of development funds, the inevitable result is a stagnant economy easily susceptible to rape by foreign investment" (50). Hence we get the urgency in Percival's essay about doing everything possible to reform bank policies and for government to

mobilize funds from international agencies. Here he is echoing themes in Jackson-Charles' essay. Percival concludes his essay in the following way:

> It is incumbent upon the governments of these small states to explore all available avenues, to tap all available financial resources, to contact all international development institutions and to marshal all locally-based financial intermediaries to ensure that funds raised on the international market and/or generated by local savings are channeled into the development of our small states (55).

From the foregoing analyses of the essays contained in *Economic Development of Small States*, it should be clear that the work provided and still provides a very comprehensive portrait of the Antiguan and Barbudan economy along with its major challenges on the eve of political independence. The broad sweep included banking, agriculture, tourism and industry. It is an excellent statement of Antiguans and Barbudans on our economy and its future prospects. As a result, it provides us with an excellent benchmark against which to look at where we are today, 37 years later.

Works Cited

Bird, Edris, (ed.) 1981. *Economic Development of Small States: With Particular Reference to Antigua*, St Johns: UWI Extra-Mural Department (Antigua)

Demas, William, 1965. *The Economics of Development in Small Countries With Special Reference to the Caribbean*, Montreal: McGill University Press

Henry, Paget, 1985. *Peripheral Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Antigua*, New Brunswick: Transaction Books

A PARTIAL LIST OF ANTIGUAN AND BARBUDAN BOOKS

Bird, Hazel, (?) *Standing in the Gap*, St.Johns: The Prayer Group Inc.

Bird, Lester, 2002. *Antigua Vision*, London: Hansib

Bryan, Ashley, 1993. *The Story of Lightning and Thunder*, New York: Atheneum

————, 1992. *Sing to the Sun*, New York: Harper Collins

————, 1988. *All Day, All Night*, New York: Atheneum

————, 1986. *The Lion and the Ostrich Chicks and Other African Folk Tales*, New York: Atheneum

Buhle, Paul, 2006. *Tim Hector: A Caribbean Radical's Story*, Jackson: University of Mississippi Press

Cassin, Frieda, (1890) 2002. *With Silent Tread*, London: Macmillan

Combie, Valerie, 2016. *Memories/Recuerdos*, Translated by Christopher C. Combie, Ringgold, GA: Aspect Books

————, 2013. *Lots of Laughter*, Ringgold, GA: Aspect Books

————, 2013. *The Hovensa Chronicles*, Ringgold, GA: Aspect Books

Davis, Gregson, 1997. *Aime Cesaire*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

————, 1984. *Non-Vicious Circle: Twenty Poems of Aime Cesaire*, Stanford: Stanford University Press

————, 1973. *Antigua Black*, San Francisco: Scrimshaw

Davis, Kortright, 2012. *Compassionate Love and Ebony Grace: Christian Altruism and People of Color*, Lanaham, MD: Hamilton Books

————, 1999. *Serving With Power*, New York: Paulist Press

————, 1994. *Can God Save the Church?* St Louis: Hodale Press

————, 1990. *Emancipation Still Comin'*, Maryknoll: Orbis Press

Dyde, Brian, 2000. *A History of Antigua*, London: Macmillian

Farquhar, David, 1999. *Missions and Society in the Leeward Islands, 1810-1850*, Boston, Mt. Prospect Press

Evanson-Bernard, Veronica, 1989. *Pineapple Rhymes*, Atlanta: Blackwood Press

Heath, Ivor, 2012. *Antigua Through My Eyes*, St. Johns: Patricia Jeffrey-Heath

Henry, Paget, 2016. *Journeys in Caribbean Thought: The Paget Henry Reader*, (eds) Lewis Gordon, et.al., New York: Rowan & Littlefield

————, 2009. *Shouldering Antigua and Barbuda: The Life of V.C. Bird*, London: Hansib

————, 2000. *Caliban's Reason: Introducing Afro-Caribbean Philosophy*, New York: Routledge

————, 1985. *Peripheral Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Antigua*, New Brunswick, Transaction Books

Hill, Basil, 2006. *The Golden Fleece Found!* Victoria: Trafford Publishing

Hillhouse, Joanne. 2013. *Musical Youth*, Basseterre, St. Kitts:

CaribbeanReads Publishing

————, 2012. *Oh Gad!* New York: Strebor Books

————, 2004. *Dancing Nude in the Moonlight*, London: Macmillan

————, 2003. *The Boy From Willow Bend*, London: Macmillan

Hoffman, Robert, 2009. *Sir Allen and Me*, Christiansted: Southern Cross Publications

Hurst, Lionel, 2007. *Diplomacy by Democracy*, Bloomington: Authorhouse

————, 2010. *Luther George: The Barack Obama of Antigua and Barbuda*, Chicago: Publisher Services

