

FINAL REPORT
Country Poverty Assessment: Grenada,
Carriacou and Petit Martinique

VOLUME 2
Participatory Poverty Assessment



COUNTRY POVERTY ASSESSMENT GRENADA, CARRIACOU AND PETIT MARTINIQUE

VOLUME 2 PARTICIPATORY POVERTY ASSESSMENT

**Submitted to:
THE CARIBBEAN DEVELOPMENT BANK**

**Submitted by:
KAIRI CONSULTANTS LIMITED**
14 Cochrane Street, Tunapuna, Trinidad and Tobago, West Indies
Tel: 868 663 2677; Fax: 868 663 1442
Website: www.kairi.com

**In collaboration with the
NATIONAL ASSESSMENT TEAM OF GRENADA**

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES VII

SECTION 1: PRIMARY DATA FROM THE PPA

1.1 INTRODUCTION	2
1.1.1 OBJECTIVES OF THE PPA	2
1.1.2 COMPONENTS OF THE PPA	2
1.1.2.1 Research	3
1.1.2.2 Training	3
1.1.2.3 Capacity Building And Transfer Of Skills.....	4
1.1.2.4 Monitoring And Evaluation	4
1.1.3 METHODOLOGY AND PROCESS.....	4
1.1.3.1 The Approach	4
1.1.3.2 Managing And Implementing The Ppa	5
1.1.3.3 Challenges, Constraints And Problems	6
1.1.3.4 The Key Informants.....	8
Selecting the Key Informants.....	8
Hierarchical Sampling.....	8
Phased Sampling.....	8
Purposive and Selective Sampling.....	9
Self-Selection.....	9
1.1.3.5 Data Collection, Analysis And Interpretation.....	9
Data Collection	9
Recording the Data	11
Data Analysis and Interpretation.....	11
1.2 THE FINDINGS.....	13
1.2.1 THE COMMUNITIES.....	13
1.2.2 THE COMMUNITY WORKSHOPS	14
1.2.3 COMMUNITY PROFILES	15
1.2.4 LIFE AND LIVING CONDITIONS IN THE COMMUNITIES	16
1.2.4.1 The Physical And Material Dimension.....	16
1.2.4.2 Housing.....	16
1.2.4.3 Infrastructure.....	17
1.2.4.4 Facilities And Services	18
1.2.4.5 Health Services.....	18
1.2.4.6 Educational Facilities.....	20
1.2.4.7 Community Centres And Recreational Facilities.....	20
1.2.4.8 Natural Resources And The Environment.....	21
1.2.4.9 Institutions And Organizations	22

1.3	ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DIMENSIONS.....	25
1.3.1	THE ECONOMIC DIMENSION	25
1.3.1.1	<i>The Formal Economy</i>	25
	Agriculture.....	26
	Fishing	26
	Construction	26
	The Public Service.....	26
1.3.1.2	<i>The Informal Sector</i>	26
	The Underground Economy.....	27
	Employment and Unemployment.....	27
	Remittances.....	28
1.3.2	THE SOCIAL DIMENSION	28
1.3.2.1	<i>Education</i>	28
1.3.2.2	<i>Health</i>	29
1.3.2.3	<i>Social Relations, Networks And Support Systems</i>	30
1.3.2.4	<i>Gender Relations</i>	31
1.3.2.5	<i>Social Problems</i>	31
1.3.2.6	<i>Changes In The Community</i>	32
1.3.2.7	<i>Poverty And Wealth</i>	36
	Quality of Life and Sense of Well Being	37
	Community Needs.....	38
1.4	THE GROUPS.....	39
1.4.1	MEN	39
1.4.1.1	<i>Perception, Experience And Effect On Poverty</i>	39
1.4.1.2	<i>Self-Esteem And Emotions</i>	41
1.4.1.3	<i>Relationships</i>	41
1.4.1.4	<i>Gender Role</i>	42
1.4.1.5	<i>Health</i>	42
1.4.1.6	<i>Coping And Survival Strategies</i>	42
1.4.1.7	<i>Access To Resources</i>	43
1.4.1.8	<i>Challenges, Concerns And Needs</i>	44
1.4.1.9	<i>SUGGESTIONS FOR ALLEVIATING AND REDUCING POVERTY</i>	45
1.4.2	WOMEN.....	45
1.4.2.1	<i>Perception, Experience And Effect Of Poverty</i>	45
1.4.2.2	<i>Coping And Survival Strategies</i>	49
1.4.2.3	<i>Access To Resources</i>	51
1.4.2.4	<i>Challenges, Concerns, And Needs</i>	51
1.4.2.5	<i>Suggestions For Alleviating And Reducing Poverty</i>	52
1.4.3	YOUTH.....	52
1.4.3.1	<i>Perception, Experience And Effect Of Poverty</i>	52
1.4.3.2	<i>Coping And Survival Strategies</i>	54
1.4.3.3	<i>Access To Resources</i>	55
1.4.3.4	<i>Challenges, Concerns And Needs</i>	55

*COUNTRY POVERTY ASSESSMENT
Grenada, Carriacou and Petit Martinique 2007/08*

1.4.3.5	<i>Suggestions For Alleviating And Reducing Poverty</i>	56
1.4.4	UNEMPLOYMENT	57
1.4.4.1	<i>Perception, Experience And Effect Of Poverty</i>	57
1.4.4.2	<i>Coping And Survival Strategies</i>	59
1.4.4.3	<i>Access To Resources</i>	60
1.4.4.4	<i>Challenges, Concerns And Needs</i>	61
1.4.4.5	<i>Suggestions For Alleviating And Reducing Poverty</i>	61
1.4.5	THE ELDERLY	62
1.4.5.1	<i>Perception, Experience And Effect Of Poverty</i>	62
1.4.5.2	<i>Coping And Survival Strategies</i>	64
1.4.5.3	<i>Access To Resources</i>	65
1.4.5.4	<i>Challenges, Concerns And Needs</i>	66
1.4.5.5	<i>Suggestions For Alleviating And Reducing Poverty</i>	66
1.5	HOUSEHOLDS	67
1.5.1	THE INTERVIEWEES	67
1.5.2	HOUSEHOLD CHARACTERISTICS	67
1.5.3	HOUSING CONDITIONS.....	68
1.5.4	TYPE AND COMPOSITION OF HOUSEHOLDS.....	69
1.5.5	MARITAL STATUS, MATING PATTERNS AND FERTILITY	70
1.5.6	HOUSEHOLD HEADSHIP	71
1.5.6.1	<i>Education Of Household Heads</i>	72
1.5.6.2	<i>Health</i>	73
1.5.6.3	<i>Power, Authority And Decision Making</i>	73
1.5.6.4	<i>Intra-Household Dynamics</i>	74
1.5.6.5	<i>Gender Relationships</i>	74
1.5.6.6	<i>Parent Child Relationships</i>	75
1.5.6.7	<i>Sibling Relationships</i>	76
1.5.6.8	<i>Inter-Generational Relationships</i>	76
1.5.6.9	<i>Gender Division Of Labour</i>	76
1.5.7	HOUSEHOLD ASSETS AND RESOURCES.....	77
1.5.8	HOUSEHOLD ECONOMIES AND SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOODS.....	78
1.5.9	HOUSEHOLD POVERTY	79
1.5.9.1	<i>Perception, Experience, Effect And Impact Of Poverty</i>	81
1.5.9.2	<i>Coping And Survival Strategies</i>	84
1.5.9.3	<i>Quality Of Life And Sense Of Well Being</i>	85
1.5.10	POVERTY ALLEVIATION.....	86
1.5.11	HOUSEHOLD NEEDS	87
1.6	DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION	87
1.6.1	POVERTY	87
1.6.2	CONTRIBUTING FACTORS	88
1.6.3	ACCESS TO FACILITIES AND SERVICES.....	90
1.6.4	VULNERABLE GROUPS	91

1.6.4.1	<i>Children</i>	91
1.6.4.2	<i>Women Who Are Solely Responsible For The Welfare Of Their Families</i>	92
1.6.4.3	<i>The Elderly</i>	93
1.6.4.4	<i>People With Disabilities</i>	93
1.6.5	POVERTY ALLEVIATION.....	94
1.6.6	SOME KEY ISSUES THAT NEED TO BE ADDRESSED.....	94
1.6.6.1	<i>Economic Issues</i>	94
1.6.6.2	<i>Social Issues</i>	96
1.6.6.3	<i>Family Life</i>	96
1.6.6.4	<i>Social Problems</i>	96
1.6.6.5	<i>Education</i>	97
1.6.6.6	<i>Health</i>	98
1.6.6.7	<i>Emotional And Psychological Issues</i>	98
1.6.6.8	<i>Gender Issues</i>	99

SECTION II: NARRATIVES OF POVERTY

2.1	HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO MATERIAL AND SOCIAL DEPRIVATION IN GRENADA.....	103
2.2	PHENOMENOLOGICAL STUDIES: LIFE NARRATIVES	104
2.3	THE PHENOMENOLOGY OF POVERTY	105
2.3.1	CASE STUDY 1. MARIE 49 YEAR OLD, SINGLE MOTHER OF 10, SEMI-URBAN GRENADA ..	105
2.3.1.1	<i>Family Of Origin And Growing Up</i>	106
2.3.1.2	<i>Living And Loving: Making Her Own Family</i>	108
2.3.1.3	<i>Coping Strategies</i>	113
2.3.1.4	<i>Paternal Support For The Children</i>	114
2.3.1.5	<i>Daily Expenses</i>	116
2.3.1.6	<i>Health</i>	117
2.3.1.7	<i>Employment</i>	118
2.3.1.8	<i>Yet Another Denial: Access To Financial Capital</i>	119
2.3.1.9	<i>Attitudes Towards The Community And Society</i>	120
2.3.1.10	<i>Spirituality As A Coping Mechanism</i>	120
2.3.1.11	<i>The Dynamic Continues?</i>	121
2.3.1.12	<i>The Cycle Continues</i>	122
2.3.2	CASE STUDY 2: MS. WENDY 54 YEAR OLD MARRIED MOTHER OF 9, RURAL, GRENADA ..	123
2.3.2.1	<i>Early Life</i>	123
2.3.2.2	<i>Going On Her Own</i>	124
2.3.2.3	<i>Domestic Abuse</i>	125
2.3.2.4	<i>Becoming A Single Mother Again: Coping</i>	127
2.3.2.5	<i>Family Life</i>	128
2.3.2.6	<i>Coping</i>	129
2.3.2.7	<i>Health</i>	131

*COUNTRY POVERTY ASSESSMENT
Grenada, Carriacou and Petit Martinique 2007/08*

2.3.3	CASE STUDY 3: JOHANNA, 34, MOTHER OF 9 LIVING IN A COMMON-LAW RELATIONSHIP WITH THE FATHER OF SIX OF HER CHILDREN	134
2.3.3.1	<i>Family Instability And Poverty</i>	137
2.3.3.2	<i>Failure Of The Social Agencies</i>	140
2.3.3.3	<i>The Failure Of The Protective Agencies</i>	144
2.3.4	CASE STUDY 4: PHIONA, 44 YEARR OLD MOTHER OF 5	146
2.3.4.1	<i>Coping</i>	147
2.3.4.2	<i>Family</i>	148
2.3.5	GRENADA: CASE STUDY SEASONAL/STRUCTURAL POVERTY	153
2.3.5.1	<i>Background</i>	154
2.3.5.2	<i>Natural Hazards, Seasonal Variation In Demand: The Impact</i>	155
2.3.5.3	<i>Health Care Issues</i>	156
2.3.5.4	<i>The Future</i>	157
2.3.6	GRENADA: FITTING THE QUANTITATIVE AND QUALITATIVE DATA	159
2.3.6.1	<i>The Failure Of Social Services Delivery</i>	160
2.3.6.2	<i>Chronic Illnesses And Poverty</i>	163
2.3.6.3	<i>Intergenerational Poverty, Gender And The Segmented Labour Market</i>	165

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1.1: Community Facilities.....	19
Table 1.2: Environmental Problems.....	22
Table 1.3: Types of Programmes from Which Some Groups are Benefiting	24
Table 1.4: Social Problems.....	32
Table 1.5: Persons with Disabilities	70
Table 1.6: Type of Household and Level of Poverty	80
Table 2.1: Distribution of Chronic Illnesses by Quintile.....	164
Table 2.2: Age at First Birth by Quintile.....	166

VOLUME 2: LIVING CONDITIONS IN THE ISLAND OF GRENADA, CARRIACOU AND PETIT MARTINIQUE

Volume 2 consists of mainly of the qualitative data collected from individuals, households, communities, and from key stakeholders in communities in Grenada, Carriacou and Petit Martinique.

- **Section I** consists of the primary data from the PPA, detailing the views of respondents in facing poverty conditions in the nation.
- **Section II** seeks to narrate the feelings and experiences of poorer people who have been identified in the PPA, and whose lives have been affected by a long association with poverty stricken conditions.



**SECTION 1:
PRIMARY DATA FROM THE PPA**

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Participatory Poverty Assessments (PPAs) are now seen as an essential component of any research to determine the type and level of poverty and deprivation in a country. Participatory approaches are contextual and they not only emphasize people's ability to analyse their own reality but they help us to understand reality at the local community level through the eyes of community residents.

The PPA conducted in Grenada, Carriacou and Petit Martinique strengthened the poverty assessment process by increasing stakeholder involvement, generating a large amount of qualitative data to complement the quantitative data produced by the Survey of Living Conditions/Household Budgetary Survey (SLC/HBS), thereby enriching the analysis, and deepening understanding of poverty from the perspective of the poor.

It was conducted in nine communities and provided opportunities for people in these communities to participate in a number of activities within, and through which they articulated and shared their perceptions and experience of poverty and deprivation, reflected on and analysed the conditions under which they live, identified the strategies that they use to sustain their livelihoods, and articulated their concerns, needs and priorities. The data generated and

produced by these activities have provided insights into the effects and impact of poverty on poor individuals, households and groups living in the nine communities studied.

1.1.1 OBJECTIVES OF THE PPA

The **General Objectives** of the PPA were to:

- Generate a variety of data, but especially qualitative data at the micro level, on the type, nature and distribution of poverty and deprivation in the nine communities studied.
- Give deeper meaning to the quantitative data generated by the SLC/HBS and to the data collected in the institutional assessment.

The **Specific Objectives** were to:

- Collect concrete and specific data on living conditions in the communities in order to produce a multi-dimensional view of poverty and deprivation, and its distribution and the factors that contribute to its existence;
- Increase understanding of poverty and deprivation based on the perceptions and experience of individuals, of households, and of different groups in the communities studied;

- Identify the vulnerability and risks faced by poor individuals and households as they strive to sustain their livelihoods;
- Identify assets, resources, facilities, and services to which poor individuals, households and groups have access;
- Obtain information from individuals, groups and households about:
 - The initiatives that they take to sustain their livelihoods,
 - The constraints and obstacles that they encounter in their attempts to access available resources, facilities and services,
 - Their concerns, needs and priorities, and
 - The interventions and actions that in their view are needed in order to improve their living conditions and to alleviate and reduce poverty and deprivation; and
 - Generate data that can be used to formulate pro-poor policies that are informed by the voices of the poor.

1.1.2 COMPONENTS OF THE PPA

In order to achieve these objectives, and as can be seen in Figure 1.1, the PPA was comprised of four main components, in each of which a number of separate but related activities were undertaken.

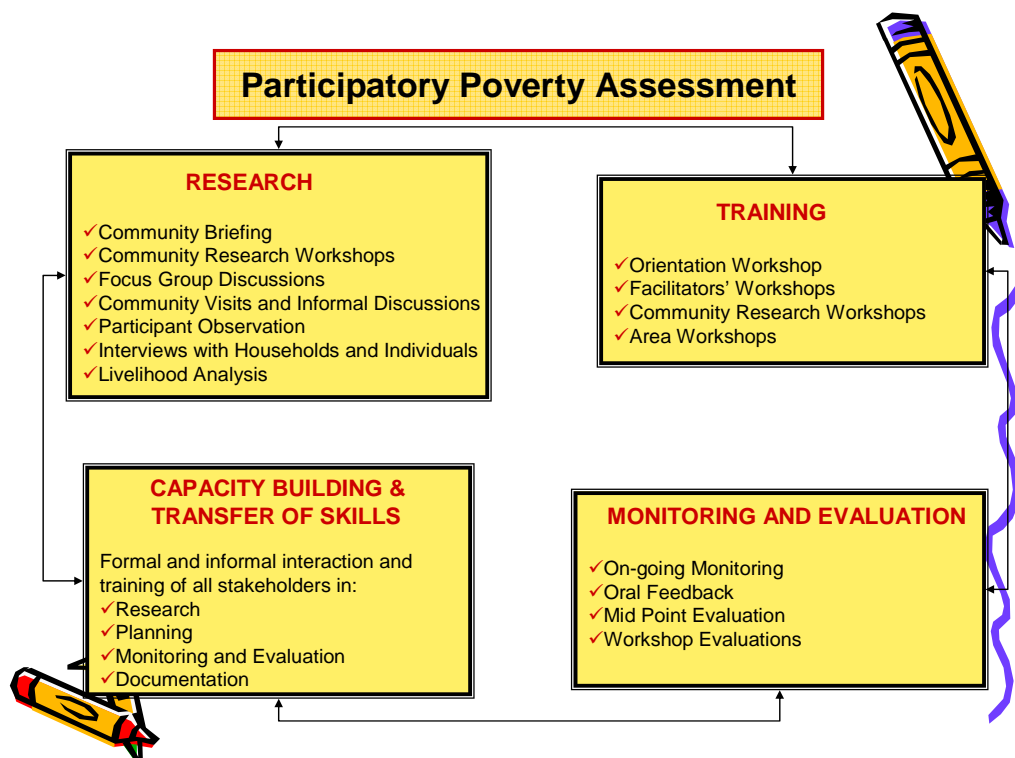


FIGURE 1.1: COMPONENTS OF THE PPA

1.1.2.1 RESEARCH

The research component was undertaken to:

- Generate specific and concrete qualitative as well as some quantitative data on living conditions in the communities studied;
- Obtain information from individuals, households and groups in these communities on their perceptions, experience, and views about poverty and deprivation and the impact on their lives;
- Identify factors that contribute to poverty and deprivation in these communities

In order to achieve these objectives **documentary** and **field research** were undertaken. Among the documents reviewed and whose content was analysed were some on the international literature on PPAs, policy documents, and reports on poverty research and poverty reduction initiatives in the region. The field research produced empirical data that were obtained through observation, interviews, focus group discussions, and community workshops.

1.1.2.2 TRAINING

Effective use of participatory research methods to conduct PPAs depends on the availability of individuals who are knowledgeable about and understand

the philosophy and principles of participatory methodologies, who have some degree of skill in using participatory research methods and techniques, and who can operate as members of a team.

In order to ensure that all of the stakeholders, especially the Field Research Facilitators, were well prepared and equipped to undertake and successfully complete the PPA, training was an important and ongoing activity. A participatory training methodology was used to conduct a series of training workshops that included an initial five-day workshop designed to expose Field Research Facilitators and other stakeholders to the philosophy and principles of the participatory methodology and to provide opportunities for them to practice and to gain hands-on experience in using participatory research methods and techniques. Field Research Facilitators also participated in a mid-term and end-of-project evaluation workshops.

In addition community residents who participated in the community workshops became involved in training activities designed to help them to acquire skills in using various research methods and techniques to generate information about themselves and their communities, to analyse and interpret this information and to use it to produce a realistic picture of living conditions and life in their communities.

1.1.2.3 CAPACITY BUILDING AND TRANSFER OF SKILLS

An important goal of the Country Poverty Assessment was to transfer skills and to build the capacity of institutions, organisations, groups and individuals so that they would be able to undertake and successfully carry out CPAs in the future.

Within the PPA, directly through training workshops and indirectly through informal interaction and communication, deliberate attempts were made to transfer knowledge and skills to the Field Research Facilitators and to other organisations represented on the PPA sub-committee, and to help them to acquire additional, new and specific skills needed to conduct PPAs.

1.1.2.4 MONITORING AND EVALUATION

Monitoring and evaluation were intended to be ongoing throughout and the Coordinator was expected to monitor progress of the field work on a regular basis through contact with the Field Research Facilitators. However, this proved to be challenging and was not as successful as was expected. During the two-day mid-term evaluation workshop Field Research Facilitators were exposed to monitoring and evaluation techniques; assessed progress of the field work; identified challenges, constraints and problems being faced; discussed strategies for dealing with these, and made plans for completion of the field work.

Prior to the final evaluation workshop, Field Research Facilitators were asked to complete a questionnaire designed to encourage reflection on the PPA and on its outcomes, effect and impact; as well as on their experience of being involved in the process. However, only twelve of the Research Facilitators completed the evaluation form and only four of them participated in the two-day Evaluation workshop. During the latter, they identified specific outcomes, discussed the effect and impact that the PPA had had on them, on individual residents, groups and communities, and identified some of the lessons they had learnt from having been involved in the process.

1.1.3 METHODOLOGY AND PROCESS

1.1.3.1 THE APPROACH

The participatory research approach and methodology was used to engage community residents, Field Research Facilitators, members of the National Assistance Team (NAT), and the Consultants in the various activities that were undertaken in the PPA. Teams of Field Research Facilitators and some members of the NAT were trained in the use of the participatory research methods and techniques that were used to collect and generate large amounts of mostly qualitative data.

Using a participatory, experiential learning model, a number of training workshops were conducted to engage some members of the NAT and the Field

Research Facilitators in a process of reflection and analysis of their perceptions and experience of poverty and deprivation. They were also exposed to the theory and practice of participatory research, and were involved in practical, hands-on exercises through which they obtained and sharpened their skills in using a variety of data-collecting instruments.

Workshops and focus group discussions conducted in all of the communities were vehicles for obtaining specific information from residents about life in their communities. Their voices were heard and quotes of their actual words are used in the report to highlight their experience of being poor and of living in poverty, as well as to ensure that the report reflects their perspectives. Participation in the workshops also exposed residents to training in the use of participatory research methods and techniques, and provided them with opportunities to acquire skills in data collection, analysis and interpretation of the information that they provided about their communities.

Participatory research methods and techniques, including the use of some innovative and creative tools, were used to ensure active participation of residents in providing and generating empirical qualitative as well as quantitative data about their communities. (See details in appendix 1). Face-to-face interaction and ongoing dialogue with the key informants were

also critical elements of the data collection process.

1.1.3.2 MANAGING AND IMPLEMENTING THE PPA

The PPA was designed to facilitate and ensure the active participation of key stakeholders, including people in poor communities, representatives of government institutions and of NGOs, researchers and consultants, in the various research activities outlined above. Stakeholders were part of a team whose members were responsible for managing the PPA and for coordinating, conducting and monitoring specific activities.

The team included:

- Members of the NAT sub-committee responsible for the PPA.
- The Project coordinator who was responsible for the day-to-day management of the CPA
- Field Research Facilitators who were responsible for collecting and accurately recording and reporting the information provided by community residents and whose role was critical in ensuring that the data were of the required amount and quality.
- Community residents who participated in focus group discussions and community workshops and who provided

information to questions during interviews.

- The Consultants.

The PPA was supposed to be conducted over a period of about five months and in each community activities were to be carried out by a team of two Field Research Facilitators who would act alternately as facilitators and recorders.

1.1.3.3 CHALLENGES, CONSTRAINTS AND PROBLEMS

Implementation of the PPA was plagued by several problems that prolonged the field work, that prevented the conduct of some activities in some of the communities, and that determined and affected the amount and quality of the data recorded. Among these problems were:

- **Selection of Field Research Facilitators.** Although the Consultants provided a list of Selection Criteria, these were not followed, and in spite of participation in the initial training workshop some of the persons selected were not well suited for the task and were therefore unable to conduct the PPA activities as well as was expected.
- **Participation in the initial training workshop.** Although it was an essential requirement that potential Field Research Facilitators should participate

fully in all five days of training, two of those selected, one male and one female, turned up on the second day. The latter turned up just before lunch because according to her, she had been sent "by the Minister to join the workshop."

- **The use of the participatory methodology.** Lack of familiarity with the participatory approach and lack of experience of intervening and working in communities presented the Field Research Facilitators with several challenges and constraints that affected their ability to effectively mobilize community residents, and limited their ability to reach some of those who are really poor and to conduct and complete the field work in the time expected. Because of inability to effectively mobilize residents some of the planned activities were not conducted in a few communities; for example, no community workshop was conducted in Telescope.
- **Time taken to complete the field work.** While the field work was to have been conducted over a period of about five months, it took well over a year to be completed. In spite of this not all of the activities were conducted in every community. One contributing factor was

- challenges faced by Facilitators and another was the announcement of and campaigning for a general election and the postponement of all research activity during the latter.
- **Lack of commitment of some of the Research Facilitators.** Some of those originally chosen and trained “dropped out” before completing and this resulted in others having to do additional work in communities for which they had not been originally selected. One startling result of this was the “loss” of data collected during focus group discussions in Bogles in Carriacou and the conduct of the workshop there by two members of the NAT. However the report of this “workshop” does not indicate whether the planned workshop activities had been conducted and the information provided suggests that the activity was really a general discussion among those who participated. Another indicator of lack of commitment was the very low participation in the final evaluation workshop. In fact only four of the Research Facilitators attended and participated in this workshop.
 - **Preparation and Presentation of Reports.** Although the Research Facilitators had been given clear guidelines and formats for writing the reports, in some cases several of the reports originally submitted were unacceptable and had to be redone. Even so some of the reports submitted do not adequately reflect the processes and outcomes of some of the activities that were conducted. In addition, exact information and even words of participants are contained in reports of different communities, causing the data from these to be suspect.
 - **Poor Management and Monitoring of the PPA.** The four Research Facilitators who participated in the final Evaluation Workshop listed and discussed several problems that related to management of the PPA among these were: Insufficient sensitization of the public, lack of support from the Coordinator and the NAT, poor and ineffective communication, information not shared on a timely basis, and lack of sufficient resources.
 - **Reliability and validity of the data.** Many challenges, constraints and problems were faced in obtaining data and these have affected the amount as well as the quality of some of the data that were obtained. In addition data were not always recorded or reported in agreed-upon

ways. It is therefore important to recognize that while the data do provide some concrete information about levels of poverty in only nine communities, insights into how different groups experience poverty, and some understanding of its impact on communities, their residents and on specific groups, caution should be taken in making generalizations about others communities, groups and individuals in the country.

- In spite of the many constraints, problems and challenges, most of the PPA activities were conducted in most of the communities and they have generated data, which although thin in some cases and suspect in others, form the basis of this report. The type, amount and quality of the data might well have been affected by the time at which it was obtained, for example before or after the national election. On the other hand, because of the constraints, challenges, and problems identified above, the objective of capacity building has been achieved only partially and therefore it is unlikely that there is a corps of individuals adequately prepared to conduct another such PPA in the future.

1.1.3.4 THE KEY INFORMANTS

Selecting the Key Informants

A combination of hierarchal, phased, purposive/selective sampling, and self-selection was used to identify key informants, including poor communities, households, groups and individuals. A total of just under seven hundred (692) persons participated in the PPA activities and provided information on life and living conditions in their communities. Several sampling techniques were used to identify and select these persons.

Hierarchical Sampling

Because it was necessary to obtain information from households and from individuals at different levels in the communities, hierarchical sampling was used to identify the units to be studied. Selection criteria were developed for the types of individuals and households from which information would be sought and these criteria were used to identify the specific individuals and households that would be interviewed. Thirty-five household heads and twelve community leaders were interviewed

Phased Sampling

Phased sampling was used to identify communities that were representative of those in the country in terms of demography, economic activity and social milieu, as well as the various types, degree and severity of poverty and of its distribution within the

communities. Data from the last census, information from key government ministries and from NGOs working in the communities, and from written reports and other documents were used to identify possible communities in which the PPA activities could be carried out. A list of characteristics and criteria was then developed and used to select eight communities in Grenada, but one was finally dropped. One community was chosen in Carriacou and one in Petit Martinique.

Purposive and Selective Sampling

Because data were to be collected from specific units and from people within those units, selection had to be carefully done rather than left to chance. As a result, specific criteria were developed and used to identify and select units and individuals that would provide data needed to achieve the objectives of the PPA and those of the CPA. Households, community leaders and very poor individuals were selected by this method.

Self-Selection

This technique was used to ensure that as many residents as possible and as were interested participated in the focus group discussions and in the community workshops. All residents were invited to participate in these activities so as to obtain information from as many of them as possible and to get their perspectives on life and living conditions in their communities. One

hundred and eleven persons participated in the workshops.

1.1.3.5 DATA COLLECTION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

Face-to-face interaction and ongoing dialogue with the key informants was a crucial element in the data collection process, and various methods and techniques were used to ensure the active involvement of all stakeholders in some aspect of the collection, analysis and interpretation of data.

Triangulation ensured the use of a number of different data sources and of data collection methods and techniques to obtain and check information given, to gain multiple perspectives of the experience and impact of poverty and deprivation, and to compare how different communities, households, groups and individuals perceived, experienced, and coped with poverty and deprivation and its impact on their lives.

Data Collection

Several methods and techniques were used to collect a large amount of information from several different sources including documents, individuals and groups. Among these were:

- **Transect walks, observation and informal interaction and conversations with residents.** In order to familiarize themselves with the communities, Field

Research Facilitators went on walks in the communities, interacted and held conversations and informal discussions with residents, and observed life and living in the communities. They recorded their impressions and observations on a pre-prepared observation sheet.

- **Observation Sheet.** This was used by Field Research Facilitators to record their impressions and observations of different aspects of life in the communities. They recorded information about the physical features and infra structure of the community, the population, economic activity, social interaction and relationships, level of wealth and poverty, and social and environmental problems.
- **Interviews.** Interviews were conducted with heads of households, community leaders and poor individuals. A structured interview schedule was used to conduct in-depth interviews with thirty-five heads of households and/or other responsible adults in the households. During the interviews with heads of households important information was obtained about the interviewee as well as about some of the other individuals in

the households. Each interview lasted for about one and a half to two hours and provided, among other things, information about household structure, composition, assets and resources, household economy, health of household members, and participation in community groups and activities.

Community leaders/individuals with influence in each community were identified by the Field Research Facilitators and a shorter structured interview schedule was used to conduct interviews with twelve such individuals. These interviews provided an opportunity for the leaders to share their views about poverty and its impact on different groups in the community as well as on coping strategies and on community responses to poverty and poverty alleviation.

A set of criteria were developed and used as the basis of a purposive sampling technique to select individuals who were experiencing extreme poverty. Among those selected were the hidden poor, the destitute and elderly persons living in poverty.

Two or three in-depth interviews that extended over several hours were conducted with a small number of such individuals in some of the communities. These open-ended interviews were intended to provide information about and insights into the meaning and lived

experience of poverty in the interviewees' lives. The aim was to obtain information that would answer the question of what it means to be poor and deprived, and what contributes to and perpetuates the reproduction of poverty over and across generations. The information obtained and the insights gained from these interviews were used to create the case studies included in the final report of the CPA.

- **Focus Group Discussions.** A focus group discussion guide with questions about specific topics to be discussed was used to conduct discussions with separate groups of males, females, youth under 25 years of age, elderly persons, and unemployed persons. Participants in these discussions provided information and insights into how the group to which they belonged perceive, experience and are affected by poverty, and the strategies that they used to cope with it. Four hundred and forty-five persons participated in focus group discussions.
- **Community Workshops.** Community-based participatory research workshops were used as a mechanism to simultaneously obtain a large amount of data from several people. Through their participation in interactive exercises, in community resource

mapping, in wealth ranking and in the use of creative tools like the wheel of well being and quality of life index, residents provided a great deal of information about life and living conditions in their communities and suggested actions that should be taken to improve these.

Recording the Data

Taking into consideration variations in ability of Field Research Facilitators, and because the discussions were to be recorded by hand, it was recognized that some important points and points of view could/would be omitted. Therefore, in order to ensure consistency and quality control, Field Research Facilitators were provided with guidelines that clearly identified how to record information from the focus group discussions and the community workshops. They were also instructed and encouraged to include in their reports as many direct quotes as possible from those who participated in the focus discussions and workshops.

Data Analysis and Interpretation

The large amount of data obtained from the various activities was analysed and interpreted at two levels. At the community level, during the workshops residents were engaged in analysing and interpreting the information that they had provided and that emerged out of the various workshop activities.

In the process they engaged in collective analysis and reflection on the information that they had given, compared information provided and generated in the various activities, and identified trends, patterns, discrepancies, and contradictions in the information. As a result they gained new information about their communities, as well as new insights and a better understanding of the macro as well as the micro level factors that had contributed to the level of poverty in their communities and that had determined the conditions in which they were living. In addition they made suggestions and recommendations on what could and should be done, including what they themselves could do, to alleviate poverty and to improve conditions under which they were living.

At another level, the Consultants used a variety of methods and techniques to analyse the data according to predetermined themes of poverty and deprivation, vulnerability, livelihood strategies, gender, and poverty alleviation. Among the methods and techniques used to analyse the data were content analysis, sorting and classification, contrasting contexts, causal analysis, needs analysis, trend analysis, gender analysis and comparative analysis, case analysis, deduction and generalization. Subjecting the data to such rigorous analyses has helped to verify and validate their objectivity, reliability, and

credibility and to ensure that they provide a sound basis for targeting beneficiaries in future poverty alleviation and reduction policies and programmes.

The PPA was designed not only to focus on and identify factors that contribute to and/or perpetuate the existence of poverty. It also sought to generate information and to provide insights into key issues that emerge as a consequence of poverty and deprivation. Some of these issues like economic and social deprivation and vulnerability are both contributors to and consequences of poverty and this is evident from information obtained from individuals and groups. Others like the availability and access to assets, resources, public facilities and services are often outside of the control of the poor and are determined by interventions of government and/or civil society organizations. Within the community workshops and during focus group discussions participants were able to reflect on such interventions and to discuss the extent to which they were contributing to improvement of living conditions in their communities.

At the same time, because poverty is gendered, men and women experience poverty and its effects differently, gender is also an important issue to be examined and addressed. This was done by conducting focus group discussions with same-sex groups, by

disaggregating data by sex and by doing a gender analysis of the data collected.

1.2 THE FINDINGS

A total of six hundred and seventy persons in nine communities participated in the various PPA activities. The information provided in this section of the report has emerged out of the actual lived experiences of people in seven communities in Grenada, one community in Carriacou and one in Petit Martinique, some of whose lives are characterised by poverty and deprivation. Their life stories give their perspective on poverty and describe their reality of being poor and of growing up and living in poor families and in poor communities. The stories they tell and their actual words reported in italics, provide us with insights into the underlying causes and factors that determine and perpetuate their impoverished circumstances, and they increase our understanding of their struggle to survive in spite of their feelings of powerlessness and hopelessness.

Because qualitative data describe people's experiences, feelings and views they are subjective, but this does not make them less valid or reliable than quantitative data. Qualitative data are critical because they increase understanding of quantitative data and provide insights into the reality of people's lives that quantitative data

cannot provide. It is also important in interpreting the data presented here to give serious consideration the specific context and "local" culture of the various communities, to the changes that have taken place over time in lifestyle, in changed expectations and consequently in the needs of community residents. This is especially important in the case of age, gender and disability.

The qualitative data provided by participants in the PPA activities must be used as the basis for developing pro-poor policies and targeting programmes that meet their needs. But for poverty alleviation programmes to improve living conditions in impoverished communities and to alleviate and reduce poverty, they must be designed and targeted so that they can respond to and meet the specific needs of poor individuals, households and groups in poor communities.

1.2.1 THE COMMUNITIES

While the communities selected are some of the poorest in the country and while not every community in the country is poor, those in which PPA activities were conducted are representative of all of the **types** of communities that exist in the country. They include urban and rural communities, isolated communities, large and small communities, farming communities, and communities whose residents work outside of their communities. At the same time, while all of the communities selected for study

exhibited some degree of poverty and deprivation, and share a number of characteristics, they are not homogeneous, and therefore their residents do not always experience or feel the effects of poverty and deprivation in the same way.

PPA activities conducted in the communities produced a great deal of information about the conditions under which residents are living, about their standard of living, and about their quality of life. While some of the information was obtained from documents and observation, most of it was provided by community leaders and by residents who participated in the community workshops and focus group discussions.

1.2.2 THE COMMUNITY WORKSHOPS

The community workshops served as mechanisms to obtain specific information from community residents about life in their communities. They provided opportunities for residents to reflect on and to:

- Discuss living conditions in their communities,
- Discuss the quality of life and sense of well being they enjoy,
- Identify positive and negative features, and changes that have taken place in their communities over the last decade,

- Discuss availability and accessibility of facilities and services,
- Estimate the levels of poverty and wealth in their communities,
- Agree on their concerns and problems,
- Identify community needs, and
- Make recommendations for improving living conditions and reducing poverty in their communities.

No workshops were held in Bogles, Gouyave or Telescope. One hundred and eleven persons the majority of whom were females, participated in workshops in the six other communities. They included young and elderly persons, parents and grandparents, married and single persons, persons of different ages, with different levels of education and of different occupations, as well as unemployed persons.

Participation was fairly good and community residents welcomed the opportunity to express their views. They not only described their reality and their experience of being poor and living in poverty, but they shared their views about what should be done to improve their living conditions.

While the primary goal of the workshops was to generate information on life and living conditions in the communities and while participants did provide valuable information about

their communities, the workshops proved to be useful in other ways.

In evaluating the workshops participants identified several ways in which they had benefited from participating. Among these were:

- The sharing of information with other residents
"Sharing ideas with others, coming together and agreeing".
"The liveliness of the discussions"
- New understanding of the different dimensions of poverty.
"I get a deeper understanding of poverty."
"I never realize that you could be rich or poor in different ways."
- Greater awareness about the levels and severity of poverty in their communities
"Getting to know the community."
"Realizing the stage the community is at."
"I know it have worse than me now."
"Things not as bad as they seem."
- New things learnt
"Not to take things for granted, not every time what you see is what is."
"Organizations that assist the community."

1.2.3 COMMUNITY PROFILES

Of the nine communities studied only three, Darbeau, Gouyave and Telescope are urban. Darbeau is divided into two

areas – Cali on the West and Brooklyn on the East. All of the others are rural. Apres Tout, Bogles, Clozier, Darbeau, Darvey/Prospect, and Post Royal are inland communities, Gouyave, Telescope and Petit Martinique are coastal. In most of the rural communities agriculture is still a significant activity and many residents are engaged in subsistence farming, backyard gardening and rearing of livestock. In the coastal communities fishing is a major activity.

In terms of location, Clozier and Darvey/Prospect are far from an urban centre, are therefore are somewhat isolated as residents experience some difficulties with transportation. Residents in Apres Tout are also faced with transportation problems.

In addition to geographical location, distance from an urban centre is not only characterized by limited transportation and physical isolation but can also result in social exclusion. For example, some residents in Clozier are concerned about the long distance that children must walk to attend pre- and primary schools in Gouyave. Physical isolation can prevent community residents from participating in some important social processes and in this way can contribute to social exclusion that limit their opportunities to benefit from programmes and activities that could facilitate personal and community development.

The population in some of the communities including Telescope, Darbeau, Post Royal and Gouyave and Petit Martinique is comprised of large numbers of young people. In Telescope there are more young females than males but the opposite is true in Post Royal and Darbeau where there is a young population under the age of eighteen years of age. In Bogles and Apres Tout there are more women than men and this has been explained by the tendency of males to bring in their female companions from other areas into the community. While not necessarily having the same result in-migration is also taking place in Darbeau because of its proximity to the city, and it has also impacted on the composition of the population of Bogles where a number of returning nationals are now resident. Residents also move freely from Prospect to Darvey.

External migration has had an impact on the composition of the population in several of the communities. In Clozier young people leave the community and migrate to the city and overseas as soon as they complete their education and the effect can be seen in the composition of the population in which the majority are children and elderly persons. Young people in Darvey/Prospect and in Petit Martinique also migrate to the urban areas in search of employment, and some in Petit Martinique also migrate to study. Because the majority of the population in Petit Martinique are the

youth, this out-migration had led to a decrease in its population.

1.2.4 LIFE AND LIVING CONDITIONS IN THE COMMUNITIES

1.2.4.1 THE PHYSICAL AND MATERIAL DIMENSION

There has been significant improvement in the physical environment and in infrastructure in many of the communities.

1.2.4.2 HOUSING

Shelter is a basic human need and access to adequate and affordable housing is one indicator of quality of living conditions and standard of living. Although the communities all suffered some degree of devastation by Hurricane Ivan, many residents took the slogan "build back better" to heart, and as a result there has been improvement both in the housing stock, and in the quality of housing.

"Ivan mash up the whole house and everything in it."

"Ivan give Post Royal a good shake up."

"We rebuilding it piece by piece with help."

"After Ivan the RC church help me to repair the house."

"After Ivan everybody try to build back better."

In several of the communities there is a mixture of concrete and wooden houses; however in some communities like

Telescope and Post Royal there are still several small wooden houses and housing is still inadequate. In Gouyave some of the houses are very close together with no backyards and in Darbeau and Telescope several people are squatting. In Petit Martinique housing is well developed and in Bogles there are several large concrete houses built by returning nationals. While some houses do have flush toilets, a significant number (74.28%) of those interviewed, use pit latrines and a small number, six of those interviewed, have no toilet. At the same time while only six have an inside bathroom, more than half of the households interviewed have outside bathrooms and nine have no bathroom.

Practically all of the households use gas as their main fuel for cooking, but when the gas runs out or when there is no money to replace it several resort to wood and/or charcoal.

1.2.4.3 INFRASTRUCTURE

Good roads and easy access to utilities also contribute to the standard of living in a community. In many of the communities the main roads are paved but there are still some with unpaved muddy tracks, and some of the main roads are very dusty. The roads in Darvey/Prospect are satisfactory and drainage is good, but in Clozier interior roads and bridges leading to the community are in bad condition.

There has been an increase in the number of residents who have access to electricity, pipe borne water, and telephones, including cell phones and access to the internet.

“Most people have telephone, cell and landline.”

“Everybody has electricity.”

However, in some communities like Bogles where there are no poles in some areas, there is still a problem of access.

Access to a constant supply of good drinking water is essential for survival; however not all residents in the communities studied have access to water on a regular basis. A good water supply provided by NAWASA is available free in several communities including Apres Tout and Gouyave where there is a constant supply of drinking water and where shortage of water is rare. The same is true of Darbeau even though there are no public standpipes. On the other hand, water is not always available in Darvey/Prospect and there is no running water in the upper half of Clozier.

“Water is not always available.”

In Carriacou and Petit Martinique residents depend on cisterns for their water, but a large number of residents in Bogles do not have cisterns and there is no stand pipe or community cistern.

"Most homes have their own water supply in the form of cisterns."

"About 70% of the population without a cistern."

The urban communities are all well served by public transport systems comprising of mini buses that run on a regular basis and in Gouyave there are also taxis for hire. However this is not the case in some of the rural communities like Darvey/Prospect where the bus only operates in the morning and the afternoon, and in Après Toute where there is no regular bus service.

Sanitation appears to be relatively good and garbage is collected on a regular basis in many of the communities.

"We used to throw garbage in hole but now we have garbage trucks."

1.2.4.4 FACILITIES AND SERVICES

The existence of facilities and services in communities is essential because they are mechanisms through which community residents are able to meet some of their needs especially for education, health, and recreation, they enable residents to enjoy acceptable standards of living and they facilitate interaction among neighbours and friends.

However availability of facilities and services alone does not ensure that residents will use or benefit from these. The extent to which they can benefit from what is available is determined by several factors including accessibility, affordability, information, and attitude of providers of the services.

While in every community there are a number of churches and small shops, Table 1.1 shows that the Petit Martinique and the urban communities of Darbeau and Gouyave are well served with facilities, but that there are fewer facilities in the rural communities; in some like Apres Tout, there are no facilities at all. Residents in some of the communities do have access to facilities nearby, but as is the case in Clozier, distance can be a problem.

1.2.4.5 HEALTH SERVICES

In some of the communities, the health status of residents is said to be good but in Bogles there appears to be some evidence of malnutrition. In some other communities including Clozier, were reported cases of high cholesterol, lifestyle diseases, diabetes, hypertension and obesity, and asthma in children. In Clozier there is also a concern about mental health problems and in Darbeau there is a problem of personal hygiene.

TABLE 1.1: COMMUNITY FACILITIES

FACILITY	AT	BO	CL	DAR	DP	GOU	PM	PR	TEL
Pre School	-	X	-	X	X	X	X	X	-
Primary school	-	-	-	X	-	X	X	-	X
Secondary school	-	-	-	-	-	X	-	-	X
Day Care Centre	-	-	-	-	-	X	-	-	-
Health centre	-	-	-	-	-	X	X	-	-
Community Centre	-	X	X	X	-	-	X	-	-
Recreational Facilities	-	X	-	X	-	X	X	-	X
Home for the elderly	-	-	-	-	-	X	-	-	-
Post Office	-	-	-	-	-	-	X	---	-
Police Station	-	-	-	-	-	X	X	-	-
Seedling Nursery	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

KEY

AT= Apres Tout, Bo= Bogles, Cl= Clozier, Dar= Darbeau,
DP= Darvey/Prospect, Gou=Gouyave, PM= Petit Martinique,
PR= Post Royal, Tel= Telescope

Health centres and hospitals provide a wide range of services to the population. In Apres Tout the parish doctor can be called to visit elderly persons who are sick, but the visit costs \$50.00. Along with Petit Martinique only in Gouyave is there a health centre and this is said to offer a wide range of high quality services. Residents in other communities access health services from centres nearby or from a hospital, but in a few like Clozier, health service is only available in Gouyave some distance away. The absence of health centres in communities and the distance that some residents have to travel to access health services means that some may not be getting the health care that they need and may not be benefiting from services that are available.

“We are deprived of proper health facilities.”

There is a direct link between poverty and health and many of those who are poor depend on public health services because they are often unable to pay for private and specialist treatment or medication. Lack of availability and of easy access to public health care facilities therefore has serious implications for their health. This is especially so for children and elderly persons.

“Poverty affects us mentally and physically”

“Can’t visit a doctor on a regular basis.”

“Can’t visit a specialist doctor for certain complaints.”

"I am sick all the time because I cannot afford to buy medicine."

"I can't even buy tablet for my wife."

"Right now I am suffering from diabetes and hypertension and last month I did not have the money to pay for medication so I had to do without."

1.2.4.6 EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES

Residents see education as important and most want their children to acquire a good education. The government also regards education as important and has provided opportunities and support for children to receive various levels of education.

"For the first time we have a preschool in Post Royal."

"More children have the opportunity to go to school."

"Most children attend secondary schools nowadays cause government assist with transportation."

"Better education in primary schools, secondary schools, colleges and university."