————, 2012. *Vere Cornwall Bird: When Power Failed to Corrupt, New York*: Point and Villa Publishers

Isaac, D. Gisele, 1998. *Considering Venus*, Astoria: Seaburn Publishing

Jarvis-George, Tameka, 2010. *Unexpected*, Elmont, N.Y.: Enaz Publications

Jardine, Akilah, 2007. *Marisha's Drama*, St. Johns: DMS Publications

———— 2006. *Living Life the Way I Love It*, St. Johns: DMS Publications

John, Marie Elena, 2006. *Unburnable*, New York: Amistad

Kincaid, Jamaica, 2013. *See Now Then*, New York: Farrar Strauss Giroux

————, 2005. *Among Flowers*, New York: Farrar Strauss Giroux

————, 2005. *My Favorite Tool*, New York: Farrar Strauss Giroux

————, 2002. *Mr. Potter*, New York: Farrar Strauss Giroux

————, 1996. *The Autobiography of My Mother*, New York: Farrar Strauss Giroux

————, 1990. *Lucy*, New York: Farrar Strauss Giroux

————, 1988. *A Small Place*, New York: Farrar Strauss Giroux

————, 1985. *Annie John*, New York: Farrar Strauss Giroux

————, 1983. *At the Bottom of the River*, New York: Farrar Strauss Giroux

Lake Edgar, 2004. *The Devil's Bridge*, London: Athena Press

————, (forthcoming) *The Wake of the Empress*

Lasana, Kamau Ode, 2003. *Roadside Prophet and Other Poems*, Toronto: Blackwood Productions

Lawrence, Joy, 2015. *Barbuda and Betty's Hope: The Codrington Connection*, St. Johns: Sugarmill Tales

Lawrence, Joy & Gordon, Veronica, 2013. *The Footprints of Parham*, St. John's: Sugar Mill Tales

Lawrence, Joy, 2008. *Bethesda and Christian Hill*, St. John's: Siboney Publications

Lawrence, Joy, 1996. *Island Spice*, St. Johns: Antigua Printing and Publishing

Lightfoot, Natasha, 2015. *Troubling Freedom: Antigua and the Aftermath of British Emancipation*, Durham: Duke University Press

Lockett, Margaret (?) *Antigua Then*, Washington: Antigua Press

Lowe Robson, 1951. *The Codrington Correspondence*, London:

Lowenthal, David & Clarke Colin, 1977. *Slave Breeding in Barbuda: The Past*

of Negro Myth, New York: Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences

Matthias, Leon, 2005. *Gracefield Moravian Church*, New York: Deveo Media Industries

Matthias, Leon, 1995. *The Boy From Popeshead*, Frederiksted: Matthias

Moitt, Bernard, 2001. *Women and Slavery in the French Antilles*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press

Murdoch, Adlai, 2001. *Creole Identity in the French Caribbean Novel*, Gainsville: University of Florida Press

Newton, Isaac, 2003. *Fix it Preacher*, Freeport (Trinidad): HEM Enterprises

Oliver, V.L, 1894. *The History of the Island of Antigua*, London: Mitchell & Hughes

Olaoye, Elaine, 2002. *Passions of My Soul*, New Jersey, Northwind Publishers

Olatunji Mali, & Paget Henry, 2015. *The Art of Mali Olatunji: Painterly Photography From Antigua and Barbuda*, London: Hansib

O'Marde, Dorbrene, 2014, *King Short Shirt: Nobody Go Run Me*: London: Hansib

O'Marde, Dorbrene, 2013. *Send Out You Hand*, London: Hansib

Owen, Germaine, 2003. *I Could Fly Like A Bird*, Victoria: Trafford Publishing

Phillips, Rowan Ricardo, (forthcoming) *A Vision Through the Smoke*

————, 2010. *When Blackness Rhymes With Blackness*, Champaign: Dalkey Archive Press

————, 2012. *The Ground*, New York: Farrar, Strauss, Giroux

Prince, Althea, 2009. *The Politics of Black Women's Hair*, Toronto: Insomniac Press

————, 2001. *Loving This Man*, Toronto: Insomniac Press

————, 2001. *Being Black*, Toronto: Insomniac Press

————, 1998. *Ladies of the Night and Other Stories*, Toronto: Insomniac Press

Prince, Mary, (1831) 1996. *The History of Mary Prince*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press

Prince, Ralph, 1979. *Jewels of the Sun*, Sunbury-on-Thames: Nelson & Sons

Quinn, Mary Geo, 1993. *Lest We Forget*, St Johns: Benjies

Richards, Novelle, (1963) 2004. *The Struggle and the Conquest*, New York: Seaburn