While the data show that there are preschools in four of the communities studied, primary schools in three and secondary schools in one, children from all of the communities have access to primary and secondary education.

At the same time, the government as well as NGOs conduct evening classes, literacy and continuing education and other programmes, but the numbers

who participate are low and the benefits are not always realized. .

"ART and GREP organize training programmes but the information is not put to practical use."

1.2.4.7 COMMUNITY CENTRES AND RECREATIONAL FACILITIES

Community centres provide opportunities for residents to access and participate in a variety of programmes and activities, especially in the areas of education, culture and sports. Moreover, because of the distance of some rural communities from urban centres in which such programmes are provided, the existence of community centres in rural communities is particularly important. The data show that there are community centres in only four rural communities, Bogles, Petit Martinique, Clozier, and in the urban community of Darbeau. The centre in Bogles is new and is said to be of a high quality. At the same time residents in some of the other communities do have access centres in nearby communities.

Recreation is also an important for individuals as well as for communities. Sports and cultural activities are important for building relationships and community spirit as well as for providing alternative avenues for young people to engage in healthy activity. However recreational facilities are only available in a small number of the communities studied. This means residents in several communities have

to travel to other communities to participate in recreational activities. At the same time in some of the communities where these facilities exist they are not always in good condition.

“There is a pasture that is regularly used by the youth.”

“The playing field can only be used in the dry season.”

“Most of the facilities are available but they need improvement.”

1.2.4.8 NATURAL RESOURCES AND THE ENVIRONMENT

Many of the communities studied are blessed with natural resources including land, forests, rivers and the sea, and in the majority of the communities there is a significant amount of land to which residents have access. Some of the land is being used for agriculture, including backyard gardening and for grazing of animals which provide the basis for economic activity. However the land in Darbeau is stony and therefore not suitable for farming and in some communities like Darvey/Prospect there is evidence of a significant amount of “wasteland” the owners of which are overseas. In Clozier there are large tracks of uncultivated land. At the same time while several people do own land, in some of the communities including Petit Martinique while there is access, some individuals do not have title to the land on which they live or farm.

The sea is also a valuable resource in Bogles, Darvey, Gouyave, Telescope, and Petit Martinique; in these communities fishing and related activities are the main economic activities in which women and youth as well as men are engaged. In Petit Martinique boat-building is also a major activity.

All of the communities are vulnerable to natural disasters, especially hurricanes, and all suffered from the effects of Ivan which devastated many of them. For example most of the trees in Clozier and Apres Tout were seriously damaged by Ivan and this has resulted in some deforestation. Sea rise is also a matter of concern especially in Carriacou where the sea is “taking over” a cemetery and where several graves have been submerged and headstones are “jutting out” of the sea.

In all of the communities there are several environmental problems some of which are caused by actions of residents. Among these are improper disposal of garbage and faeces including in rivers, streams and the sea, the existence of poor drainage and the presence of rats and mosquitoes, over-fishing in rivers and in the sea, and hunting in the closed season. Additionally, in Apres Tout, residents are concerned about the existence of antennae constructed by Cable and Wireless and Digicel.

Table 1.2 shows some of the environmental problems identified by community residents.

TABLE 1.2: ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEMS

PROBLEM	AT	BO	CL	DAR	DP	GOU	PM	PR	TEL
Littering	-	X	-	X	X	X	X	X	-
Poor garbage disposal	X	-	-	X	-	X	X	X	X
Pollution of rivers and seal	-	-	X	-	-	X	X	-	X
Air pollution	-	-	-	X	-	X	-	-	-
Noise pollution				X					
Landslides	-	-	X	-	-	-	X	-	-
Over fishing	-	X	X	X	-	X	X	-	X
Hunting in closed season			X			-	-		
Poor drainage	-	-	X	-	-	-	X	-	-
Uncontrolled livestock	-	X	-	-	-	-	X	-	-

KEY

AT= Apres Tout, Bo= Bogles, Cl= Clozier, Dar= Darbeau,
DP= Darvey/Prospect, Gou=Gouyave, PM= Petit Martinique,
PR= Post Royal, Tel= Telescope

1.2.4.9 INSTITUTIONS AND ORGANIZATIONS

Institutions and organizations are vehicles through which facilities, goods and services are provided to communities and their residents. During the community workshops residents identified institutions and organisations that are present in their communities, and discussed some of their initiatives and programmes and the extent to which they are benefiting from their interventions. Most residents are of the view that few organizations, governmental, NGOs or CBO were present or operating in their communities, and the data show that there are no institutions or organizations in Darvey/Prospect and a limited number of government institutions in Petit Martinique.

“Here behind God back.”

“There are no NGOs or CBOs here.”

“The involvement of government is minimal.”

At the same time residents in Darvey/Prospect, Gouyave and Clozier did acknowledge the presence of some government institutions including the Ministry of Agriculture that gives planting material to farmers and any other person who wish to plant, the Food and Nutrition Council that conducted a programme to teach people how to use local produce to make various dishes. In one case a Parliamentary Representative visits sometimes and holds meetings to hear residents’ views. However residents are not always happy with the effectiveness of these interventions or with what was being provided.

"BNTF was here for a while, much was promised but nothing delivered."

A few NGOs, notably ART, GRENCODA, GREP, are working in some of the communities including Apres Tout, Clozier, and Gouyave, and residents identified some of their programmes from which they are benefiting. Among these are:

- ART's development and supportive programmes, especially training, in Apres Tout.
- Training organized by GREP and CARDI for persons involved in the Nursery Project in Apres Tout.
- GREP's training for young persons in Darvey/Prospect in Hospitality Service.
- GRENCODA's programmes in Gouyave and Clozier, including training in small business, income generating projects, computer literacy programmes, provision of school books, uniform and transportation fees for school children and building materials for house repairs.

There are few CBOs operating in any of the communities and many of the residents are of the view that their

absence is the result of difficulty in forming and maintaining such groups.

"Everybody always starting something here and then nothing."

"A lot of groups start but fade away after a time."

"Every time you try to start something people don't come because of who in the group."

However, CBOs do exist in the following communities.

- **Bogles:** Bogles community Development group
- **Clozier:** Clozier Youth Guiders, Clozier United Development Organization
- **Darbeau:** Festival Committee, Football club
- **Telescope:** Youth, men and sports groups

These CBOs organize a number of activities that are intended to provide opportunities and services that meet some of the needs of residents; residents agreed that individuals, groups and families do benefit from their initiatives. Their activities include dinners for senior citizens, sports competitions, cleaning and beautifying their communities, assisting needy children and assisting in home construction and repairs.

In addition to providing goods and services institutions and organizations can also facilitate individual and community development through developmental programmes, provide support to those who need it - supportive programmes - prevent situations that may create and cause problems - preventative programmes - and assist in finding remedies for such situations by helping residents to find solutions to individual and community problems - remedial programmes. However to be effective in fulfilling this role, their programmes must be well targeted to meet specific needs and to address specific issues.

An analysis of the information obtained about institutions and organizations suggests that because of their absence, some of the residents' needs are not being met and some individual and community problems are not being solved and critical issues are not being addressed. This is particularly true in communities in which they are few, if any, organizations.

Table 1.3 provides some idea of the groups that are being targeted by organizations and the type of programmes from which they are benefiting.

TABLE 1.3: TYPES OF PROGRAMMES FROM WHICH SOME GROUPS ARE BENEFITING

TARGET GROUP	DEVELOPMENT	SUPPORTIVE	REMEDIAL	PREVENTATIVE
Children	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GRENCODA, computer literacy programmes • Child Welfare Authority 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GRENCODA, School books, uniforms and transportation. • Darbeau/River Road Festival Committee 	GRENCODA	GRENCODA
Youth	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Football Club, Sports club • Bogles Community Development Organization • Clozier Youth Guiders 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bogles Community Development Organization 	Ministry of Youth	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sports Clubs. • Ministry of Youth
The poor and needy		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Darbeau/River Road Festival Committee • Adventist Welfare Department 		
Elderly persons		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bogles Community 		

TARGET GROUP	DEVELOPMENT	SUPPORTIVE	REMEDIAL	PREVENTATIVE
		Development Organization • Home for the aged in Gouyave		
Unemployed persons	• GREP	• GRENCODA • GREP		
Community members	• Clozier United Development Organization • ART training	• Clozier United Development Organization. • ART training • GREP training • Ministry of Social Development		

From the information provided by residents during the exercise on institutional mapping it would appear that some groups, including women, victims of abuse and of domestic violence, and persons with disabilities are not being targeted. In addition, it seems that some important issues like drug abuse, crime and domestic violence, are not being addressed. This does not only raise questions about the small number of organizations operating in the communities studied, but also about the extent to which those that are operating are equipped and have the capacity to provide the type and amount of support residents need, to prevent or remedy existing undesirable situations, or to address issues that are important to the community.

1.3 ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DIMENSIONS

1.3.1 THE ECONOMIC DIMENSION

The ability of residents to sustain their livelihoods depends on a sound national economy, and on opportunities for them to gain employment from which they can earn an income that would allow them to meet their basic needs. The data show that while many residents are engaged in economic activities in the formal and informal sectors of the economy to sustain their livelihoods, that some are also engaged in and depend on an underground economy.

1.3.1.1 THE FORMAL ECONOMY

The main aspects of the formal economy are agriculture, fishing, the service sector, light manufacturing, and the public service.

Agriculture

Agriculture has been traditionally the backbone of the Grenadian economy. However the decline in the banana industry and the devastating effect of hurricanes Emily and Ivan have had a significant negative impact on the national economy and on the lives of those individuals and households that depended on agriculture for their livelihoods. In six of the nine communities studied, agriculture is still an important activity and many residents are engaged in small-scale and subsistence farming and backyard gardening, or are agricultural labourers. Animal rearing is also a common activity in four of these communities. In an effort to revive agriculture and to revitalize agricultural activity in Apres Tout, GREP has provided assistance for the creation of a seedling nursery. However a few persons interested in farming cited difficulties in accessing credit they needed to be able to do so, as well as the need for access to title to the land.

"It difficult to get credit."

"I still can't even get a piece of land to do farming."

"If we can get title to our lands we will be much better off."

"I just want a piece of land that I could work and sell me things."

Fishing

Fishing is an important activity in Bogles Darvey/Prospect, Gouyave, Petit

Martinique, communities that are coastal, and in which significant numbers of residents are involved in fishing and related activities, including Fish Friday in Gouyave. In Petit Martinique, the economic returns from seafaring activities are high and boat building is also an important economic activity. Residents in Petit Martinique are of the view that they need assistance to build up the fishing industry.

Construction

While work in the construction industry is usually seasonal, it does provide men in six of the communities with reasonable incomes.

The Public Service

Persons employed in the public service include teachers, nurses, policemen, However there are more persons in Darbeau and Gouyave employed in the public service than there are in most of the other communities. This is possibly because of their proximity of these communities to an urban centre.

1.3.1.2 THE INFORMAL SECTOR

The informal sector is characterized by a wide variety of income-earning activities, flexibility and fluidity, and it provides opportunities for individuals to earn some level of income, even if only on a irregular basis. In every community studied, there are persons who are involved in the informal sector. In several of the communities there are a few entrepreneurs who own small

shops and other small businesses, and in a few communities some persons get jobs to clear the roadside three times per year. Some people are vendors selling agricultural produce in the market, and some women do domestic work.

The Underground Economy

Within the informal sector there is a section in which economic activities are based on and generated from illegal activities, mainly gambling, crime, drugs, and prostitution, some of which are present in all of the communities studied.

"Well maybe a little gambling."

"Having sex for money."

"Sell drugs, fastest way to make money."

While people are aware that these are illegal activities they often see them as the only avenues to obtain some level of income.

Employment and Unemployment

Opportunities to obtain jobs that pay reasonable wages are essential for survival and residents in all communities believe that employment and well-paid jobs are necessary for them to be able to move out of poverty.

"If I get a good job everything go be okay."

However, while job opportunities and jobs may be available several unemployed persons said that they have difficulties in obtaining jobs. But they are aware that inability to obtain jobs is often because of low levels of education, lack of qualifications and work experience.

"I tired asking people for work, they does just say I will call you back but does not call back."

"People take well known contractors to build their house, there is no work for small carpenters."

"I didn't finish school so it hard for me to get a good job."

"More skill training centres to learn a skill and improve chances of getting a job."

In Gouyave and Darbeau there are opportunities to obtain jobs, but in other communities such opportunities are limited, most people have to seek work outside of their communities and mainly part-time or seasonal employment is available. Consequently, the unemployment level is high in several communities, and in Petit Martinique most women have never worked outside of the home.

"Unemployment is rampant."

"There are few job opportunities, especially for youth."

"There are scarcely any income-generating activities."

"Government must create more job opportunities especially for women."

At the same time, because of the seasonal nature of some employment and of the number of persons involved in part-time jobs, there is also a significant level of underemployment.

Remittances

Remittances, money, gifts and barrels of clothing and household goods from family and friends at home and abroad, are an important source of income for families and individuals in several of the communities.

"People receive barrels from family and friends abroad."

"Many people get support from family members abroad."

However with the recent downturn in the international economy, this source may be being threatened and remittances may well be diminished or cease altogether.

1.3.2 THE SOCIAL DIMENSION

The social environment in which people live determines the quality of their lives and their sense of well being, and in the community workshops and focus group discussions, residents identified positive and negative features of their social environment. They recognize that in a good social environment there will be an absence of social problems and opportunities to obtain a good education, to enjoy good health and good social relationships, and to have access to supportive social networks.

1.3.2.1 EDUCATION

Several people believe that there is a greater awareness of the value of education and are pleased with the increase in educational opportunities

"There are more education opportunities now than before."

However, some poor children are not able to benefit fully from these opportunities because their parents are not always able to send them to school every day, because of their inability to provide lunch, school materials and transportation.

"Can't send the children to school every day."

"I have a problem sending my children to school because of the bus fare."

"Children can't complete their secondary school."

"Children don't go to school regularly so they get low grades."

The information provided by residents shows that several children attend school on an irregular basis and that several women and girls had to drop out because of pregnancy. Irregular attendance and dropping out have serious implications not only for children's performance and their ability to complete and further their education, but it also limits their chances of obtaining employment later on.

Residents in several of the communities studied have low levels of education and illiteracy is said to be high. In Darbeau literacy is high but literacy levels in Bogles, Post Royal, Apres Tout, Petit Martinique, and Gouyave are said to be low.

“The level of education and literacy needs to be improved.”

“Most people did not complete primary level education.”

“The level of literacy is very poor.”

“Literacy in the area is not of the best as many older persons and children are not able to read and write.”

Adult and continuing education provides opportunities and a second chance for people to upgrade or complete their education and to acquire additional knowledge and skills that would increase their chances of obtaining employment.

Some young people recognized the need to further their studies but some are of the view that there are few opportunities to do so. At the same time, residents in some of the communities also expressed the need for evening and night classes and for skills training programmes.

While some adult education and literacy programmes are available, interest and participation are low; while a few young people are attending some classes, the majority of adults in the communities studied are not participating in any

adult education programmes. Among the reasons given for this are:

- Lack of knowledge of what is available
- No classes in the community
- Lack of interest
- Never thought of it
- No one with whom to leave children

1.3.2.2 HEALTH

Good health is essential for enjoying a good quality of life and a sense of well being. However the data show that adults and children in the communities studied suffer from several health problems and illnesses. Apart from the common cold and fevers, some children suffer from allergies, sinus problems, asthma and gastroenteritis, and a small number suffer from skin infections including scabies and scalp fungi.

Male and female adults in all communities are suffering from lifestyle diseases, diabetes and hypertension, and a small number are obese. A few elderly persons have arthritis and a small number of men have prostate cancer. In a few of the communities it was said that there are some young men and young women suffering from STIs and HIV/AIDS.

In addition several poor single parents are suffering from stress, anxiety and depression. Alcoholism is a serious problem in seven of the communities

and mental health and high cholesterol are of concern in Clozier.

There are also a number of persons with disabilities in eight of the communities. While there may be some organizations that provide care and assistance to persons with disabilities, the majority of those identified in these communities are being cared for at home by family members with little if any assistance from any organization.

1.3.2.3 SOCIAL RELATIONS, NETWORKS AND SUPPORT SYSTEMS

Relationships between community members are said to be good, there is a spirit of togetherness and residents look out for each other. For example in Darbeau while there may be quarrels between neighbours about land boundaries, confrontations between parents and children, and between elderly persons and youth are said to have decreased and there is a general sense of belonging and togetherness within the community.

However residents in some of the communities did express concern about relationships within the families, between parents and children and between family members, as well as between young and elderly persons. For example in Gouyave relationships between males and females and youth and elderly needs to be improved, and in Telescope parent-child and intergenerational relationships are poor.

"The youth do not show much respect for the elderly they abuse them."

"The elderly avoid interacting with the youth."

While most parents said that they had no problems with their children, some do experience difficulty in managing and disciplining them, especially teenagers. They cited disobedience, lack of respect, fights between siblings and unwillingness of children to do household chores as problems that they face.

"I train them since they small, talk to them in the right way."

"They behave bad, they won't hear and they curse and fight, up to yesterday they was fighting."

"They answer back and give a lot of problems. The boy strays and molests other children."

"When the mother not here they behave good but once she is here they get on bad."

"Children seem to be in the control seat."

"Young people want to walk in and out the house without saying where they going."

While children are disciplined by using corporal punishment, being deprived of food and of going out, and being banned from watching television, there is some belief that there is need for stricter discipline and better parenting. This was mentioned by someone in a situation in which all of the children are not from both parents and in which there is a problem with one parent disciplining the partner's children.

1.3.2.4 GENDER RELATIONS

Although some male-female relationships are said to be good and harmonious, others are characterized by conflicts, quarrels and violence.

"We curse and fight often."

"We quarrel now and then but we don't fight."

"When he drinks he threatens me."

"I have no say. He controls me."

While it is usually the males who are the initiators of violence there are instances in which it is the female who is the abuser.

"I used to be violent but not now, my wife threatens me with knife and cutlass. She has no control of herself and she listen to neighbours."

"I give as good as I get; if you bend down yuh head they walk on you."

The issue of domestic violence in male-female relationships raises the question about the motivation behind violent acts and about the need for the abuser to exert power and control over the victim. However in the case of some female abusers, as the last two quotations suggest, the motivation may well be retaliation or an attempt to assert and protect one's self.

1.3.2.5 SOCIAL PROBLEMS

Residents in all of the communities identified a number of social problems about which they are concerned. Among the problems identified are:

- Alcoholism
- Gambling
- Drugs
- Theft
- Indiscipline and delinquency
- Teenage pregnancy
- Domestic violence
- Child abuse and neglect
- Prostitution
- Violence
- Homosexuality

Table 1.4 shows that the two urban communities of Darbeau and that Gouyave have the largest number of social problems, that Clozier, probably the most remote and isolated community has the second highest number. And that Darvey/Prospect has the fewest.

It is interesting to note that homosexuality and bisexuality was mentioned by some residents in Darbeau and that there is some concern about these two phenomena. It is also interesting to note that in identifying organizations that are working in the communities no mention was made by residents in any of the communities of work being done by organizations to address the many social problems that they identified. This suggest that while there are organizations whose focus may be one or other of the many social problems, their reach may not have extended to the communities that were the subject of study in this exercise.

TABLE 1.4: SOCIAL PROBLEMS

PROBLEM	AT	BO	CL	DAR	DP	GOU	PM	PR	TEL
Alcoholism	X	-	X	X	-	X	X	X	X
Drugs	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Teenage pregnancy	X	-	X	X	-	X	-	X	X
Petty crime/theft	X	X	X	X	-	X	-	X	X
Gambling	-	-	-	-	X	-	-	X	-
Indiscipline & delinquency	X	X	-	X	-	X	X	X	-
Child abuse	-	-	-	X	-	-	X	-	-
Domestic violence	X	X	X	X	-	X	-	X	-
Prostitution	-	X	-	-	-	X	-	X	-

KEY

AT= Apres Tout, Bo= Bogles, Cl= Clozier, Dar= Darbeau,
DP= Darvey/Prospect, Gou=Gouyave, PM= Petit Martinique,
PR= Post Royal, Tel= Telescope

1.3.2.6 CHANGES IN THE COMMUNITY

During the community workshops residents were asked to identify changes that had taken place in their communities over the last ten years and to discuss the reasons for and the impact of these changes. They talked about the differences in the communities then and now and whether things were better, worse or the same.

All residents are aware that there have been improvements especially in the infrastructure and in physical living conditions, including improvement in housing.

"After Ivan everybody try to build back better."

"After the hurricane they fix up all the drains."

"Some homes were old and broken now we have decent, comfortable homes."

However while Ivan provided opportunities for many of the communities to benefit from improvements, this was not the case for Clozier. Residents in this community are of the view that they are worse off now than ten years ago. This they attribute to the destruction caused by hurricanes Emily and Ivan that not only damaged and destroyed houses and roads but destroyed agriculture on which they relied for their main source of income. Residents in Apres Tout were also of the view that because of the hurricanes:

"Emily and Ivan damaged housing and agriculture badly."

"Things have not come back as before."

In most of the communities, basic facilities and amenities and access to technology are also now more widely available. However because of their location a few communities like

Darvey/Prospect do not have access to the technology.

"The place really improve."

Before we used to use lamps and masanto, now we have electricity."

"Everybody have electricity and most people have telephone."

"Sometime two three days we never used to get water, but now it have to be real dry season for water to go."

"The water truck comes to give water in places where there is no pipe borne water."

"Technology reach Post Royal. Down to the littlest child have cell phone."

"Imagine Post Royal have cable."

"Better communication by telephone."

The physical environment was also said to be better because of more attention being paid to disposal and regular collection of garbage.

"There is garbage disposal twice a week."

"Things better cause the truck does pass and pick up garbage sometimes two, three times a week."

Residents also pointed out the increase in educational opportunities and in the level of education.

"More children have opportunity to go to school."

"Plenty children passing common entrance."

"Family life seminars."

"Parents have been given school vouchers to assist with sending children to school."

While people identified positive changes in the physical and material dimension of life in their communities, they were of the view that in the economic and social spheres things had got worse. Residents in some of the rural communities referred to the decline in agriculture, some of which had resulted from the damage caused by Ivan, and to the decrease in possibilities for earning an income from farming. Other contributing factors cited are the fact that some farmers who may have access to land may not have the resources to make it a success, and the effects of the weather.

"People not working the land again."

"Although I have land I do not have enough money to buy chemicals and to take care of the plants and this frustrates me."

"I cannot do any farming because there is not enough rain."

Lack of financial resources also prevents some others from using their skills to generate an income.

"I am in a sewing and craft class but can't move on because I have no money to buy a machine and materials to make things to sell."

These two comments raise the issue of providing people who may be unemployed and who are interested in taking initiatives to become self-employed with the financial resources and technical assistance that they need to become entrepreneurs.

The data suggest that in several of the communities unemployment has increased and several residents expressed concern about the unavailability of jobs and the high level of unemployment.

"We are not working."

"Can't find anything to do."

"No well paid jobs available."

"I have no salary to get when month up."

"I have no job."

In spite of the high level of unemployment in some of the communities, some people did believe that jobs were available, people could find work, and incomes are fairly good.

"People have work when I pass round during the day it hardly have people home."

At the same time several people commented on the high cost of living versus their small wages and their inability to meet basic needs.

"Always struggling to get things you need."

"Food costs too high and salary too low."

"Not able to supply basic needs."

"Because of unemployment the little that is coming in is very low so can't meet basic needs."

However many did admit that more access to credit now allowed some to acquire some of the things they needed.

"It better now because some people can still credit and more people going to Singer and Courts."

A significant number of families in the communities surveyed depend on remittances from relatives abroad to supplement their incomes and to provide for some of their material needs. However with the recent downturn in the international economy things may change and it is possible that remittances may decrease.

Information provided by residents in all of the communities is evidence that the greatest and most significant negative changes have taken place in the social dimension of community life. There has been deterioration and breakdown in all types of relationships and an increase in social problems.

According to residents in some of the communities, over the years there has been a breakdown in family life and many parent-child relationships are characterized by indiscipline, and relationships between children and adults have changed for the worse.

"Before if you meet a child doing something wrong, you could talk to them but you can't do that again."

"Before you were free to correct people's children, but now you will get into trouble with them."

"Some children are now abusing their parents."

While residents in some of the communities are of the view that male-female relationships have not changed, in others domestic violence is a common feature.

In some of the communities residents highlighted community spirit and the good relationships that existed among neighbours.

"A good community spirit."

"Things good man, because you could still ask your neighbour for something."

"People are friendly and share what they have."

"If you don't have enough you can always ask your neighbour and he will give you."

However in some other communities it was felt that people had become too selfish, that this had eroded unity, and some blamed this on the fact that people were now more prosperous.

"People get selfish."

"People used to help one another more."

"There used to be more unity."

"Persons not as united as before."

"When people get prosperous unity does disappear."

"People don't look out for each other as before."

In terms of the increase in social problems, residents in several of the communities cited illegal gambling, alcoholism, crime and violence and heavy use and abuse of drugs. Some are particularly concerned about use of illegal drugs by children.

"Too much drugs in the community."

"Young children in the community are smoking now and this was not so before."

"It worse because who never used to take coke taking it now, down to the littlest child smoking."

When asked residents identified the following **reasons** and **impact** of the positive and negative changes:

- **Positive changes**
 - More opportunities for everyone
 - More education
 - Employment
 - Better jobs and more money
 - Increase in wealth for some people
 - GRENCODA's programmes to help the needy
 - Public assistance programmes to assist elderly persons and people with disabilities
 - Government's programmes to improve the infrastructure
 - Increase in technology

- People's efforts to improve their standard of living
- General living conditions have improved
- **Negative Changes**
 - Breakdown in family life
 - Indiscipline
 - Misguided youth
 - Selfishness
- **Impact**
 - Improvement in living standards
 - Some people better able to cope with life
 - Some people continue to experience poverty
 - Made some people's lives easier
 - Increase in poverty for some people

1.3.2.7 POVERTY AND WEALTH

During the PPA residents participated in several activities during which they expressed their views on the types and levels of poverty and wealth that existed in their communities. Being labelled poor was of concern to several persons and many agreed that even if they say they are poor they do not like other people to regard them as poor. The general perception of poverty was the inability to meet basic needs because of insufficient money.

They also identified several indicators that would tell whether one was rich or

poor as well as the factors that contribute to each of these phenomena. However they tended to focus on economic factors, size of house, quality of housing, place of residence, and other conspicuous items like cars.

Economic factors identified included availability of sufficient money to meet basic needs and ability to save, and availability of credit.

"Little or no money."

"Living from paycheck to paycheck."

"You may not always have the money, but you can always get something in the shop to credit."

"Some people can save but some can't."

Many were also of the view that housing is an important indicator of poverty or wealth.

"It not hard to tell who poor or who rich; you could just look at their house alone and you know."

"Dilapidated houses."

"Based on where they live."

"A rich man could have garage with car but a poor man wouldn't have that."

The Wealth Ranking Indicator Matrix introduced residents to food security and health as two other indicators of poverty or wealth. In terms of the former, there was general agreement that most people were able to eat at least two meals a day but in Petit Martinique, the unavailability of vegetables prevented people from eating balanced

meals. While inability to meet health needs was identified as an indicator of poverty, residents in most of the communities were of the view that health facilities were available.

Based on the discussions on poverty and wealth there was general agreement among residents in several of the communities that the majority of people were neither poor nor rich, and that while several people were struggling, they were able to survive.

"People in Petit Martinique not generally poor."

"The situation here is between poor and better off."

"Post Royal don't really have rich or poor people. Everybody just in between."

"There might be one or two persons in the community that is very poor but everybody living good."

"People in the community not really poor."

Comments made by residents suggest that there are no wealthy people in their communities, that their communities are neither rich nor poor, and that any poverty that does exist is not severe. Their perceptions of poverty may well have been coloured by the stigma attached to poverty and to being poor, and by their unwillingness to be so classified.

However information provided by them in various PPA activities does show that

there is individual as well as community poverty and that while they may be few people who are destitute, there are significant levels of poverty in some of the communities studied. Individual poverty is characterized by unemployment or underemployment and lack of and/or insufficient financial resources; several of the communities can be said to be poor because of the absence of facilities and the limited amount of services available to residents.

Quality of Life and Sense of Well Being

A good standard of living and a good quality of life contribute to a sense of well being. During the community workshops residents plotted graphs on a Wheel of Well Being and indicated on a Quality of Life Index the levels of well being and the quality of life that they enjoy. (See appendix)

On the Wheel they plotted graphs to show the level of physical and material, of economic, of social, and of spiritual, emotional and psychological well being that they enjoy. The process of assessing the sense of well being and of deciding what weight to allocate to the various indicators created a great deal of discussion that allowed participants to express their views and to listen to those of others.

On the whole information the graphs on the Wheel of Well Being and the ratings given on the Quality of Life Index show that the physical and material aspects of

life are high but the economic aspect is low, and that the while in some communities crime and violence is not high, family life relationships were rated low. In comparing and analysing the graphs on the Wheel of Well Being and the ratings given on the Quality of Life Index they saw the relationship between various aspects of life including between education and employment and between low crime and violence and sense of security.

"The level of education is low and this results in a high unemployment rate."

"Although a lot of illegal activities take place, there is a relatively low crime rate."

Discussions on education highlighted different perceptions of residents in the communities. In addition to recognizing the link between education and employment, residents in some communities believed that more children are going onto secondary school and:

"Everyone in the community had attended primary school and could read and write"

Those in others rated it low because:

"Even if people may be able to read and write they cannot reason very well."

At the same time in discussing physical and material aspects reference was made to fact that care of the elderly and of children was fairly good but that in spite of availability of food, some people

were not able to eat a balanced diet every day.

Community Needs

In all of the communities people identified issues and problems about which they are concerned and things that are needed to improve the quality of life in their communities among these are:

- **Basic needs:** Enough and proper food on a regular basis and adequate housing
- **Improved infrastructure:** better roads and drains, reliable transport
- **Public facilities:** community centres, and day care centres for elderly and for children, recreational facilities, free transportation for the elderly,
- **Social services:** programmes for the elderly and for youth, improved health services and health fairs, constant supply of medication in government dispensaries, community policing.
- **Economic/Financial Resources:** more job opportunities, employment, increase in wages and salaries, small business loans, reduced taxes, increase in pensions, subsidies for agriculture, lower cost of living
- **Education:** adult education and literacy programmes for adults at flexible times, skills training for youth and unemployed

people, counselling, educational workshops, sessions on budgeting and personal financing

1.4 THE GROUPS

Poverty and deprivation does not mean the same thing to everyone, and different groups of people experience poverty and are affected by it in different ways. It is therefore important to capture the differences in perceptions and experience of poverty, and to identify the specific concerns, needs and priorities of different groups especially those that are most vulnerable. Focus group discussions were therefore conducted separately with men, with women, with unemployed persons, with elderly persons, and with young people under the age of twenty-five. A total of five hundred and twelve persons participated in these discussions.

During the focus group discussions each group defined and articulated their experience of poverty and deprivation, shared information about the survival strategies they use to sustain their livelihoods, and identified their particular concerns, needs and priorities. As a result various perspectives of and attitudes to poverty were captured and a better understanding was gained about the experience of poverty and its impact on people of different ages, sex, and level of education.

1.4.1 MEN

One hundred and eight men participated in focus group discussions held in eight communities. Demographic information provided indicate that the majority were young men between the ages of twenty and thirty-five, had only primary education and were single, and some were single parents. A small number were over fifty years of age and were grandparents. Forty of them were farmers and fishermen, a small number were civil servants or teachers; a few were construction workers and several were unemployed.

1.4.1.1 PERCEPTION, EXPERIENCE AND EFFECT ON POVERTY

While most of the men defined poverty as a lack of basic needs some were of the view that it included 'sufferation' and hardship.

"Not having the basic needs of life."

"Not enough to eat, no place to stay."

"You don't have house, you don't have clothes you don't have food."

"No job."

"Not having enough money to buy what you want."

"It's the hard way of life."

"Not sitting in ants nest but ants biting you."

"Ketching you arse to make a little."

"When you don't have anything."

One man thought that poverty can be subjective because:

"One group of people might consider themselves poor but another group might not."

Some made a distinction between being poor and living in poverty.

"Poor and poverty are different you can be poor and not living in poverty."

And some men saw poverty as being relative and compared poverty in Grenada to what they saw on TV about poverty in some other countries.

*"Grenada has no poverty."
"Poor I see on BBC/America.....naked, malnourished people in Africa."*

A few defined poverty as a psychological state.

"Poverty is a state of mind."

A small number of the men who participated in the discussions did not consider themselves to be poor because according to them they managed their money well, were able to meet their basic needs, and were contented with what they had. Some who were employed said that in addition to their regular jobs they were able to earn extra money. However the majority of those who participated considered themselves to be poor and they identified things that contributed to their poverty.

Among these are unemployment, low wages, the high cost of living, and their inability to provide for themselves and their children and their families.

"Yes I is a poor man because the little money I have is just to pay bills I can't even buy a shirt, not even an underpants."

"I have no job."

"I only get part-time jobs , I am unemployed most of the time."

"everything going up besides salary."

"I just can't meet my basic needs."

"I see myself as a real poor man, I have three children and have to pay to send them to school."

"I living in an unfinished house and I lack the basic necessities."

"I am the only one employed and I have a sick wife."

"My entire family is sick and no one is working."

The men felt that they were being deprived of proper housing, of things that others have, of a job, of healthy and balanced meals, of a sound education, and of a right place in society.

"Since after Ivan I living in an unfinished house."

"No proper house, I live in a dirty hole."

"Well yes, people have and I don't have."

"I need a job."

They were of the view that being poor made them feel vulnerable because it causes them to take risks and fall prey to

many of the ills of society, including gambling, crime and selling drugs .

"Feel reckless."

"You might take a chance and rob a man."

"If ah get a job to deliver drugs ah going."

"I don't know about vulnerable I just feel bad."

They also felt vulnerable and gave examples of being discriminated against, shunned and excluded because of their status as poor men. According to some of them poverty made them feel inferior, reserved and confined and prevented them from having a social life.

"I can't get a job because of my status."

"We can't get loan from the bank because we don't have collateral."

"When you poor other people don't listen to you."

"We are not equal to others who have, we are third class citizens."

"Economically inferior."

"We don't have the zeal to socialize with others"

"Being left out, rejected."

"You feel separated."

"Some neighbours look down on me, scorn me, and place a barrier against me."

"People don't respect poor people."

Many of the men said that poverty has a great impact on their lives because it affects their self-esteem and how feel, it

affects their relationships and their ability to fulfil their gender role as provider for their families, and it affects their health.

1.4.1.2 SELF-ESTEEM AND EMOTIONS

Being poor creates many negative feelings including hurt, stress and frustration, shame, unworthiness, hopelessness, how they feel:

"Poverty lowers self-esteem."

"I feel unworthy."

"It is full of stress."

"Feel depressed."

"Sometimes my heart is on fire it hurt so badly water can't out it."

"My mind is like a time bomb ready to explode."

"I feel embarrassed."

"I feel ashamed, lonely and sad."

"You does feel real shame sometimes."

"I does feel real bad especially when I have to bum a ride into Grenville, a big man like me."

"Fed up and frustrated."

"Trying to cope makes me feel suicidal."

"Sometimes I don't even feel to come out of my bed in the morning. Is not like I have a job or anything to do. Is like what is the use?"

"I have no money to spend, no home, no place to sleep, better I commit crime and go to gaol."

1.4.1.3 RELATIONSHIPS

Poverty affects relationships with their partners and their children as well as with other men.

*"When you poor you can't get a girl."
"If you can't give them they will get the man who can give them more."
"I like to see my girl looking good."
"My child mother have no understanding at all."
"Sometimes the money thing could cause confusion."
"cause relationships to break up."
"The other day me child mother send my little daughter by me for money to buy a school shoe. I had to send her back empty handed. She mother come cussing.
"What ah go do ah doh have."
"My friends usually buy a drink for me but most times I can't buy for them."*

1.4.1.4 GENDER ROLE

Society expects men to provide for their families but poverty often prevents them from doing so and as a result causes them to feel 'less than a man.'

*"Well as a man everybody expect you to be working and provide for your family, if you can't do that is like you not a man."
"As a man it harder everybody expect you to be up there, your family looking up to you."
"All of the responsibility fall on my shoulder and all my commitment stay dormant."
"Can't afford to send the children to school."
"The kids coming and asking for things you can't give them."
"If I cannot provide for my family my girl children may be tempted to sell their bodies as prostitutes."*

1.4.1.5 HEALTH

Poverty often prevents some men from enjoying good health including from being able to eat nutritious meals or buying medicine. I can lead to anxiety, stress and depression.

*"You feel stressed out."
"Being poor puts a lot of stress in your life."
"Deprived of good health."
"Three out of four times I am not able to buy medication because I am out of a job."
"No money to pay transportation to go to the doctor."
"Can't eat proper food."
"Low resistance so susceptible to whatever diseases are in the community."*

1.4.1.6 COPING AND SURVIVAL STRATEGIES

Poor men use a variety of strategies to cope with the challenges they face and to survive. While they acknowledged that some of the strategies are risky and can have serious consequences they also saw some of them as their only options.

*"The road to survival is risky."
"Spraying chemicals without proper gear."
"Fishing and hunting in out of season."
"Stealing."
"Sell drugs."
"The stealing and drugs normally end up in violence."
"Gambling to make a little money."*

"Hustling to make a daily bread."

"I does take a little grog."

"I jump a boat to go to – get weed to sell to make a little money. The boat is very small and you don't know if you will come back or if the police will find you and then you going to gaol, but I live in a large family and I am the breadwinner so I have to do these things in order to feed them."

"I spend most of my time smoking marijuana because it helps release the stress and prevent me from stealing."

However they also use other strategies that have been effective. Among these are:

- setting goals,
- making sacrifices
- Being financially astute and economizing,
- backyard gardening,
- walking instead of taking the bus,
- using credit,
- cutting down on the number of meals
- don't waste
- live within your means

1.4.1.7 ACCESS TO RESOURCES

The men identified a number of resources that they needed to be able to survive but they also identified some of the difficulties that they faced in accessing much needed resources. Financial resources are usually scarce because many of the men are either unemployed or underemployed, but they need money not only to provide for

their families but to buy tools, farming equipment, and agricultural inputs. Access to jobs is also therefore important.

"A loan to buy fishing vessel."

Carpentry tools."

Some who depend on remittances from relatives and friends at home or abroad and aware that these providers may not always be in a position to give.

Several men identified land as an important resource but said that even when land was available it was difficult to get access to it. Some farmers also cited praedial larceny and lack of markets for their produce and some fishermen also cited lack of markets for their catch.

"There is lots of abandoned land, but most of the owners are abroad and not leasing or renting."

"It is difficult to get to the land because there are no roads."

"I used to do farming but I stopped because people used to thief my produce and I hardly get any to sell."

"Don't have title to the land."

"Markets to sell produce."

"No markets so sometimes the fish spoil."

On the whole the men felt that it was difficult to obtain the resources that they need because this sometimes depended on political affiliation or on having the right contacts.

"It is challenging and difficult to obtain resources."

"It real difficult you have to have links."

"It not who you know it is who know you."

"Based on your political affiliation it's whether you will get or not."

Another obstacle that might prevent them from accessing some resources that might be free is their feelings of pride and the possibility of being stigmatized.

"People don't want other people to see them going for free things."

1.4.1.8 CHALLENGES, CONCERNS AND NEEDS

Poor men are faced with several challenges, and have many concerns and needs.

Challenges

The challenge is how to survive and to provide for themselves and their families; their inability to save,

"Getting things we need to survive."

"I can't save a dollar, that is a real problem."

"Month end bills hard to pay."

"How to make it for the rest of the year."

"Cost of living, just now people won't be able to buy bread."

"Putting food on the table."

"The ever increasing food prices and bus fares."

Concerns

The greatest concern is about unemployment, unavailability of jobs and low wages.

"I working buy just from fortnight to fortnight."

"Getting a job."

But they are also concerned about

- Their ability to maintain good relationships with their partners and their children
- Their children's future
- The existence of a drug culture and the drug trade and the negative impact on people of all ages
- Alcohol consumption by the youth
- The attitude of young males and their involvement in illegal activities
- Men who prefer to beg rather than to seek employment

Some men were also concerned about getting a proper education and about opportunities for getting higher education.

Needs

- Money
- More job opportunities and jobs
- Better wages
- Lower food prices
- Opportunities to obtain higher education
- Skill training for the unemployed and the youth

1.4.1.9 SUGGESTIONS FOR ALLEVIATING AND REDUCING POVERTY

The men are of the view that if the following were done their situation would improve and poverty would be reduced.

- Make more jobs available to men
- Ensure transparency in allocating jobs
- Increase wages
- Make small loans available without the major restrictions
- Reduce food prices
- Create more opportunities for them to further their education
- Give education to young as well as to the old
- Provide skills training
- Place more emphasis on agriculture, develop a ten-year plan,
- provide plants and subsidies
- Open agro-processing factories
- Provide assistance to the needy who cannot work

1.4.2 WOMEN

One hundred and twenty-nine women in the nine communities participated in focus group discussions. The majority were under the age of forty-five and twenty three of them were over fifty years of age. Twenty-two of them were married, about 45% of them were single, and thirty seven of them were single parents. Twenty of them were grandparents. Twenty-three of them were unemployed, six were self

employed and ten were housewives. Among the rest were farmers, fisher women, teachers, civil servants and road workers. Nearly one third of them had primary (32.5%) and secondary (31%) education. A few had tertiary and technical and vocational education and only nine had no formal education.

1.4.2.1 PERCEPTION, EXPERIENCE AND EFFECT OF POVERTY

As did the men, most of the women defined poverty as not being able to meet basic needs, lacking basic necessities and unable to sustain themselves. Many saw it as a struggle to make ends meet and to provide for their families.

"When you can't get enough to eat and drink."

"Barely able to survive."

"Poverty can be described as struggling."

"Unable to make ends meet the way you really want."

"Making money but not enough to make ends meet."

"When you can't put out for your family."

"Living on the breadline."

Some others saw poverty as being unemployed, living in poor conditions and having to depend on others.

"Living hand to mouth."

"Poor living conditions."

"Sleeping all over the place, no house to live in."

"I living with someone and have to wait till they cook."

A few of the women said that they were not poor because they have a job and they manage the money they have, and their basic needs are being met.

"No I work for what I want."

"I making a day work with Mr Ramdanny and I have a part-time job with the ministry so I making do."

"I don't consider myself to be poor because I get food to eat, I have somewhere to sleep and I have clothes to put on."

"The Lord provide me every day with something."

"I live with my parents and at the end of the day we get something to eat and at the end of the month we pay the bills."

However the majority of the women, many of whom are single mothers, said that they were poor because they are unemployed, the cost of living is high and they don't have money to meet their basic needs and those of their families.

"I have no job but children to see about."

"I can't even get a road work."

"Sometimes three days I ain't eat cause I have no job."

"Low income."

"Cost of living very high, can't pay monthly bills."

"Prices get high and money get small."

"Because of unemployment, the little that coming in is very low and can't meet the basic needs."

"I does cry because I cannot meet my family's needs."

Even those women whose spouses were working sometimes found it difficult to survive.

"Although my husband working, we have bills, we have children to send to school, and is not every time we could give them something."

"Not every time my husband working so sometimes it could be kinda rough."

Poverty deprives many of the women of essential things like balanced meals, proper homes with good facilities, clothes, jobs, money, access to health care and a good education. Women in some communities said that they were deprived of pipeborne water, of proper health facilities, and of electricity, and telephone access, and some believed that they were deprived of women's rights.

A few of the women said that there were others who were worse off than they and that while they were not poor they were at risk of falling into poverty.

"It have others worse than me."

"We are not really living in poverty but we close, we just managing."

"I am on the borderline of poverty."

"If things continue to go as it is many of us will be in poverty very soon."

As single mothers most of the women have the burden of, and are fully responsible for providing for their children and are affected by poverty

mainly because being poor determines their ability to do so as they would like, to feed provide them with food and clothes, and to send them to school. This was true even for the few who are working.

"It's a rough road to travel struggling with the children."

"Me alone working, when ah turn round, nothing to eat, not a dollar, sometimes ah does have to boil food and so and eat it."

"I will rake and scrape bit by bit to give them items they need for school."

"I have three children in secondary school and I have to do without lots of things for myself to get things for them."

"Sometimes I does not have anything to give my children."

"At times we mothers have to stay hungry because the little to eat is not enough for me and the children."

"When I have nothing to cook for the children, when I don't have sugar..."

"I normally experience sleeplessness. I lie awake many hours thinking about ways I can get money to provide meals for my children in the morning and how would I be able to send them to school."

"I have problem sending my children to school because of the bus fare."

"Children can't complete their secondary education."

"Don't feel like going home because nothing to eat or feed the children."

Several of the women said that their male partners/their children's fathers

did not contribute to financial support of the children and some blamed this on the fact that the men spent their money on alcohol."

"Some men don't want to help you to send the children to school."

"Some of the men spend all their money in the rum shop."

"The man don't give me money."

Being poor, and especially being unable to provide for their children as they would like to engenders many negative feelings in women. They feel sad and unhappy, frustrated and angry, anxious, depressed, hopeless and powerless, and some even feel suicidal.

"It rough, real rough."

"When you poor you always unhappy, sometimes you have mood swings when you can't get what you want."

"Sometimes I does get real frustrated."

"I feel angry and bad."

"Stressed out, worried and discouraged."

"Sometimes I just feel to give up. Life is not worth living."

"Sometimes I does just feel to run and bawl when ah look around and no money, nothing to eat."

Poverty also affects their self-esteem and their sense of worth.

"Shattered self-esteem."

"I feel less than others."

"I feel broken up and broken down."

"Always thinking that others are looking better than we are."

"Not worthy of getting certain jobs."

"Feel useless and worthless."

"I feel inferior."

"People look down on me because I am poor and as a result am placed in a lower class."

"Being ridiculed."

Living in poverty contributes to vulnerability and many of the women are of the view that they are vulnerable and that this puts them at a disadvantage and can cause them to be exploited.

"We are very vulnerable."

"People take advantage of you."

"People pay you what they want."

"Work so hard and they pay you little money."

Involvement in illegal or unacceptable activities can also make the women vulnerable and put them at risk, and while some of the women who are involved in such activities are aware of this, they regard these activities as necessary in order to survive. They mentioned stealing, gambling, prostitution, and risky sexual behaviours. A few are also vulnerable because they have to work at night and may be at risk of being attacked.

"Go in somebody land and take a hand of fig just to cook."

"Go with anyone who can help financially."

"it can lead to stealing."

"I gamble all the time to get money."

"Go with a man to get a dollar to feed children."