————, 1971. *The Twilight Hour*, New York: Vantage Books

————, 1971. *Tropic Gems*, New York: Vantage Books

Richards, Viv, 2000. *Sir Vivian: The Definitive Autobiography*, London: Michael Joseph

Samuel, Hewlester, 2007.*The Birth of the Village of Liberta, Antigua*, Coral Spring, FL: Illumina Press

Symister, Leon, 1999. *From the Depths of My Naked Soul*, New York: Caribbean Diaspora Press

Smith, Keithlyn & Fernando, Smith, 1986. *To Shoot Hard Labour*, Scarborough, Ontario: Edan Publishers

————, 2003. *To Shoot Hard Labour 2*, Scarborough, Ontario: Edan Publishers

Smith, Keithlyn, 1994. *No Easy Push-o-ver*, Scarborough, Ontario: Edan Publishers

————, 2006. *Symbol of Courage*, Scarborough, Ontario: Edan Publishers

Smith-Lewis, Denise, 2014. *Emancipation Come*, St. John's: Worth Publications

Tweedy, Margaret, 1981. *A History of Barbuda Under the Codringtons, 1738-1833*, (PhD dissertation): University of Birmingham

Wade, Cecil, 2012. *The UPP: Government in Eclipse*, Cecil Wade: St Johns

Yorke, Henry Redhead, 1793. *Reason Urged Against Precedent*, London: D.I Eaton

————, 1793. *These are the Times That Try Men's Souls*, London: D.I Eaton

————, 1794. *Thoughts on Civil Government*, London: D.I. Eaton

————, 1795. *The Trial of Henry Redhead York for Conspiracy*, London: E&R Peck

————, 1800. *Elements of Civil Knowledge*, Dorchester: T. Lockett

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Birchfield Aymer was a very distinguished Methodist minister and New Testament scholar. He received his doctorate from Boston University in 1987 with a dissertation entitled "A Socioreligious Revolution: A Sociological Exegesis of 'Poor' and 'Rich' in Luke-Acts". He began his ministerial career at the Ebenezer Methodist Church in Antigua, then pastored for many years a predominantly white Methodist church in Milton, Massachusetts, before returning to Ebenezer.

Elizabeth Beaubrun is an education program evaluator and researcher. She received her Ph.D. from Columbia University with a dissertation entitled "Distance Learner Ecologies of the University of the West Indies Open Campus Program". The work specifically compares the cases of Dominica and Antigua.

Edris Bird is a very distinguished teacher and educator. She was the first head of UWI (Antigua). She received her doctorate in education from the University of Toronto in 1981, with a dissertation entitled "University Adult Education and Development: a Case Study of Three East Caribbean Islands—Antigua, St. Kitts and Montserrat". Dr. Bird has authored and edited many volumes including *UWI in the 1980s*, *Knowledge Building for the Women of Antigua and Barbuda*, and *Economic Development of Small States*. She received at Antigua & Barbuda's 30th Anniversary of Independence Citations, the Grand Cross of the Most Illustrious Order of Merit (GCM) for services to education.

Valerie Knowles Combie is a professor of English at the University of the Virgin Islands. She is the author of three books: *Lots of Laughter*, *The Hovensa Chronicles* and *Memories / Recuerdos*.

Paget Henry is professor of Sociology and Africana Studies at Brown University. He is the author of *Peripheral Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Antigua*, *Caliban's Reason: Introducing Afro-Caribbean Philosophy*, then, *Shouldering Antigua and Barbuda: The Life of V.C. Bird*, and most recently, *The Art of Mali Olatunji*. He has been a strong contributor to the discussions on Antigua and Barbuda's development.

Lionel Hurst is a lawyer by training and a graduate of New York Law School. He was for a long time a career diplomat serving as Antigua and Barbuda's ambassador to the United States and also to the United Nations, and is currently Prime Minister Browne's Chief of Staff. He is the author of two books, *Diplomacy by Democracy*, *Luther George: The Barack Obama of Antigua and Barbuda* and *Vere Cornwall Bird: When Power Failed to Corrupt*.

Lawrence A. Jardine is a specialist in the field of information technology. He has also been a long-time and very active member of the ACLM. He is now the leader and driving force behind the Antigua and Barbuda Enlightenment Academy.

Susan Lowes is Director of Research and Evaluation at the Institute for Learning Technologies and Adjunct Professor of Learning Technologies and Design at Teachers College, Columbia University. She received her Ph.D. in Anthropology from Columbia University in 1994 for a dissertation entitled *The Peculiar Class: The Formation, Collapse, and Reformation of the Middle Class in Antigua, 1834-1940*. She continues to research on Antigua and serves on the boards of the Antigua and Barbuda Museum and the Friends of the Antigua Archives.

Produced by the Office of University Communications