"Having to return sexual favours."

"Chance of catching communicable diseases."

"I sell anything, drugs, my body, anything."

"Unwanted pregnancies."

"Leaving home at three o'clock in the morning to start work so as to get some money."

Poverty also affects the relationships that the women have with male partners and with their children and with other family members, and it can cause problem in families that can lead to break ups.

"Poverty can have a negative impact on relationships with partners and children."

"Physical abuse of mother and children."

"Sometimes I feel real sorry for my children when I can't give them what they want."

"Vent frustration on children, use abusive language to them."

"When the children come from school and ask for something my husband would quarrel for the whole night cursing the teacher, the school and the ministry because of frustration. To keep the peace I secretly tell the children to come to me whenever they need things for school."

"Confusion among family members, because every body depend on each other."

"Broken homes."

Several women blamed alcohol for poor male-female relationships.

"Spouses spend most of the time in the shop drinking alcohol and when they get home is big trouble."

"Men don't care for women so for women so women have to get up and get."

"Me man drinking rum problem in the house."

The man doh give me money so ah doh give him nothing."

"Separation and divorce in families is high."

"I does try not to quarrel and frustrate him even though I frustrated myself."

"Mine does try. He doing a little construction."

Poverty also affects the women's health mainly because they do not have the means to eat proper meals on a regular basis and to pay for medical attention and medication if they are sick. In addition even though there are public health services, they are not always able to benefit from it.

"Not being able to eat properly lead to malnourishment."

"We have to depend on free health care and medicine so sometimes according to the complaint we boil bush."

"I can't afford to go to a private doctor."

"Sometimes you sick and you have to just stay home with your sickness."

"Sometimes I can't even buy one tablet for me pressure."

"Sometimes you can't buy the whole amount so you buy half. Ah just buying what ah could."

"I does cut out on the tablet."

"We have to travel a long distance to get to the health centre and by the time we get there we still can't see the doctor because of the number of patients already there."

According to some of the women, living in unhealthy environments without sanitary facilities also threatens their health.

"Living in unsanitary conditions infested by rats and insects."

"Most people have to go outside to bathe and use the toilet so if someone get sick and have to use a toilet it would be a problem."

1.4.2.2 COPING AND SURVIVAL STRATEGIES

Among the strategies that the women use are: reliance on God, occasional work, prioritizing and economizing, making sacrifices and using their resources carefully, backyard gardening, vending, using credit, remittances, adjusting their lives and making sacrifices.

"We trust in God."

"We cope by the grace of God."

"The best strategy is to pray."

"Live one day at a time."
"I try to see how to turn my hand. Sometimes I get a little day work here and there."
"We budget the little finances available."
"When I have the money I try to buy in bulk to last the month, but it never make it."
"Whatever little we have we does try to stretch it."
"Take care of needs and not wants."
"Women know how to make ends meet even when faced with the worse situation."
"I pinch what I have to make ends meet."
"We do a little gardening."
"I make guava cheese to sell."
"When road work open we get a little money to help."
"Sisters from overseas send a little change."
"We doh go above we means."
"We save a dollar for when we fall sick and cook we ital food without meat."
"What I get from abroad, I never buy a panty yet because I have a husband and is tablets he living on."

Some are just content with their lives and some feel that they have no other choice.

"We content with whatever we have."
"I well comfortable with what I have."
"I don't really take it on because at the end of the day life has to go on."

Like their non-poor counterparts, poor women spend a significant amount of their time in activities related to child care and housework and they give priority to these activities. But some women find that these tasks stressful and would rather not have to do them.

"Taking care of the children and doing housework."
"We have children so we have to clean the house."
"Performing home duties."
"Doing household chores takes up a lot of time."
"I spend most of my time looking after my children."
"Sometimes when I hear 'mammie' I does feel as if I going mad, better I go out and work than I have to do this housework thing."

In addition, many of many of those who are employed are engaged in arduous tasks.

"I does have a hard day. I work on the estate and estate work doh easy. I does do it three days a week, and then I still have to do me housework."
"As for me ah working from morning to night. I cutlassing from eight to ten, then I going in the school and flush toilet and clean yard and then go home to cook."

A few of the women are also involved in the activities of church groups like the Mother's Union and the St. Vincent de

Paul Society that provide assistance to the needy, the sick and shut-ins.

impact on their lives and their needs are many.

1.4.2.3 ACCESS TO RESOURCES

The majority of the women, because they are poor, were unable to sustain their livelihoods and said that it is very difficult to obtain resources that they need to be able to do so. For them, the most important resources are money and employment in good jobs, but:

"We are poor women we don't have access to a lot of things."

"At times it is very difficult to get these resources."

"Life would improve if we get jobs and more money."

"Most times we have to cry, beg, and even be dishonest to get the resources we need."

In addition to employment and financial resources the women also identified education and training as important resources.

"A centre where we can meet and be taught skills."

"Training for single mothers."

1.4.2.4 CHALLENGES, CONCERNS, AND NEEDS

Most of the women face many challenges in their attempts to meet their basic needs and to provide for their children, they are concerned about a number of things that have a negative

Challenges

- Lack of finance to meet basic needs
- Getting a job
- The high cost of living
- Providing for children
- Money for children's lunch and books and to send them to school every day
- Coping with the ills of society

Concerns

- Fear of contracting HIV/AIDS
- Fear of becoming prostitutes
- Inability to support their children
- Poor parenting
- Fear of becoming drug addicts, thieves and gamblers
- Truancy among school children
- The regular increase in food prices, cooking gas and transportation and electricity bills
- Unemployment
- Fear of the future
- Molestation of boys
- Teenage pregnancy
- The number of young people who have turned to drugs
- Lack of recreation facilities

Needs

- Jobs
- Money

- Education: More evening classes to develop ourselves and make wise decisions and choices
- Enough food
- Self-esteem
- Change in attitudes towards women
- More equal opportunities
- A women's group
- Good governance
- God

"Government should implement more evening and night programmes."

"More skills training centres so that women who are not academically inclined can learn a skill and improve their chances of getting a job."

"Teach managerial skills."

"Improve literacy."

1.4.2.5 SUGGESTIONS FOR ALLEVIATING AND REDUCING POVERTY

The women said that the following things would improve their situation and help them to move out of poverty.

- Jobs
"If we got a job things would be better."
"More work for poor people."
"Create more equal opportunities for women."
- Lower Cost of Living
"Government should do something about the cost of living."
- Loans
"Government must make more soft loans available."
"Loans from financial institutions to assist women to create self employment."
- More Educational and Training Programmes
"Better access to education."
"Free education at all levels."
"Build self-esteem in women so they can become independent."

1.4.3 YOUTH

One hundred and twenty-three young people participated in group discussions in eight of the communities. The majority were under thirty-five years of age; nearly half of them (48%) had been to secondary school and a small number had had some post-secondary education. Six had had no formal education. While many of them were students, four were farmers and four were teachers but thirty-seven of them were unemployed.

1.4.3.1 PERCEPTION, EXPERIENCE AND EFFECT OF POVERTY

All of the young people agreed that poverty is a situation in which people are unable to meet their basic needs.

"Insufficiency of basic needs."

"Cannot afford basic necessities."

"When basic needs are not met."

"Unable to eat three meals a day."

They also identified hard times, homelessness, having to struggle to deal with the high cost of living, poor health services, and low level of education and deprivation as characteristics of poverty.

Some of the youth considered themselves to be poor because they are deprived of money, jobs, food, and other things that they want.

- "No finance to further my studies."*
- "Not able to meet my daily needs."*
- "Need things like food and cannot buy it."*
- "Money. You can't do anything without money. Money talk for everything."*
- "Ah don't find poor people does get work."*
- "A job, you can't depend on your parents all your life."*
- "What will happen to the youth if they cannot get a job?"*
- "I need brand name sneakers and materials to build a house."*
- "I am not working so I cannot get the things I want."*
- "No money to spend."*
- "I cannot own a car, a house or land."*
- "Basic health care. I suffer from asthma and it difficult to get my medication every month."*

In addition some felt that they are deprived of recreational facilities.

These statements are indication that in addition to basic needs some young people expect to be able to further their education and to own certain consumer goods like cars and brand-name clothing as well as more tangible assets like house and land.

Although several of the youth said that they were not rich, they did not feel that

they were poor and some said that they were neither rich nor poor but in between.

- "I would not consider myself poor because I make money."*
- "Not poor because we receive all we need."*
- "I am neither poor nor rich because sometimes I does have things to eat and I have a place to stay, but I am nor rich because not every day I does have."*
- "I am in between."*
- "I am able to get something to live by."*
- "Whenever I want something I can get it."*
- "I am working to satisfy my basic needs."*

Some of the young men said that poverty makes them feel frustrated and angry but some of the young women said that while they also feel frustrated, poverty makes them feel bad, "less", downgraded, abandoned and left out. Others felt useless, ashamed, stressed and violent. All agreed that being poor can make them do things that they don't want to do.

- "Most times there is a smile on my face but deep down it hurts."*
- "It makes you feel bad."*
- "Make me feel neglected."*
- "Make you feel frustrated."*
- "Make me feel to commit suicide."*
- "You feel less than peers because they are better off then I am."*
- "When you poor you don't have a good feeling about yourself, you feel inferior."*

"It can cause you to thief."

"Lack of self confidence cause to do things you may not normally do."

Young people feel the impact of poverty very keenly. It lowers their self-esteem, makes them feel discriminated against, and prevents them from furthering their education.

"You must have a low self-esteem."

"Society sets us in a class."

"Rich people stay by themselves and are given more attention in shops and stores because you don't have the money to spend as them."

"Not able to further your education."

"Sometimes you want to continue your education but you don't have the money to do it."

"I was in NEWLO learning masonry but I had to drop out. No money. I just wish I had the money to go back."

"Things you have to do in secondary school we cannot do, like SBA and things to print and type."

"It contribute to poor grades and dropouts."

It also affects their health because they cannot eat nutritious meals and if they get sick cannot go to the doctor or buy the medication.

Poverty also affects their families and their relationships, especially with their parents, and sometimes with their partners.

"It is very difficult when only one member is working to support the whole family."

"You think it easy to know that you children not working and you not working, that enough to send me mother in the mad house."

"Lack of family support."

"Children may go astray on order to find love and basic needs."

"Make me start blaming my parents."

"I got two children, their father died and I am not working and it is very hard to take care of them."

Some of the young people are involved in activities that are illegal and that put them at risks. Among these are:

- Running contraband
- Selling drugs
- Catching lobsters in the closed season
- Stealing
- Prostitution
- Risky sexual behaviours
- Gangs
- Gambling
- Fighting

1.4.3.2 COPING AND SURVIVAL STRATEGIES

In addition to some of the illegal activities identified above some of the youth depend on help from family and friends to survive, some beg, others use what they have wisely. Some do part-time jobs during their vacations, others are just living one day at a time, and a few are looking to God.

"Sometimes the children uncle in America send clothes and food for them."

"We cooperate and share."

"We does beg."

"According to the old people we dey, dey."

"We holding on."

"We surviving."

"We do anything necessary."

"My mother and father not working."

"It very difficult because my father have to be on he foot every day to find things."

"My sister does help me out now and then."

"You won't be able to meet your basic needs because you can't depend on somebody to get something for you every day."

1.4.3.3 ACCESS TO RESOURCES

In order to survive young people need to have access to financial and other resources, including basic needs like good shelter, food and clothes; those who are unemployed need to have access to work and those who are students to text books, computers, and the internet. For a significant of the young people it is very difficult to get the resources that they need.

"Clothing for instance. A function coming up and they tell you dress formal or semi-formal but you don't have the clothes or the money to buy them."

"Very difficult because not all the time we get work."

"It not easy when you not working."

However, while they some of them depend on their parents for most of the resources that they need, because of poverty their parents are not always able to give them what they need. As a result they may have to depend on other relative or friends.

1.4.3.4 CHALLENGES, CONCERNS AND NEEDS

Apart from studying and helping with housework the young people who are students or are unemployed spend a lot of their time playing a variety of sports, and some are involved in youth groups, church, Red Cross, and Girl Guides. Some of the males also lime on the block with friends. Those who are employed and those with children have long days some of which lasts from four or five in the morning to ten or eleven at night.

Challenges

The young people face many challenges including lack of finance, insufficient educational opportunities, and inability to further their education. They are also challenged by peer pressure. Those who have children are challenged to find the means to provide for them.

Concerns

- The high level of unemployment among youth
- Difficulties young people might face in getting a job

- The low level of education
- Their inability to further their education.
- The possibility of dropping out or being expelled from school because of lack of money to pay school fees, buy text books and pay bus fares
- Inability to attend certain school activities because of lack of money
- Lack of recreational facilities
- Use of alcohol and drugs by youths
- Absence of role models
- Having to get into prostitution in order to get money to attend school regularly
- Peer pressure, bad influence of friends
- Rise in teenage pregnancies

Needs

- Money
- Lower cost of living
- A good education
- Skills to be able to open own businesses
- More job opportunities
- Jobs, better well paid jobs
- Library
- Strong family love and support

1.4.3.5 SUGGESTIONS FOR ALLEVIATING AND REDUCING POVERTY

The suggestions provided by the youth can be grouped according to their relationship to finance, education, employment, cooperation among

residents, equal treatment and community facilities and activities.

• **Finance**

- Lower cost of living
- Better paying jobs
- Funding to assist farmers
- Lower prices for medical attention

• **Education**

- More opportunities to allow youth to further their education
- Teach craft and other skills
- Educational workshops
- Teaching budgeting and personal finance

• **Employment**

- More job opportunities
- Factories for agro processing

• **Cooperation**

- Having peace, love and unity in the neighbourhood
- People coming together to help one another

• **Equal Treatment**

- More equalization
- Guidance and counselling
- Extend the school feeding programme to secondary schools

- A doctor and dentist stationed on Petit Martinique
- **Community Facilities and Activities**
 - Community centres
 - Recreational facilities
 - Well organized activities for young people

"Can't meet basic needs or necessities in terms of food and shelter."

"When you have nothing, nothing at all."

"When you are in need."

"When you are struggling."

"No money, real broke."

"Not able to support your family."

"Living from hand to mouth."

"Fighting to make ends meet."

"Living conditions are bad."

"A low standard of living."

"Not having anyone to turn to for help."

"No husband to help me."

1.4.4 UNEMPLOYMENT

Eighty-five persons participated in the group discussions in seven of the communities. It is significant to note that nearly two-thirds of them, (64.4%) were young people thirty-five years and under. Seventeen are married, forty are single and 32% are single parents. Just over thirty-seven percent (37.65%) had secondary education. All but two of the participants were unemployed.

Because they are unemployed, they cannot meet their basic needs: their survival is threatened.

1.4.4.1 PERCEPTION, EXPERIENCE AND EFFECT OF POVERTY

As with other groups, unemployed persons know that poverty makes it impossible for them to meet their basic needs and it sometimes means that one has nothing, including no money, is in need and is unable to support one's family. Consequently, one lives hand to mouth' and is always struggling to make ends meet. In addition, you may be living in poor conditions but has no one to whom to turn for help.

"Miss ah poor because I don't have a work and it real hard to get even the basic things."

"Because we are not working we can't find the money to buy things we need to survive."

"We are all poor."

Several persons said that they are poor because they are unemployed, and in one of the communities some blamed their situation on under-development of the parish and the unavailability of well paid jobs. On the other hand, some blamed their unemployment on political discrimination.

"Imagine I leave school three years now and I can't get a job."

"Well they say I am ah NDC, so I know I won't get anything."

"Yes ah poor I have no salary to get when the month come."

Poverty did not only prevent them from meeting their basic needs but determines their ability to send their children to school every day and to buy school materials for them as well as to give them the latest gadgets.

"Can't send the children to school every day because of lack of finances."

"Not able to buy school items."

"I need help to buy milk and pampers me alone can't do it."

"Not able to give them things that are in the latest style like sneakers, jeans, cell phones and I pods."

In one of the communities some blamed their situation on under-development of the parish and the unavailability of well paid jobs.

"I am not accustomed to this, I accustomed to working hard, but since I can't I don't have a job and it real hard for me."

"I am a certified mechanic looking for work."

The participants alleged that they are being deprived of several things and that this contributes to their poverty, chief among which are employment, good jobs, and money. A few said that they were being deprived of nutritious meals and of good medical care and that

this affects their health. Several are unable to eat balanced meals or to visit private doctors, to purchase medication, or to pay for medical procedures. In addition the stress of trying to survive on little takes a toll on their health and engaging in risky sexual behaviours puts them at risk of contacting sexually transmitted diseases.

"Most of the time we do not have a balanced diet, so resistance is low and we can get certain diseases."

"You vulnerable 'cause you not eating good food so you could get sick but then you don't have the money to buy medicine."

"When you poor you may not be able to get regular check-ups."

"We cannot buy the medicine we need."

"Mental and physical fatigue leads to stress and put a strain on the body."

"We can catch sexually transmitted diseases."

"Sickness is a stressful thing for me. I have to get an ultra sound and I don't have

"Children are sick and I can't afford medication, this makes me mentally unstable."

"Poverty brings on stress and anxiety."

"The stress brings a lot of headache."

"I would feel as if I going insane. I would clean the house over and over since I need to keep myself active to try not to think about the situation."

Some people also believed that they were being deprived of adequate housing and of a proper education.

However while education is available people do not often make the most of it.

"I have lots of regrets. If only I had took school more seriously I would be like my friend with a good job and I would not have to be ashamed of my situation and have people do as if they better than me."

A few of the males said that they were deprived of land.

"A piece of land where we could do some farming."

Poverty makes unemployed persons feel unhappy, frustrated and angry, stressed and depressed, embarrassed, left out, helpless inferior and dependent.

Information provided by unemployed persons shows that poverty has a negative impact on their lives and on their families and their relationships.

"It make my life very miserable."

"You can't really enjoy life."

"You hurt your children."

"When my father was alive things were good but now it real hard. I am not working and the little my mother working for have to stretch for all of us. I does feel shame to ask her for things sometimes."

"It can lead to family conflict and break up."

"If you don't have money she will leave you."

"You take the little money you have and give woman and she will still leave you."

"Me and my partner always in conflict because he cannot provide for my daily needs."

"There is a problem with our sexual life. Since we not working and bringing in an income, our partners are complaining and refusing to have sex with us."

Poverty can also leave people open to discrimination, exploitation and exclusion.

"Community class you and move different with you."

"Everybody does want to look down on poor people."

"People don't have no respect for you."

"Nobody don't listen to poor people."

People feel they could talk to you and treat you how they want because you poor."

"Men do you a lot of wickedness."

"Some men will offer help with intention of getting something in return"

1.4.4.2 COPING AND SURVIVAL STRATEGIES

Like others who are poor, unemployed people used a variety of strategies in order to cope and to sustain their livelihood. While some of these strategies are legitimate, others involve them being engaged in activities that are illegal and/or hazardous.

Among the former are making do with what they have and using it wisely, joining a *sou sou*, rely on remittances and help from family and friends, credit from the shop, begging, making sacrifices, doing odd jobs, and relying on God's grace.

"When ah don't have I do without or my mother help me."

"Ah beg the neighbours and friends."

"God's grace family and friends."

"Ah bweg the neighbours and friends."

"My father is a farmer and does send provision and things for me."

"My children give me a little something every now and then."

"I would walk round with a donation sheet."

"Try to get little side jobs."

"Cook one meal a day instead of three."

"Saving what little I can for difficult times."

"When strapped for cash, selling any little assets."

At the same time several persons admitted that they engage in illegal activities even though they are aware of the risks involved. Among these activities are gambling, stealing, selling drugs, and having several sexual partners.

"I used to gamble a lot."

"Gambling, use the last money I have in order to get more."

"Tempted to steal."

"If we credit and hide we run the risk of not getting anymore credit."

"Selling drugs."

"Sometimes we have to sell drugs to get money to feed ourselves and our families."

"We have to adopt immoral behaviour that is not acceptable by society."

"We get something from we side man and from prostituting."

"Fear of being caught and taken to prison."

"We fear unwanted pregnancies and the risk of catching STI's and HIV/AIDS."

"There is a risk to try to commit abortions using the local way."

1.4.4.3 ACCESS TO RESOURCES

The unemployed persons identified a number of resources that would help to move them out of poverty but they said that it was very difficult to obtain them.

"It is very difficult for me, even though I make little things to sell sometimes there is no money for sugar and no firewood to cook them."

"Trust me it is very hard."

"Very difficult because of prices and transportation."

While they agreed that they could get some resources from family or friends, they were of the view that there are some that the government could and should provide. The most important resources identified were well paid jobs and money. Others included shelter, water, public standpipes, land, and property.

"From family abroad."

"Remittances."

"My family could help but they selfish."

"It have people in society that could help."

"The government should provide food hampers, and vouchers to children to purchase uniforms."

"Pipe-borne water, proper shelter, medical facility, basic medication and recreational facilities."

"Industries."

"Getting a job with a monthly salary."

"Money."

1.4.4.4 CHALLENGES, CONCERNS AND NEEDS

The challenge for unemployed persons is find a job that pays well and to have access to more job opportunities, how to provide for their families and to find the money to assist their children to gain higher education, and owning a piece of land to build a house or to do some farming to help themselves. Making ends meet is also a major challenge for many.

Concerns

Among the major concerns are:

- Insufficient opportunities for improvement
- The high cost of living
- Unused wasteland
- Poor housing
- The increase in crime and violence
- Increase in the use of drugs by youth
- The high rate of truancy
- Neglect of children.

- The future of their children
- What will happen to them if they have a major illness
- If the die, nothing to leave their children

Needs

Unemployed people need:

- Jobs
- Money
- Land
- Food
- Help from the government
- Training in a variety of areas

1.4.4.5 SUGGESTIONS FOR ALLEVIATING AND REDUCING POVERTY

- Provide more opportunities for employment
- Organize job fairs
- Create more jobs, especially for women
- Increase wages
- Set up financial institutions to assist unemployed persons
- Make land and animals available to people who want to farm
- Implement a housing programme for poor people
- Encourage children to stay in school
- Give more government assistance to poor families
- Reduce pension age and increase the amount of pension from \$100.00 to \$1000.00
- Set up a fish processing plant

- Create a fishing cooperative
- Allow unemployed between 30 and 35 years to be part of the Imani programme
- Set up factories
- Re-establish some of the estates
- Distribute government land more equitably

1.4.5 THE ELDERLY

Sixty-seven elderly persons participated in the group discussions. Just under one third were between fifty-six and sixty-five years of age and thirteen were over sixty-five. Twenty-five of them were married, two were widows/widowers, and twenty-nine were grandparents. A few had no formal education but the majority had a primary education; only four had gone to secondary school. Several were farmers, a small number were fishermen and estate workers, several were unemployed and a few were housewives.

1.4.5.1 PERCEPTION, EXPERIENCE AND EFFECT OF POVERTY

The elderly persons who participated in the discussion defined poverty as inability to meet basic needs, especially of food and shelter, and also as not having any money to buy what they want. This causes them to suffer and to see trouble.

"When you don't have anything."

"I don't have anything at all."

"Cannot meet basic needs."

"Not having anything to eat."

"No food."

"I wonder where the next meal is coming from."

"Being in need."

"Ah can't buy the amount ah want."

"Not having a home."

"I live in an old house, I don't have chairs and when I walk my foot goes down in holes in the floor."

"I don't have a proper roof over my head."

"We don't have a proper house, the windows are damaged."

"Ah can't get me house, ah can't buy message."

"Is suffering we suffering."

"Always struggling to get the things you need."

"People seeing trouble."

Some emphasised the financial aspects of poverty.

"Poverty is when you cannot help yourself financially."

"When you do not have money to take care of your needs."

"When you cannot make ends meet."

"Not having an income."

"Money not stretching as it used to."

While a few elderly persons said that they were not poor, the majority believed that they were poor because in addition to their inability to meet their basic needs, poverty meant having to do without, finding it difficult to survive, having to depend on children and on others, and having to beg for charity.

"Most times I just have to take what I get."

"Ah poor because ah don't have enough to survive."

"I does have to depend on my children, when they don't have I don't have."

"I don't have enough I have to depend on others."

"Begging for charity."

"I have to beg all the time."

Because of poverty they felt that they were being deprived of food, of a good and constant source of income, of money, of proper shelter and of proper medical care. In terms of the latter several complained of not being able to eat nutritious meals, to afford medical attention, especially from specialists, and medication that they needed. This is in spite of the fact that there is access to public health services.

"Poverty affects our health."

"Can't afford proper food so have poor eating habits."

"I am undernourished."

"Deprived of proper medical care."

"I had a stroke on my left side but I still have to work to mind my children."

"Right now I am suffering from diabetes and hypertension and last month I did not have money to buy the medication so I had to do without."

"I am sick all the time because I cannot buy medicine."

"Sometimes I cannot even pay for medication."

In addition some feel deprived of company and care and of respect.

"We don't have much and don't have many people we can rely on for assistance."

"Very few people visit to have a little chat and keep us lively."

"We lose the love of children and grandchildren."

"Nobody cares about old people again; people don't have respect for elderly people anymore."

"Someone to keep my company."

A few were of the view that poverty deprived them of freedom including freedom of choice and to make certain decisions.

"When you poor you don't have the same freedom as other people. Everything you do you have to think well about it first, you can't just do this or that. Everything becomes a big decision, even the smallest things."

Because of these deprivations most feel that they are not only vulnerable but that they are more so than other groups, because of their dependency they are often at the mercy of others.

"When you have to depend on others for your daily bread you always at people mercy."

Elderly people who are poor feel sad, depressed and miserable, angry and frustrated, isolated, helpless and hopeless, and inferior.

"I feel sad."

"I feel depressed."

"Angry, not so I was, is so I come."

"Feel like life not worth living."

"I feel like a stupidity."

"I am useless."

A few people said that poverty or being poor does not affect them.

"It does not really affect me."

"It does not really affect me but I am aware of others in a worse situation."

"One day it good, one day it bad. Things up and down."

"I doesn't compare myself with nobody, Them is them and me is me."

"I am a proud woman, whether I have or not nobody don't have to know."

However the majority agreed that it had adverse effects on different aspects of their lives and a few were glad that they were nearing the end of their lives. For some others poverty has strengthened their faith in God

"Well it affect me with food, everything gone up so I can't buy some of the things I used to buy I have to cut back on the amount."

"I just glad I don't have a lot of time here again."

"It make me get closer to God I don't know how I would make it if he not helping me."

"We are already in old age and can die anytime so it does not bother us."

Poverty has also affected relationships with family members and neighbours

"Even your own children want to get on with you sometimes."

"Well sometimes your children don't even have themselves."

"I feel like I am a burden to my family."

"I hardly ever see them."

"Neighbours help out when they can."

"My neighbours good to me I can't complain, since my wife died I getting food every day."

1.4.5.2 COPING AND SURVIVAL STRATEGIES

The majority of elderly persons who participated in the discussions are finding it difficult to cope and to survive, especially in these times.

"I living in this world a long time and this is the worst I ever see. To me it was better in uncle time."

In addition to being unable to meet their basic needs some also have to care for grandchildren and this adds to their burden.

"My grandson living with me and most times I don't have nothing to give him."

"I have a big daughter in the house that don't do anything and there are times I have to mind her children for her too."

They therefore adopt a number of strategies to help them cope. Among these are: using the little they have wisely, rationing of food, cutting down on some things, depending on people and begging. A few do some gardening and take care of chickens or other animals and these activities bring in a small amount of money as well as contribute to food for the family. Some depend on remittances and others just try to make do with what they have.

"In order to survive try to manage the little I have wisely."

"Credit from the shop."

"My son does provide for me."

"Neighbours help out when they can."

"The kitchen garden help put food on the table."

"We try to grow what we can."

"Rear some animals."

"I look after an old man in the community."

"Sometimes my daughter in America sends a little money once a year."

"We try to make what we have do."

"We coping because we have faith."

1.4.5.3 ACCESS TO RESOURCES

Access to resources is vital to enable elderly people to survive but for many of them it is difficult to access or obtain those that they need. They identified money, food, proper housing with

amenities, and health care and medication as the most important resources to which they want access.

"Well everybody need food."

"A proper house."

"Right now my house has so many holes that someone can stay and hit me inside."

A comfortable place to live."

"I don't even have space to build a toilet."

"Proper health care."

"Ah want a good home, food and money."

A few also wanted a job, access to land and water, and free transportation.

"I am not working and the little my husband getting, sometimes it really can't make it."

"I need a job, if me and my husband working things would be better."

"I does worry about my job, things getting more hard and I can't afford to get lay off now."

"I get my water from the neighbour."

"The land I working don't belong to me, I wish I could get a piece."

"If I could get free transportation that would be good."

Many of the elderly said that they did not have access to these resources, that they had to depend on their children, other people or on the government for them and therefore often had to do without them.

1.4.5.4 CHALLENGES, CONCERNS AND NEEDS

Challenges

- Money is a major problem
- Having sufficient money to survive
- The high cost of food and medicine
- The high cost of transportation
- Making their lives more comfortable
- Coping with the disrespect shown by young people

Concerns

The elderly are not only concerned about the difficulties they face in order to survive, but they are also concerned about their future and their family's future.

- Being able to pay the bills
- Lack of proper medical care
- No doctor on the island
- How my children will make it in life
- About sickness and nobody to look after me
- About aging and losing the ability to work
- Fear of getting older and not being able to help self

Needs

- Money
- Jobs
- Food
- Proper housing
- Access to land

- More opportunities to make our way
- Free medical care including from specialists
- Free medication
- Health centres
- Health services once a week
- Free transportation
- Help with bills
- More assistance from government
- More activities for the elderly
- Some place for elderly to go and socialize

1.4.5.5 SUGGESTIONS FOR ALLEVIATING AND REDUCING POVERTY

- More jobs
- More access to money
- Reduce taxes
- Soft loans
- Increase pension
- Reduced cost of living
- More assistance from government
- Appointment of a community representative to deal with real issues. Someone to whom people can go and relate problems and get help
- More honest politicians
- Politicians to be more in touch with people. They just do things without finding out what people want
- More help from NGOs and the private sector
- A positive change in people's attitudes

1.5 HOUSEHOLDS

Poverty and deprivation are felt most keenly in households and it is in households that poverty is passed on from one generation to the next. Interviews were conducted with thirty-six heads of households, and in selecting the households to be interviewed, care was taken to include households of different types and that displayed different levels of poverty. Using a set of specific criteria, Field Research Facilitators used purposive sampling to identify households to be interviewed.

Using this sampling method, thirty-five households were selected to be interviewed. While this is a relatively small number of households, it can be assumed that some households in other communities not studied would have similar characteristics, and that people in some of those households would share some of the same types of experiences as the heads of households that were interviewed.

The interviews produced information about household members and their living conditions, about household assets and resources, and about the household economy and needs. Information obtained during the interviews also provided insights into the perceptions of household heads and about their experiences of poverty and deprivation, identified factors that contribute to the conditions within which members of the households live,

and indicated the support networks and strategies they use to survive and sustain their livelihoods. Information was also obtained on intra-household dynamics including social and gender roles and relationships, and the gender division of labour within the households.

1.5.1 THE INTERVIEWEES

Twenty-nine of the interviewees were female and six were male. The small number of males interviewed resulted from their absence in the single-parent female-headed households and in some multigenerational households. However since males and females perceive and experience poverty differently and since its impact on them is also different, the information obtained from the households studied may not accurately reflect the perceptions and experience of poor males who live in poor households or who are heads of those households, and who although sometimes absent, take responsibility for the survival of those households.

1.5.2 HOUSEHOLD CHARACTERISTICS

The households that were studied display several characteristics that contribute to or are result in their members being impoverished and having to live in poverty. Among these were the type and size of the house, the composition of the household, mating patterns and fertility of the head as well as of other members of the household,

intra-household dynamics and relationships, assets and resources to which household members have access and the economies of the households. These all play a part in determining not only the type and severity of poverty, but also the quality of life and the sense of well being that household members experience.

1.5.3 HOUSING CONDITIONS

Twenty-seven of the houses were built of wood, five of wall and wood and three of wall. Although a few had been rebuilt after hurricane Ivan, thirteen were weak structures and several were either leaking, had rotten floors, or both. A few were small with only one or two rooms but a large number had four or five rooms and three bedrooms, so overcrowding did not appear to be a problem.

Thirty-one houses had a kitchen inside but 19 had outside bathrooms, and twenty-five, used pit latrines. A few houses had no bathroom or toilet and in a few case, household disposed of faeces in the sea. Twenty households had access to pipe-borne water and ten got their water from tanks or cisterns; however, a small number got water from a spring or water hole. Importantly water from these sources was not always boiled. The majority of houses had electricity – twenty-six households, and telephones – twenty-seven households.

Electrical appliances are now regarded as necessities, not luxuries, and it appears that they are valued by most of the households studied. Twenty-five of the households had radios, sixteen had fridges, a significant number, twenty-two, had a television and a few had videos or DVD players. However only a small number had washing machines, two had a microwave and one had a computer.

Thirty-three had gas stoves, eight of which were tabletop models. The majority, twenty-nine, therefore used gas for cooking but when gas ran out and sometimes if there was no money to replace it, twenty-one used wood, and seventeen used charcoal.

A large number of the interviewees were not happy with the conditions in which they were living and some said that they would do anything to change them.

"I not in a comfortable house."

"Terrible conditions, the house leaking bad."

"Poor conditions things not rosy, it was better before Ivan."

"Things not good it rough."

"Don't like it, house leaking, no facilities."

"Very bad in need of things but can't get them."

"Struggling to live but better can't be done."

1.5.4 TYPE AND COMPOSITION OF HOUSEHOLDS

Of the thirty-five households studied ten were nuclear and nine were multi-generational. Eight were single-parent female-headed, but only three were single-parent male-headed. Three of the households were single person elderly households, one was an extended household, and one a sibling household.

One hundred and eighty-four persons lived in the thirty-five households. Eighty-eight of these were adults and ninety-six were children. Forty-two of the adults were males and forty-six females, and forty-five of the children were males and fifty-one were females. The nuclear households had sixty-seven persons, the largest number, and the multi-generational households had sixty-three persons. Single-parent female-headed households had forty-three persons but the three single-parent male-headed households only had seven.

One hundred and three children lived in the thirty-five households. Fifty-seven of them, twenty-seven males and thirty females were between the ages of six and twelve years of age, twenty eight, twelve males and sixteen females were teenagers between thirteen and

seventeen years old, and eighteen, ten males and eight females were under five years of age. Twelve of the children were in nursery school, forty-eight were in secondary school and thirteen were in secondary school. The majority went to school every day and only missed school if they were ill, but a few were sometimes kept home because of lack of uniforms, or money for lunch or transportation

In fifteen of the households there were persons with disabilities; in many cases they were being cared for by the head of the household and/or by other members of the household. Moreover there were no special systems in place to care for persons with disabilities so caring for persons with disabilities increased the challenges that heads and members of poor households face.

In an effort to cope some parents had made attempts to obtain assistance for their children. One mother whose seven-month old baby child has a cleft pallet is waiting on doctors from the USA who visit to fix it, and a father whose daughter is physically and mentally disabled met with a group to discuss ways of obtaining assistance but nothing came of it. Another child needs an orthopaedic shoe but the parent cannot afford it, and several adults as well as children need speech therapy.

TABLE 1.5: PERSONS WITH DISABILITIES

TYPE OF DISABILITY	SEX	AGE	TYPE OF HOUSEHOLD	COMMUNITY
Speech Impaired	Female	21	Nuclear	Apres Tout
Speech Impaired	Female	47	Nuclear	Apres Tout
Fits, Speech Impaired	Female	26	Nuclear	Bogles
Speech Impaired	Male	23	Nuclear	Bogles
Physical And Mental	Male	15	Multi-Generational	Clozier
Sight Impaired	Male	51	Nuclear	Clozier
Cleft Pallet	Female	Seven Months	Nuclear	Darbeau
Sight Impaired	Female	84	Single Person Elderly	Darvey/Prospect
Seizures, Speech Impaired , Damaged Foot	Female	4	Multi-Generational	Darvey/Prospect
Speech Impaired	Male	14	Single-Parent Female- Headed	Petit Martinique
Eye Problem	Male	12	Nuclear	Petit Martinique
Physical	Female	5	Nuclear	Post Royal
Physical, Damaged Foot	Male	52	Multi-Generational	Post Royal
Hearing Impaired	Female	9	Multi-Generational	Telescope
Physical And Mental	Female	5	Nuclear	Telescope

1.5.5 MARITAL STATUS, MATING PATTERNS AND FERTILITY

Marriage is still highly regarded in the society but common-law relationships are also widely accepted. The data show that thirteen of the interviewees were either married or in a common law relationship, and that the majority of these were long-standing relationships ranging from twenty to over thirty years. Six of the interviewees were in visiting relationships.

Serial mating and fertility patterns have resulted in early and multiple pregnancies for some women and some

have had several children for more than one man. One of the female respondents had had twelve children from five different males, two had had ten children from three males, two had had seven children from three males, and two had had five children from five different males.

Of the four women who had had all of their children for the same man, two had ten children, another had seven, and one had four. The data also show while the only male interviewee had had his first child as a teenager twenty-two of the female interviewees had had their first child in their teens. Seven had

had their first child at nineteen years, three at seventeen, and three at sixteen. Moreover seven had had their first child under the age of consent and two of the births had resulted from rape. Four had their first child at fifteen years, one at fourteen years and two at thirteen. In addition there were teenage mothers in four of the households studied and in one four-generational household the great grandmother, the grandmother, the mother and the daughter had all had their first child as teenagers. Teenage pregnancy appears to be a phenomenon in some households and residents in some of the communities identified it as a problem. In spite of this it appears there is little acknowledgement that men who impregnate teenage girls before the age of consent are breaking the law and there is little evidence that such males had been arrested or convicted for statutory rape.

1.5.6 HOUSEHOLD HEADSHIP

Interviewees identified several things that determined whether they were the head of the household. Among these were: ownership of the house, being the male husband or partner, absence of the male, age, being the eldest in the family, living alone, supporting the family.

"The house is mine."

"I is the man."

"He is the man in the house."

"Although the house is mine he told me he is the head because he is the man."

"My husband not here."

"I have no partner."

"I am the senior one."

"He provide money for food for me and the children."

The single male parents were heads of their households. In five of the nuclear households, males were heads, in two females were heads and in three both male and female were heads. In six of the multi-generational households females were heads, in three both males and females were heads and in one a male was the head. In the extended family, single-person elderly and in the sibling households females were heads and in the eight single-parent female-headed households, females were heads.

The data therefore show that the majority of the households were headed by females and that they had the major responsibility of providing for members of the households and for meeting their needs.

"I am the one in charge."

"I am the one that the children turn to for everything."

"I look after the home."

"I see about everything."

"I am the mother."

"Everything is mammy."

"My husband not taking the responsibility so everything up to me."

However many of these women have only a primary education and are either unemployed, underemployed or work

in jobs that pay very low wages. They therefore find it difficult to meet even the basic needs of their families or to send their children to school every day.

1.5.6.1 EDUCATION OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS

The level of education of a household head is an important indicator of the ability of household members to sustain their livelihoods, but the data show that the education of the heads of households is generally very low. One head of household had no formal education, twenty-six of the heads had some primary education but eight of these had not completed this level. Seven had some level of secondary education and six of these had not completed this level, and one had some technical and vocational education.

Twenty-one of the heads had dropped out before completing school. Six females had dropped out because of pregnancy, six because their parents could not afford to keep them in school, one because she was sickly, another because she could not learn. Five of the males had also dropped out, one because his parents had died, one to help at home, and one had run away.

Failure to acquire formal education, especially at the primary level can result in illiteracy and the data show that illiteracy and functional illiteracy are problems being experienced by several of the household heads. More than one third of the heads said that they had

problems reading and writing and a few of these said that they could only sign their names.

Adult and continuing education provides opportunities for people to get a second chance to complete and to expand their education, and while such programmes might well exist, the data show that all but one head of household were not participating in any such programmes. Moreover they gave the following reasons for not doing so.

"I don't know of any programmes."

"There are no classes in the area."

"No time, I have to work."

"No one to see about the children."

"I never thought of it."

"Not interested."

"The money not there."

"I can't read nor write."

From these responses, it is clear that much more must be done to stress the importance of adult education and to motivate residents in the communities studied, as well as in other communities to participate in adult education programmes.

On the other hand, in six of the households adults or children and grandchildren of household heads were participating in adult and continuing education programmes. It is interesting to note that five of these are females.

Participation in groups and community activities and programmes also provide

opportunities for people to interact with and learn from others. However, the data show that except for a few of the females who belonged to church groups, the majority of household heads did not belong to any groups or organizations and neither did they participate in any community activities or programmes. Some attributed this to the absence of community groups or activities in their communities.

1.5.6.2 HEALTH

Good nutrition and healthy diets contribute to good health but in most of the households food was scarce and many heads of households could not afford to eat well. Twenty of the interviewees, said that they only ate a balanced meal occasionally.

In the majority of households, babies had been breast-fed for periods ranging from three months to over one year, and all children had been vaccinated.

Sixteen persons said that they did not use contraceptives, and while a few of these were menopausal, most of the others said that some contraceptives did not agree with them or that they did not like condoms. Most children appeared to be healthy and suffered only from colds, however a few suffered from sinusitis and asthma, and some male children had scalp fungus, a condition that parents said was very difficult to cure. Several male and female adults in the households are suffering from lifestyle diseases, diabetes and

hypertension, some also suffer from arthritis and a few are obese. A small number of women also have fibroids, suffer from headaches and anaemia, and a few had heart problems and one had kidney stones. Several heads also said that they suffered from anxiety and depression.

1.5.6.3 POWER, AUTHORITY AND DECISION MAKING

Power and authority usually reside in the head of household or in persons who are responsible for the welfare of household members, who have or who control resources, who are older and who make the decisions. Such persons are seen as authority figures and as the ones who have power.

"I am the man, I do the major bull work, that's how the power come."

"He, because he is the one working, he supply our needs."

"The children don't challenge me they listen."

"My mother because she owns the home."

Gender is often a factor that is considered in determining whether the male or female head has the power and authority in the household. In single-parent male- or female-headed households there is usually no problem in identifying who has the power. However, the data show that in most of the nuclear households, power resided in the male, but in a few of these households, the males used their power to control and intimidate their partners.

"Because the house is his he feel he have to say what he want and I must not say anything."

"I have to ask him if to go out because he take care of us."

"If I going one way he will tell me don't go there."

"I signed for the material for the house, but he is the head but he is the head, he is the man."

"When he talk I listen."

In the majority of the households, decisions were made by the head but in a few there was joint decision-making. The major decisions were those related to the provision of food and other necessities for members of the households and to the management of the home.

1.5.6.4 INTRA-HOUSEHOLD DYNAMICS

In order to survive, people who live in the same households depend on each other for survival and should therefore develop harmonious relationships. Gender relations, parent-child relationships, sibling relationships and intergenerational relationships are critical for ensuring stability, mutual benefits from household resources, and for ensuring sustainable livelihoods of household members. However the data show that a significant number of relationships are not harmonious but that they are characterized by conflict and confrontation, by disrespect, abuse, quarrelling and fighting, and by domestic violence.

1.5.6.5 GENDER RELATIONSHIPS

Male and female interviewees, nineteen of whom were in relationships, spoke about their relationships and experiences with the opposite sex. Nineteen of them were in relationships, five were married, eight were in common-law relationships, and six in visiting relationships. The majority said that their relationships were good

"We have a good relationship."

"It OK so far."

"It OK, we only have small misunderstandings."

"It not good I trying to get him out, he don't help me with the children."

However, seven said that their relationships were characterized by conflicts, quarrels and threats and two of the interviewees had been victims of domestic violence, one in a previous relationship as well as in the current one.

"We quarrel now and then but we don't fight."

"We does curse each other."

"We does fight and quarrel."

"We curse often and we used to fight."

"When he drinks he quarrels and threatens me."

"We quarrel a lot because of my children."

"For twenty-two years it never improve."

While it is usually the male who is the abuser, in at least two cases females

were the ones threatening and abusing their partners. However, one seemed to be using violence either to retaliate or to protect herself from further violence.

"My wife has no control of herself, she threatens me with a cutlass."

"I have no say my partner controls me."

"He beats me but I does give as good as I get. If you bend down yuh head they walk on you."

"Even my first partner used to beat me."

1.5.6.6 PARENT CHILD RELATIONSHIPS

A major part of parents' responsibility is to provide, care for, supervise and discipline their children. However, many parents, especially single mothers and grandmothers, especially those who are impoverished, are often unable to fulfil these roles effectively and this affects their relationships with their children. Nine of them said that they did not have a good relationship with their children.

On the whole, children are not left unsupervised for long periods, and did not create problems for their parents. The latter attributed this to how they had trained their children.

"I train them since they small and I talk to them in the right way."

"I try to instil certain values in my children."

"They don't do anything wrong."

"I have a good relationship with my son. I am happy to be mother and father, I

didn't get good treatment from my father so as a father I am trying to be there for my son."

However, some said that they had problems most of which were behavioural and included disobedience, indiscipline, rudeness and unwillingness to help with household chores.

"Thy making me go round, they don't listen and they won't do anything in the house."

"They are disobedient."

"They harden and lazy."

"The big girl stubborn."

"When she go out and stay long I does worry whether she meeting boys, but she tell me she have no boyfriend."

The children curse and fight."

"Up to yesterday he was fighting."

"They don't hear when I talk to them."

"She fret up for me and watch me cross-eye."

"My husband used to curse me and the children doing the same thing."

Problems also exist in situations where the children may belong to one but not the other partner

"When their mother not here they behave well but once she is here they give a lot of trouble and get on bad, they answer her back."

"The big boy strays and molests other children."

"They need strict and better parenting."

Several strategies were used to discipline children. Among these were corporal punishment, scolding, banning and depriving of things.

"I does beat them sometimes."
"I beat them with a belt."
"I does beat them real bad."
"I talk to them."
"I ban them from going out and from going to functions."
"Ban them from TV."
"I take away they money."
"I don't give them no food."

One of the parents commented on the ineffectiveness of corporal punishment..

"I used to beat them before but find it didn't serve no purpose. When you beat them it makes them more harden, so I now talk to them."

1.5.6.7 SIBLING RELATIONSHIPS

In many of the households siblings related well to each other. They did things together, played and shared jokes. However in a few of the households this is not the case as siblings quarrel and fight sometimes.

1.5.6.8 INTER-GENERATIONAL RELATIONSHIPS

Information provided by interviewees revealed the type and quality of relationships between children, young people and adults. In multi-generational households this included relationships with grandparents. On the whole

relations were good, children respected the adults, and followed their instructions.

"The relationship is good."
"He respects me."
"She don't show rudeness she listens when I scold her."
"She respect people in the community."
"She have a good relationship with her grandfather."

However a few showed little respect for adults including for their grandparents.

"Her children don't have respect for adults, the mother don't enforce it."
"She get vex when they speak to her."
"No respect for her grandmother."

1.5.6.9 GENDER DIVISION OF LABOUR

In all of the households studied housework is organized along gender lines. As a result females do practically all of the household chores. However, while few adult males did any household chores, in some households male as well as female children do them. On the other hand, children in a few of the households are unwilling to help in the house.

The data confirm the belief that females are expected to be fully responsible for care and maintenance of the house and for doing all of the household chores and that the role of males in this process is "to help" when or if they are so inclined.

1.5.7 HOUSEHOLD ASSETS AND RESOURCES

The assets that members of a household own and the resources to which they have access can determine if they will be able to meet their basic needs and to sustain their livelihoods. However many of the household heads interviewed had few assets and/or little access to the kind and amount of resources that they need to sustain their livelihoods, or to help them move out of poverty.

Assets include household goods and other things that can be translated into cash in times of need or emergency. They also include financial resources and social capital, the knowledge, skills and competencies of household members.

Ownership of property and household goods are important and valuable assets and the data show that interviewees valued home ownership because most of them own the house in which they live and the land on which their house is built. Fourteen of the interviewees are living on family land and five are squatting. This means that money that would otherwise go in house and land rent is available to meet other needs.

Most households do have some furniture, however in some cases this comprises only of a bed, a chair and sometimes a table and they may not always be in a good condition. In six of the households there was no furniture at

all. Persons in eleven households owned livestock including sheep, goats and rabbits, two men had fishing boats, two had some farm equipment and two had vehicles. However seven of the household heads had no household goods at all.

While members of a household may not always realize it, social capital is also an important asset that, in the absence of other tangible assets, household members use to sustain their livelihoods, especially those in poor or impoverished households. During interviews with household heads they were asked to identify skills that they or other members of the household had. Some people found this difficult or said that they had no skills, but the data show that members of several of the households do have some skills. Moreover the information provided by interviewees on the strategies that they use to cope and survive is evidence that they are making use of their individual knowledge, skills and competencies as well as of that of household members, relatives and neighbours.

Access to financial resources is critical for sustaining livelihoods. In the households studied, twenty-five persons had savings accounts but the majority said that the amounts were small. Eighteen persons got wages or salaries, two were members of a credit union and three belonged to a *sou sou*. However, in spite of having these resources, the majority of the interviewees had little access to the amount of money they

needed to meet their basic needs, to provide for their families and to sustain their livelihoods.

Credit is a resource that is available and twenty-six of the interviewees said that they used credit, and while seven of these had credited furniture from Singer, or Courts, a few men had borrowed to buy fishing boats and vehicles. On the other hand, thirteen had taken credit from shops in their communities. This suggests that credit was an important resource for meeting a basic need for food and for ensuring that heads of households could feed their families.

Community facilities and services are resources to which household members can have access, but such access can be limited by distance. However usage and satisfaction with services being offered is determined by their type, number and quality. The data show that several of the communities are not well served with facilities like health centres and residents may have to travel long distances to access the services that are provided. This is the case in Clozier where individuals complain about the distance they must travel to a health centre and the long waiting hours to see a doctor.

On another level, while several interviewees were dissatisfied with the service as well as with the attitude of some of the providers and pointed to the lack of equipment, others were

unaware of what services were available. This was especially so in Carriacou and Petit Martinique.

1.5.8 HOUSEHOLD ECONOMIES AND SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOODS

Household economies depend on the amount of money that is available as well as the sources from which household members get an income. This depends on whether the latter are employed or not, on the type of jobs they do, and on their incomes. The incomes of the households studied are very fragile and many of the household heads have little, if any disposable income. This added to the high cost of living makes it difficult for them to sustain their livelihoods.

"Cost of living high, but salaries low."

"Things too expensive."

"Sometimes the money I get just enough to pay the shop."

"It rough especially when fish not there."

I get up in the morning and only have \$5.00. It's a challenge."

Twenty-nine males and twenty-one females were employed and forty-four, twelve males and thirty-two females were unemployed. Nearly three times as many females (32) were therefore unemployed as males (12), and given that more of the households were headed by females than males the former would find it more difficult to sustain their livelihoods.

While in the nuclear households eight persons are employed, in the multi-generational sixteen were employed. In the single-parent female-headed households, eighteen persons were employed and seven were unemployed, however, all of the single-parent males were employed. Everyone in the single-person elderly households and in the sibling households were unemployed and in the extended household one female was employed and the other was unemployed.

Fifteen persons were employed full-time, nine part-time and six on a seasonal basis. Some people did odd jobs and a few were vendors, but while some in rural communities depended on agriculture, returns from this were low; as a result many used this activity to produce for domestic consumption. The data also show that there are gender differences in terms of economic activity as well as in sources of income. While it appears that a significant number of persons were employed, further analysis shows that because many of those who are employed were earning low wages, they could be termed the "working poor". At the same time there is a gender differentiation in the labour market because a significant number of males were earning their incomes from construction and fishing which paid higher wages than the domestic work and vending on which several women depended for their incomes. A few households depend on remittances, on

pensions, or help from children and/or public assistance.

In terms of income levels, twenty-two of the households have incomes ranging between two and four hundred dollars. Eight have this amount per week, eight per fortnight and six per month. Seven households have incomes between five and seven hundred dollars, one per week, two per fortnight and three per month. Two have incomes above eight hundred dollars and four better-off households have incomes of over two thousand dollars per month. The majority of household heads said that the amount of income was insufficient to meet basic needs and to provide for their families and that they while they spent most of the money on food they found it difficult to manage.

"God does provide."

"I does sell cigarettes."

"It not enough but I have to make it do."

"My mother gives me food."

"When it finish I does credit."

"I does try with it."

"We fight with what we have."

"Little things from the garden."

"Catholic nuns give me clothes and foodstuff."

1.5.9 HOUSEHOLD POVERTY

During the community workshops participants had an opportunity to estimate the number of poor households in their community, and in the interviews heads of households were asked whether they considered

themselves to be poor or not. While it was important to obtain their views on this, widely accepted objective indicators were mainly used to determine which of the households studied were poor or not.

Among these were the type, size and condition of housing; the type and number of household assets and resources; the household economy including number of household members employed and unemployed; sources and amount of household income; availability, access, use and quality of public facilities and services; and the quality of life and sense of well being enjoyed by household members.

As can be seen in Table 1.6, ten of the households were very poor, sixteen were poor, nine were better-off and none were considered to be rich. More

of the households are therefore either very poor or poor. The nuclear households were the poorest followed by multi-generational and single parent female headed households.

While there are a smaller number of better-off households, it is important to note that residents in all of the communities are aware of the factors that make some households better off than the large numbers of poor or very poor households.

Living conditions in the better-off households are better, houses are in better condition and have more and better amenities, more household members are employed and working for better wages than their counterparts in poor households, and they have more assets and financial resources.

TABLE 1.6: TYPE OF HOUSEHOLD AND LEVEL OF POVERTY

HOUSEHOLDS	VERY POOR	POOR	BETTER OFF	TOTAL
Nuclear	5	4	1	10
Single parent female headed	2	5	1	8
Single parent male headed		1	2	3
Extended			1	1
Multi-generational	2	5	2	9
Single person elderly	1	1	1	3
Sibling			1	1
TOTAL	10	16	9	35

1.5.9 PERCEPTION, EXPERIENCE, EFFECT AND IMPACT OF POVERTY

All of the interviewees understand what poverty is, what it means and how it affects them and impacts on their lives. For some poverty means having nothing, not having a job, not being able to eat, inability to afford things that you want, and being unable to help yourself.

"Poverty is when you do have anything."

"When you don't have a job."

"Everybody working and I not working."

"When you don't have money."

"When you can't buy the things you need."

"Nothing to eat."

For days nothing to eat or drink."

"Can't afford to get the things you want."

"When you poor you can't send your children to school."

Others believe that poverty places you in situation from which it is difficult to emerge and so you have to suffer.

"Can't make ends meet."

"Can't support help yourself."

"When you have no place to live."

"Poverty is a burden."

"No one to help you."

"Long time I used to get foodstuff from neighbours but now I have to buy everything."

Twenty-five of the interviewees said that they were poor. Some because they were unemployed, some because they were unable to feed their children, and some because they had nothing not even clothes.

"I not working."

"I poor money wise so I have to stay down."

"I want to buy but I can't."

"I don't have anything."

"I have no food to give the children."

"I can't buy clothes I only have the clothes I have on."

Several introduced the concept of relative poverty and were of the view that when they compared themselves to others, while they were poor there were others who were poorer than they were.

"I am poor but at least I have a roof over my head."

"I am the poorest person in Petit Martinique."

"Everybody can't have some people are lucky."

"Other people in better position"

"I very poor I don't have nothing and I struggling to survive but some people are poorer than me."

The large number of interviewees, viz. twenty-three, who said that they came from poor families and who still consider themselves to be poor, is evidence of the existence of chronic,

long-term poverty and that this phenomenon has continued over generations. Among the reasons given for this were poor parents, mainly mothers, who had few if any resources to provide for their children, were employed in low paying jobs on the estates, and had a large number of children,

"Family poor from start."

"I came from a poor family."

"I come from a poor family, I born and meet them poor."

"My parents didn't have anything but a little old house and so did my husband people too."

"They didn't have a good job, mother worked in the estate for forty-five years."

"I came up in a very poor family, they worked in agriculture just as me."

"Mother struggle to mind us."

"My mother had eleven children but only a small house with no furniture."

Consequently, while several blamed their parents a few blamed themselves and took responsibility for their being poor.

"When I left school I didn't look for work I just stayed at home doing nothing."

"The government did not give me any work."

"Ignorance caused me to be here."

However, several interviewees were of the view that things would change, that their situation would improve, and that they would be able to move out of poverty. Some think that this will be possible if they can get a job, some that when their children are grown and are working, some think that they need help to move out of poverty and others that if they put their trust in God things will change.

"If I get a job."

"To get a job, but I look all about already can't get any."

"One of these days if I get a job to get money I will open a shop."

"When the children get big and are working."

"One day things will change with the help of God."

Interviewees who said that they were poor shared how living in poverty made them feel. Some felt old and bad, unhappy, sad, hurt, and depressed, some feel frustrated and angry, some helpless, and others tempted to do "wrong" things.

"I can't feel good."

"Ah feel real bad, sometimes ah want a piece of meat but don't have the money."

"I feel unhappy."

"I feel funny, cut up inside feel to go off sometimes."

"I feel stressed."

"I feel to move out of Grenada and get work."

"I feel sad when I want something and can't get it."

"I feel down."

"Days I don't feel good, I studying that I don't have anybody with me."

"Knowing that other people have may make me want to touch other people things, to steal."

"I does feel to prostitute, by I say no because of AIDs and STIs."

"Like doing all kind of wrong things like going to rob."

Some have accepted their position and are contented and satisfied and therefore have no negative feelings.

"Ah don't feel no way. I poor already so I satisfied."

"I feel good because I don't expect nothing else."

"I feel down but I not jealous of nobody."

"I not taking it on."

"I poor but don't think about, someday things will be OK."

The interviewees said that poverty affected several aspects of their lives including their health, their relationships, their ability to provide for their children, to send them to school, and to allow them to further their education, their ability to do things that would like, and how they are treated by others.

Health

"I have pressure and kidney stones."

"I feel nervous and stressed like a load on my chest. I spend seventeen days in the hospital."

"I get severe headaches."

I have diabetes and hypertension."

"Sometimes (for) days we don't cook."

"I don't get the right food."

"Hungry."

"I can't always buy the medicine so I have to do without."

"My pressure high because of anxiety about where to get money for medication."

Relationships

"My partner working and I depend on him so he cut style on me."

I feel bad because I have to depend on my partner."

"He don't really help me, so I get angry and quarrel about his drinking."

"My sister not sympathetic."

"My partner will not help."

"Loneliness, I there alone."

Effect on Children

"I see a lot of problems with the children."

"I can't provide."

"I can't give the children what they want."

"Children have to stay home from school."

"I want to send the children to college but can't afford."

"My children understand they don't make nobody know they keep it to themselves."

"They understand they know the struggle."

"The children not content, they quarrel with me, ridicule and insult me."

Prevented from doing things that they would like.

"I want to add on a kitchen and bath but don't have the means."

"I would like to do some sewing but have no machine."

"I would like to have a nice house, a bed for the girl."

"Can't go where I want, no money, no good clothes."

"I want to further my education and to develop some skills."

"Yes, I want to open a little business."

"Yes I want a partner but can't get one."

Treated differently

"People treat me like a dog, like nobody."

"I don't go out I feel ashamed that people would talk about me."

"People think they more than you."

"My neighbours don't like me they talk about me."

"People throw it in your face if you ask them for help."

"I work on the estate but there is nobody to make sure we are treated fairly."

"The neighbours curse me and throw pee."

"People talk about me."

"They scorn me and my children."

"The whole area poor so people don't treat me different."

1.5.9.2 COPING AND SURVIVAL STRATEGIES

Because of low levels of income, household members face many hardships and challenges and they find it difficult to cope. They have therefore adopted a number of strategies to help them survive. Among these are: using their resources carefully, prioritizing, crediting, begging, and making do, and a few turn to alcohol.

"I make a priority list and buy the most important things first."

"I sell little things from the garden and this helps."

"I have to squeeze the money to make it do."

"I does cut the money."

"I have to beg sometimes."

"Credit till I get money to pay."

"Budget."

"Whatever my husband give me I make it do."

"I talk to the children about the amount of money we have."

"I does plan how to spend it."

"I does gamble."

"I skip some meals."

Some said that it is a challenge to sustain their livelihoods and that they sometimes have to take risks in order to survive.

"To survive is hard."

"It is a challenge my husband will buy rum and only give me \$5.00 or \$10.00."

"I take things from my mother but can't let my husband know."

"It risky being alone in the garden in the hills, if night fall and I can't get back, no one will know till they don't see me."

"I took a risk by buying the bus to do tours with tourists."

"Sometimes when I hunting."

"Going to sea to fish is a risk."

"I have to hustle, I have a security job and I can't sleep so it affecting my health."

"The law say don't sell by the school, but I break the law and sell in my shop next to the school."

"Trusting from the shop and don't know how I going to pay."

1.5.9.3 QUALITY OF LIFE AND SENSE OF WELL BEING

Quality of life and sense of well being do not only depend on ownership of or access to material and financial material resources. Moreover while most of the interviewees acknowledged that while these were important there were other things that were also important indicators of the quality of their lives and of their sense of well being. At the same time, while an acceptable standard of living and a good quality of life do contribute to a sense of well being, there is often a gap between these aspirations and expectations that is characterized by a sense of "ill being." Many of the interviewees in the poorer households in describing their lives commented on their state of ill being poverty stricken conditions.

Quality of life and sense of well being reflect the richness of people's lived

experience; it describes how their lives are progressing, how satisfied they are and how they feel about their lives. Positive feelings; relationships; a sense of trust and belonging, self-esteem; a sense of purpose; opportunities to realise potential; autonomy; resilience; involvement in societal processes; and a sense of fulfilment are also factors that contribute to a good quality of life and a sense of well being.

The majority of interviewees emphasized the economic aspect of well being and the need for jobs and money to be able to enjoy a good quality of life, and many dreamed of being able to change their situation and to have a better life. However, they are handicapped by their poverty and by the absence of the type and amount of resources that they need to make their dreams come true.

While the conditions in which people live and the availability of financial resources contribute to the quality of their lives and to their sense of well being, interviewees also believed that other things that facilitate psychological, emotional and spiritual well being were also important. Among those things they identified:

- Being able to walk with their heads held high
- Not being ashamed of who they are
- High self-esteem
- Acceptance of God
- Companionship

- Peace of mind
- Living in love and harmony
- Love of children
- A sense of belonging
- Trust and respect for and from others
- Good relationships with family, friends and neighbours
- High self-esteem
- Being happy
- Being able to help others
- Good health
- A mind free from worry

However the data show that while many of the interviewees longed for these things, few possessed them. The data also show that many of the interviewees who live in poor households are not only dissatisfied with the conditions under which they are living, and with the quality of their lives, but also with their relationships. As a result they experience a sense of 'ill' rather than well being.

1.5.10 POVERTY ALLEVIATION

Government and civil society organizations have taken a number of initiatives to alleviate and to reduce poverty. Information obtained in the PPA indicate that government as well as NGOs have implemented some programmes intended to improve living conditions in poor communities. Some of these initiatives would have contributed to improvements in living conditions, and might have decreased poverty in a few of the households.

Among the government initiatives identified were road works, the Imani Project, food vouchers, school books and uniforms, community centres in three communities and a preschool. While eight of the interviewees said that their households had benefited from government programmes, sixteen said that they had not, and a few of these cited political affiliation as the reason. Some of the interviewees also said that they either did not know of any such initiatives, and that the government is not doing anything in their community; a few were of the view that the government should do more.

Some of the interviewees shared experiences of unsuccessful attempts to obtain assistance from government.

"I ask for a fortnight work but was turned down."

"My name was on for a food basket but it was taken off, I don't know why."

"I applied but heard nothing."

"They come and take information but never come back."

Interviewees only mentioned two NGOs that in their opinion had contributed to improvement in living conditions. These were GRENCODA and the Red Cross. Both of these organizations had helped some of the interviewees to replace or repair houses that had been destroyed by Ivan. In addition, the former had provided training and school books.

1.5.11 HOUSEHOLD NEEDS

The information provided by heads of households and from some other adults in the households studied provide concrete and reliable data that highlight some of the challenges and problems that household members face in their attempts to meet their basic needs and to sustain their livelihoods. Many of these were related to their inability to meet their basic needs and interviewees identified some of the things that they needed in order to improve their living conditions and for their households to move out of poverty.

The three most urgent needs identified were money, food and jobs. Twenty of the interviewees said that they needed money urgently in order to be able to feed their families. This was evidenced by the fact that nineteen of them also identified food as an urgent need, and that twenty of them said that they needed a job urgently. This suggests that they were willing to work.

Sixteen of them also identified housing as an urgent need. The data do show that inadequate housing is a serious problem both in terms of type and quality and while some attempts have been made after Ivan to address this problem, it still poses a problem to nearly half of the households studied.

Educational opportunities, medication, and furniture were also identified as needs. In addition elderly persons

needed companionship and someone with whom to talk.

1.6 DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

Activities conducted during the PPA generated a large amount of qualitative data that increase understanding of the types and levels of poverty and of the factors that contribute to its existence and that reinforce and perpetuate it. The data obtained from those who participated in the various PPA activities also increase understanding of what it means to be poor and to live in impoverished conditions. In addition, it also draws attention to the negative outcomes and impact that poverty has on individuals, groups, households and communities.

Analysis of the data also reveals some of the initiatives that have been taken to improve living conditions; the data also reveal a number of issues that must be addressed to ensure that such initiatives can actually contribute to poverty alleviation and reduction.

1.6.1 POVERTY

Those who live in poverty are aware and understand that it is multi-dimensional, that it means being deprived of essential things, and that deprivation affects all aspects of their lives in negative ways. However, while they see deprivation of basic needs as a

threat to their survival, they are also aware that other things of which they are deprived also contribute to their impoverished condition.

Any attempt to address the issue of poverty and to alleviate it must therefore consider all of its dimensions and be based on an understanding of how each impacts on the lives of the poor and on the impoverished conditions in which they live.

The data show that all of the communities studied displayed characteristics of poverty that ranged from severe to moderate and that many of the households in these communities were either very poor or poor, and that only a minority of them were better off.

The dimension of poverty with which most people were concerned is the economic dimension and they saw that this is the fundamental cause of their poverty. Lack of financial resources prevents them from meeting even their basic needs and is a major factor that contributes to their poverty.

At the same time they understand that the social, psychological and emotional dimensions of poverty diminish their self-esteem, increase their dependency on others and their feelings of powerlessness and decrease their ability to improve their situation or to move out of poverty.

Therefore while poverty alleviation initiatives must provide opportunities to improve poor people's financial status, it is also essential that they pay attention to the social, psychological and emotional dimensions of poverty. This will entail providing opportunities and programmes that will develop and empower individuals and help them to become self reliant.

1.6.2 CONTRIBUTING FACTORS

Residents in all of the communities identified lack of money and of jobs as the main causes of their poverty, but they also identified other things that are responsible for their impoverished state. Among these are poor housing and unacceptable living conditions, few assets and resources, low levels of education, lack of marketable skills, and limited access to facilities and services.

The data show that several houses were damaged by Ivan and that while some of these have been repaired, inadequate housing is still a problem and several people are still living in houses which are in need of extensive repairs. At the same time some houses lack basic amenities and utilities including lack of bathrooms and toilets. In Gouyave in the absence of such facilities some residents dispose of faeces in the sea, but this has serious implications for health because fishing is an important activity in this community.

Ownership of assets and access to resources enables individuals and households to maintain a good standard of living and increases their ability to effectively respond to shocks and crises. While the majority of heads of households said that money is the most important asset, the data show that for most of them, money is scarce and because of this, many are unable to access several other important resources that they need, especially food.

Food is an essential resource but a significant number of heads of households and many of those who participated in focus group discussions indicated that because of lack of money they are unable to provide enough of and/or the right kind of food for their families, including for their children. The food security of their households is therefore threatened and lack of food has serious implications for the health of children and elderly persons.

The data do show that several people do own the house in which they live but except for this and a few items of furniture, many respondents own few other assets. However while furniture is usually owned by females, a small number of males own animals and vehicles.

Many residents living in the poor communities that were studied also have other assets about which they are unaware. These are the skills that they use to survive. The data show that poor

people use a number of skills that enable them function and to survive. They are creative and skilled in using a number of different strategies and they identify and make maximum use of scarce resources. They also use their mental and social capital to build relationships with others and to cooperate and support each other. This is evident from the way in which residents in several communities assist each other and share resources like foodstuff. While residents did not always regard these as assets, the way in which they have used these has helped them to survive, and to improve their conditions somewhat.

Low levels of education also contribute to poverty, and the data show that a large number of the heads of households had only primary education. At the same time while a few of the household heads had been to secondary school they had not completed their secondary education or received any certificates. By their own admission, one third of the household heads were either illiterate or functionally illiterate. Moreover few if any of those who participated in the PPA activities were involved in any adult education programmes. These findings draw attention to the link between education and poverty and highlight the need not only to increase the number, type, and scope of adult and continuing education programmes, but to adopt strategies to motivate

people to participate in these programmes.

1.6.3 ACCESS TO FACILITIES AND SERVICES

In the absence of sufficient assets and limited access to resources, many poor individuals and households rely on and use facilities and services provided by government and civil society organizations. The facilities are vehicles through which services are provided and programmes implemented to provide assistance and support to community residents. However, even when such facilities and services exist, the extent to which residents can access and use them depends on distance, type and condition of facilities, hours and time of delivery, cost and quality of the service and the attitude of providers.

The data show that many of the communities studied are not well served with facilities and services. Schools, health centres, community centres and recreational facilities are available in only a few of the communities. As a result residents in some communities have to travel long distances to obtain some of the services on which they depend.

The majority of people in poor communities are unable to afford private health care so they depend on the services provided by health clinics. However, these are present in only two of the communities studied so residents from the other communities have to

travel some distance to health clinics in other communities. While several said that the services provided are either good or OK, some others, especially the elderly, complained about poor service, absence or irregular visits by doctors, poor attitudes of health professionals, and unavailability of vital medication. Consequently although public health services are provided either free of charge or at very low cost, some poor individuals are unable to pay even the nominal fee. It is therefore important to that free health care be made available to the very poor, that its quality be improved, and that medication be available free of cost, especially to the very poor and the elderly.

There is concern about the number of unemployed young people and their involvement in crime and other illegal activities, and there is a belief that recreational facilities would provide opportunities for young people to be involved in wholesome activities. However while the data show that there are recreational facilities in five communities some of these need upgrading and proper upkeep. In those communities in which there are no such facilities residents feel that they are needed.

Community centres are places where residents can meet to socialize and engage in a variety of activities; resource centres with computers and internet access can provide opportunities for students to increase the knowledge and

skills they need to enhance their school work and improve their performance. They can also provide opportunities for adults to continue their education. However, community centres are only present in four of the communities and there are no resource centres in any of the communities. Given the low levels of education of most of the residents and heads of households in all of the communities, it is important that some provision be made to provide community and resource centres that would facilitate greater involvement of residents in educational activities and programmes.

Government has invested some resources to provide facilities in communities and to provide services that are intended to improve living conditions and to meet some of the needs of community members. However, the data suggest that in many of the communities studied facilities and services are either few or insufficient, that residents are unable to access them and in some cases are dissatisfied with services provided. It may therefore be important and useful to do an assessment of existing facilities and services and to get from residents their views about their expectations as well as their ideas for improvement.

1.6.4 VULNERABLE GROUPS

Analysis of information obtained during all PPA activities indicates that some groups in poor communities are more

vulnerable than others. The data provide evidence that children, single female parents, the elderly, and people with disabilities are the most vulnerable.

1.6.4.1 CHILDREN

There are a significant number of children living in poor households and practically everyone who participated in the various activities agreed that children are the ones most affected by poverty. Several parents and grandparents are concerned about their inability to provide food for their children and to ensure that they can pursue and benefit from available educational opportunities. At the same time, delinquency and indiscipline is a problem in several of the communities.

Teenage pregnancy was identified as a serious problem in six of the nine communities studied; the data received suggest that some teenage mothers were under the age of consent. Having sex with girls under the age of consent is statutory rape and is regarded as a crime, but during the PPA no evidence was provided to show that any of the men who had impregnated these young girls had been charged with statutory rape.

It is also well recognised that teenage pregnancies and premature motherhood can be injurious to children's health and can prevent girls from pursuing and/or completing their formal education. The data also show that several of the female heads of households had their first child

during their teens and that many of them had had to leave school as a result. Information provided by some interviewees also suggests that in some cases teenage pregnancy can contribute to as well as result from poverty. For example several poor heads of households were themselves teenage mothers, and several parents who participated in focus group discussions consistently lamented the fact that they are unable to provide for their children and to allow them to pursue further education. The issue of teenage pregnancy has many implications for the future of young girls as well as for that of the society as a whole. It is therefore one that will have to be addressed at the national level.

1.6.4.2 WOMEN WHO ARE SOLELY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE WELFARE OF THEIR FAMILIES

Women are taught through gender socialization and a significant number therefore come to believe that a relationship with and dependency on a man are essential for their survival. However, the data show that significant numbers of women who are single parents and who are heads of multi-generational households are solely responsible for the welfare of their families.

The data show that many of these women have only primary education and few marketable skills, so that they are either unemployed or working for very low wages, often in part-time or

seasonal jobs. However they are solely responsible for providing for their families and for maintaining their homes. Many of these women are vulnerable because they are sometimes forced to engage in activities that put them at risk and contribute to their exploitation and abuse.

One of the survival strategies used by some women is to request financial assistance from men and the data show that several of the female heads of households had children for more than one man. Another survival strategy used by some women is prostitution, and while all of the women who were interviewed or who participated in focus group discussions realize that engaging in this activity puts them at risk of contracting STIs or HIV/AIDS, some did admit that they sometimes have to prostitute themselves.

Research has shown that even if some women who are heads of household are working, their wages are insufficient to meet their basic needs and those of their children, much less to pull their households out of poverty. Such women therefore need a great deal of assistance; although data obtained during the PPA show that some women did receive some assistance with school books and uniforms, many others did not. At the same time, many poor women who are solely responsible for meeting the needs of their families, are unable to provide other things, like clothes, enough food

or the nutritious meals that their children need.

While it is necessary to provide some assistance to these women, this is a short term measure, and a more long term strategy is needed. One such strategy is to provide opportunities for poor women to improve their education and to acquire skills that they can use either to obtain employment or to become self-employed.

1.6.4.3 THE ELDERLY

Poverty has several negative effects on elderly persons, many of whom are too old to be employed, or to work to sustain their livelihoods. Several, therefore have to depend on their children, on other relatives or on assistance from the government. Some elderly persons receive and depend on remittances and other gifts from relatives and friends at home and abroad but often these are not received on a regular basis. Some others depend on welfare and assistance from the government, but while this is welcomed, the amounts they receive are often too small to allow them to meet even their most basic needs.

The health of elderly persons is seriously affected by poverty. This is so because many of them are diabetic, and/or suffer from hypertension but are unable to afford private health care or to purchase medication from public pharmacies. They therefore depend on public health clinics, but according to

them, sometimes the clinics do not have the medication that they need. As a result, some have to do without medication on a regular basis, but this puts them at risk and compromises their health.

Many elderly people who live alone feel abandoned and do not receive the type and quality of care that they need. In all but one of the communities studied there are no activities specifically designed for the elderly and that would provide opportunities for them to interact with their peers and to engage in activities in which they are interested.

1.6.4.4 PEOPLE WITH DISABILITIES

During the PPA it was discovered that there are fourteen persons, with physical disabilities. In most cases, household heads or other household members are responsible for providing care for those who have a disability. However, since the heads of some of these households are scarcely able to meet basic needs they are not in a position to provide those household members who have a disability with either the type or quality of care they need. Moreover the majority of heads of households in which there are persons with disabilities said that they receive no assistance at all.

People with disabilities have the same rights to decent living conditions, to a good quality of life and to all societal benefits received by those who are not physically or mentally challenged.

Additional steps therefore need to be taken to provide for those who have a disability and who are also poor or very poor. The Social Services agencies as well as the relevant NGOs must therefore acquaint themselves with such persons and must do much more to ensure that they receive the care and attention they need, so that they can be well equipped, as far as possible to participate in and benefit from all societal processes.

1.6.5 POVERTY ALLEVIATION

There is some evidence that government and a few civil society organizations have implemented several programmes, projects, and activities designed to alleviate poverty. There have been attempts to put poverty reduction strategies in place. In spite of this, several people in the communities studied either said that they were unaware of such initiatives or that they had not benefited from any of them. It could be that most programmes and projects are not specifically identified as poverty alleviation initiatives, and that projects and programmes are not specifically targeted to the poor nor based on their particular needs.

It is therefore important that programmes and projects be based on the specific and particular needs of community members and especially on those of the poor. In addition steps must be taken to inform community residents of intended programmes and projects and to involve them in the planning,

implementation, monitoring and evaluating of programmes and projects.

1.6.6 SOME KEY ISSUES THAT NEED TO BE ADDRESSED

1.6.6.1 ECONOMIC ISSUES

The economic conditions of the majority of households that were studied were very fragile and financial resources where they did exist were often insufficient to provide even the basic needs for household members. The data show that the majority of households and other adult members of these households are either unemployed or underemployed and work for low wages, and that in a few households no adult is working.

While the absence of job opportunities was cited as one factor contributing to poverty, low levels of education and lack of marketable skills were also responsible and the data show a definite link between education, employment and household economy. Information provided by individuals and groups show low levels of education among household heads, the majority of whom have only primary education, and among unemployed persons and youth, the majority of whom had not completed secondary school or had not attended technical and vocational or skills training programmes. Such persons are therefore unable to obtain permanent or well paid jobs and to

contribute in any substantial way to the economy of their households.

As a result, they are obliged to remain unemployed or to engage in a number of diverse income-earning activities in the informal sector and sometimes in the underground economy. In the absence of other job opportunities, participation in these sectors is being seen as the only option. However while activities in the informal sector and in the underground economy provide some income that allows people to survive and to be able to buy food and pay some of their bills, the money that they generate is usually still insufficient to pull poor households out of poverty.

There is also a link between household income and the level of deprivation experienced by household members, and their inability to meet their basic needs and to enjoy an acceptable standard of living and a good quality life. While this has implications for all household members, because of scarce financial resources, the development and welfare of children in poor households are seriously affected and their life chances compromised. The data show that in many poor households children are deprived of enough or the right kind of food, and of adequate health care; thus they are often unable to benefit fully from available educational opportunities.

Natural disasters and changes in the structure of the national economy and in

its formal sectors have serious repercussions and impact negatively on households; this has been the case since the decline of the banana industry and the experience of Ivan.

In the absence of regular wages some poor individuals and households depend on remittances from relatives and friends at home and abroad, and in the case of elderly persons on government assistance, on pensions or social welfare. But irregularity of the former and the small amounts received from the latter are also insufficient to meet their basic needs or to allow them to enjoy an acceptable standard of living.

All of the respondents, as well as those who participated in workshops and focus group discussions said that their most urgent needs were money, food and jobs and many saw opportunities to be employed and to earn money as critical for their survival. Data generated from PPA activities which show the serious effect that lack of financial resources has on households and individuals living in poverty, suggest that there is an urgent need for government to address the issue of unemployment and underemployment, especially among women, to create and increase job opportunities and create more jobs, and to equip poor individuals so that they can be better able to make use of opportunities that may exist.

1.6.6.2 SOCIAL ISSUES

The social life of individuals, families and groups is important to their quality of life and sense of well being, but the data show that poverty affects this aspect of their lives in many negative ways. It affects their family life and their relationships as well as their ability to enjoy leisure and entertainment.

1.6.6.3 FAMILY LIFE

Several people lamented the breakdown in family life and the data revealed a number of single female parents and a small number of single male parents, and of male-female and parent-child relationships characterized by quarrels, disagreements, arguments, conflict and violence. Information obtained during PPA activities shows this to be the case in many poor households. According to respondents these phenomena are triggered by people's frustration at their inability to provide as expected or as they would like.

The type and quality of relationship between partners, between parents and children and between young and older persons are areas of concern for many. They are of the view that unacceptable behaviours of parents and other adults contributed to the prevalence of delinquency, and among young people who show little if any respect for older persons.

1.6.6.4 SOCIAL PROBLEMS

Residents in all of the communities identified a number of social problems that are affecting people and preventing them from having a sense of well being. Chief among these is the use and abuse of drugs even among some children. Alcoholism is also a problem in most of the communities and some women expressed concern about the fact that it contributed to neglect of the home and to domestic violence. Petty crime and theft are also a matter of concern in seven of the nine communities. While drugs, alcohol and crime are being seen as survival strategies and as opportunities to obtain income, they have serious consequences not only for those who engage in them, but also on households, families and on the communities as a whole. Domestic violence was also identified as a problem in six of the communities and by some of the heads of households who were interviewed.

Residents in all of the communities identified and were concerned about the social problems that exist in their communities. However, there was little evidence to show how the government or civil society organizations were implementing the number and kind of programmes that would prevent or provide remedies for some of these problems.

The existence of social problems in a community creates a social environment in which residents may live in fear and may not always feel safe. At the same time such an environment is not conducive to or does it facilitate harmonious relationships built on trust and mutual respect. While a great deal of attention is usually placed on the economic dimension of poverty, more attention needs to be placed on the social environment and greater efforts made to understand how and why it not only contributes, but perpetuates poverty.

1.6.6.5 EDUCATION

It is widely recognized that there is a link between people's level of education and the possibility of their being poor. Everyone who took part in the PPA activities agreed that education is important; even those who have very little education want to ensure that their children and grandchildren receive a good education so that they could move out of poverty and not have to be condemned to living in poverty.

They are also aware that over the years educational opportunities have increased and that education at all levels is now more available. However, the data show that although parents did try to send their children to school every day, several children living in poor households are still unable to benefit from available educational opportunities.

Some parents and grandparents admitted that their children often missed school because they are unable to provide them with the necessary amount of nutritious, with lunch or lunch money, with school supplies and with transportation. Children from poor households are therefore at a disadvantage when they have to compete with their counterparts from non-poor households. At the same time several parents also admitted that their children either could not complete secondary education or pursue tertiary education because they lacked the financial resources to allow them to do so.

Failure of poor children to benefit from available educational opportunities not only prevents them from being able to obtain gainful employment on leaving school, but it curtails their personal development, limits their life chances, and condemns them to a life of poverty.

While the education of children is vitally important, continuing education of adults is equally so. Since it is adults who are heads of households and who are responsible for sustaining their own livelihoods and those of their families, and since it is adults who must work to ensure that personal and national development goals can be and are achieved, they must also be well equipped to be able to do so. Participation in adult education programmes can be increased and people can be motivated and gain the confidence to take action to change their

situation. However, the data show that few of those who participated in PPA activities are participating in adult education or literacy programmes. This in spite of the fact that the majority of heads of households who were interviewed have only a primary education and that several people admitted to being functionally illiterate.

Among the reasons for not participating are lack of knowledge of programmes, absence of programmes in their communities, lack of someone to take care of children, and a lack of time and of money to pay fees for some programmes.

1.6.6.6 HEALTH

If people are to enjoy a sense of well being, good health is essential but the data show that several people in the communities studied, especially those who are elderly, suffer from lifestyle diseases. Many also said that their inability to eat the “right kind” of food has contributed to their poor health and several are often unable to afford good health care and medication.

The majority of those interviewed and who participated in focus group discussions used the public health service to deal with their illnesses. However, some shared experiences that highlighted the inadequacies in the system including poor attitudes of some health professionals, the poor quality of services offered, and the absence of medication.

Many said that although they are not always satisfied with the service provided, because they were poor they could not afford to go to private doctors, or to buy medication when it was not available from the clinic. As a result they sometimes did without medication, or reduced doses of prescribed medication but this jeopardizes their health and puts them at risk.

Analysis of the health-related data suggests that the public health systems may need to be reviewed, that public health clinics be placed in more of the communities and that the reach of their services be expanded so as to permit access to those who need them most.

1.6.6.7 EMOTIONAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL ISSUES

This aspect of poverty is not usually given a great deal of attention; however many of those who participated in PPA activities provided information on the negative emotional and psychological impact of poverty and on the extent to which this affects their lives and influences their sense of well being.

They identified stress, anxiety and uncertainty at being unable to provide for their families, especially their children, and sadness and anger at being impoverished. They talked about being depressed and frustrated, and about feeling that they were going crazy. Such feelings are indicative of an unhealthy emotional state.

For several people the psychological impact of poverty is also very traumatic because it dehumanizes them, engenders feelings of worthlessness and undermines their self-esteem and self confidence. During the PPA, a significant number of people said that they felt like nobody, like non-persons, of no value and that their self-esteem is low. These feelings are exacerbated by the ways in which they are treated by some of their neighbours and by those who feel that they are better off than they are. In addition, having to depend on others for their survival reinforces feelings of shame and embarrassment.

People who suffer such psychological and emotional damage to their self-esteem and self confidence may need counselling and other professional help. However, while the need for such help is not always recognized or readily available, it is important that it be seen as one of the strategies to address some of the negative effects of poverty.

Some people also feel that because they are poor they are discriminated against and excluded either because of the conditions in which they live and their low levels of education, or because they are often unable to make use of opportunities that may be available. As a result many feel helpless and powerless and that their attempts to survive or to improve their conditions are futile. Some people did share experiences of being discriminated against because of their poverty.

Analysis of the data draws attention to the many ways in which poverty can affect people's emotional and psychological well being, and highlights the need for more serious attention to be paid to this dimension of poverty. The data suggest that those who have been damaged psychologically and emotionally may need some professional help but it also suggests that serious attention must be paid to removing some of the factors that are responsible for their creating negative emotional and psychological states.

1.6.6.8 GENDER ISSUES

It is now widely recognized that poverty is gendered because males and females become poor through different processes, and that they experience and are affected by poverty differently. Consequently while it is important to disaggregate data by sex and to obtain relevant quantitative data, these alone are insufficient to identify and examine the separate realities of males and females or to identify gender issues that must be addressed in order to ensure that poverty alleviation programmes will be based on the particular needs of poor females as well as of poor males. Qualitative data like those obtained during PPA activities are therefore not only essential but critical because they increase understanding of and provide insights into the separate and different realities of poor males and poor females.

Separate focus discussions with men and women provided opportunities for them to reflect on their experience of

being poor and to talk about the impact of poverty on their lives. The data that they provided show the links between gender and poverty. It also shows that although there are some similarities in the experiences of poor women and poor men, on how poverty affects them and on their survival strategies, that there are also significant differences. Their information also provides insights into gender discrimination, unequal distribution of power and the division of labour along gender lines within households, as well as the gender segmentation of the labour market.

Within many of the households studied, division of labour is along gender lines. Adult females are responsible for child care and for managing and maintaining the home. They, along with female children also, do most of the household chores without the help of males. In some households male and female children do all types of chores, but in some others male children tended to do "male" chores like sweep the yard and females do "female" chores like cleaning the house, washing and cooking.

Analysis of the data provides concrete evidence that the labour market is segmented along gender lines because many of males who are employed in construction and fishing are doing jobs that are usually regarded as "men's work", which pays higher wages than jobs which are regarded as "women's work" and that pay less. Employed females often work as domestics, as

vendors or braid hair - low skilled and low-paying activities.

While males and females employ different coping and survival strategies, both sometimes feel obliged to become involved in activities that are illegal and put them at risk. Males, especially young men, who depend on the drug trade and on criminal activities for their survival are at risk. So too are females who engage in prostitution.

Poverty also determines whether and how males and females can perform their gender roles and responsibilities. The data show that unemployed males and females conform to expected traditional gender roles and that because of poverty both faced challenges and were often unable to fulfil these roles as is expected or as they would like. Males referred to their role as breadwinner and provider, and females accepted their role as nurturer and care giver and placed emphasis on child care and home management.

At the same time while some poor men accept their responsibilities and said that they do try to provide for their families and their children, some are unable to do so because of poverty. Poor males consistently said that their inability to perform their gender roles emasculate them because it made them feel less than men.

In a number of poor households, there is no adult male, and female heads of such households are forced to adopt the role

of sole provider. Most of the women who participated in PPA activities shared experiences that show how adoption of this role was a burden that increased their vulnerability, and how poverty often prevented them from performing this added role along with their traditional female roles with any degree of success.

Gender relations are based on and influenced by beliefs about masculinity and femininity and by societal expectations of male and female behaviour. The data show that poverty affects gender relations, sex and sexuality, mating patterns and fertility. While a significant number of heads of households said that they have no partner, visiting and common-law relationships exist in several of the households that were studied. Another gender issue is fertility and multiple pregnancies, and the data show that there are females who have had relationships with and children from several different males.

Information provided by some women show that in some relationships women are abused and subjected to violence. According to them being poor or being in a relationship with a poor man often leads to arguments and disagreements about money, and while the latter often begin and end with verbal abuse they do sometimes lead to violence.

Another important gender issue is relationships between older men and young girls that sometimes results in

teenage pregnancies. The data show that residents in many of the communities studied view teenage pregnancy as a serious problem. This phenomenon not only affects girl's ability to complete or further their education, but has serious implications for their health.

Identification, recognition and understanding of gender issues are important in order to better understand the gendered nature of poverty and the different ways in which males and females experience, are affected by and cope with poverty.

Moreover, if poverty alleviation policies and programmes are to achieve their objectives of alleviating and reducing poverty, there must be a commitment to understand and address gender issues, including gender inequalities and gender discrimination. To achieve this, it will be essential to conduct a gender analysis of poverty data generated by quantitative approaches like the Survey of Living Conditions as well as by the data generated by qualitative approaches like the Participatory Poverty Assessment.

In addition, to ensure that poverty alleviation programmes and projects are based on and are designed to meet the specific and particular needs of poor males and poor females, pro-poor policies and programmes must take gender differences into consideration and be based on gender-specific data.



SECTION II: NARRATIVES OF POVERTY

2.1 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO MATERIAL AND SOCIAL DEPRIVATION IN GRENADA

Grenada like most of the rest of the territories of the region has emerged in the 21st Century as the outcome of historical experiences defined by the country's engagement with the global economy as a producer of primary agricultural products for the benefit and profit of peoples residing outside of its shores. The harsh implication of this historical reality is that the development of its human resources and social infrastructure were for a very long time neglected. Furthermore, patterns of behaviour and some institutional forms shaped by these experiences continue to act as retardants to the realization of the full potential of the people of the country. Some of the economic structures and formal institutional entities that have been looked at in other sections of the report provide exemplification of this point. Two of the salient points related to social development that emerge out of an examination of the historical political economy of the country are the dominance of the agricultural sector by the cultivation of export crops in the context of the skewed distribution of agricultural land. The second salient point related to historical political economy is the lack of emergence of well defined, vibrant social categories in the form of an independent peasantry, a skilled working class and a viable middle class.

Grenada was one of a couple of territories in the region that were not able to weather the storm of the challenge to cane sugar by its beet derivative in the last quarter of the 19th Century. The dominance of primary export agriculture in the form of spices and cocoa meant: the undermining of the development of domestic agriculture and the non-emergence of a strong independent small cultivator social grouping; the emergence of a large mass of poor, unskilled persons unmitigated by the counterforce of a skilled working class; the underdevelopment of a vibrant middle income group in the society.

This latter implication is especially important to any consideration of Grenada's history since this latter social category is especially important for the development of the democratic tradition in any society. This is the group that usually challenges the dominance of the landholding class defined by its conservative, autocratic/paternalistic orientation. Where this kind of challenge does not emerge early in the historical day then the contradictions are often resolved in the form of political extremism of one form or another. This might explain the Grenada Revolution of 1979.

According to the Grenada censuses of 1891 and 1921, of total populations of 53,209 and 66,302 respectively low level skilled workers comprised 38.6 and 36.2 per cent of the population for those two

census years.¹ The data do not allow us to disaggregate the labour force from the population, but if this were done the proportion of unskilled in the labour force would have been even higher. Presumably, if the type of economic arrangement that gave rise to the kind of human resource utilization that is reflected in the occupational profile outlined here persisted, as is argued by the proponents of Plantation theory, then so would the occupational structure and conditions of deprivation.²

“By the 20th century Grenada had become a marginal colonial possession of Britain. There were therefore no British investments in mining, manufacturing and agriculture and only limited commercial investment. Furthermore, the siphoning of the wealth of the country continued. Meeks quotes Brizan as estimating that in 1976 only 8.3 per cent of the final value earned from nutmeg was actually retained in the economy. "In the 11-year period 1966-1977, EC\$742M was earned from Grenada's nutmeg and mace, while the country retained only EC75.97M or 10.2 per cent of the final value" (Brizan, 1977).

¹ Brown, Dennis A.V. *The Political Economy of Fertility in the British West Indies, 1891-1921*, Canoe/UWI Press, Mona, 2000

² "The Weight of History: Structural Adjustment and the neglect of Intergenerational Poverty in the Caribbean" Paper presented at CLACSO-CROP-UCT Workshop, Strategies Against Poverty: Designs drawn the North: Alternatives from the South, Cape Town, South Africa, June 18-21, 2009

The rest accrued to foreign companies involved in the processing and marketing of the product.³

In the North, in a country such as Canada, the same export oriented agriculture carried out on small family owned farms and in a social environment devoid of the hierarchy and authoritarianism associated with coerced labour provided the basis for a broad based cash economy that stimulated commerce, light local industry, institutions of civil society and political democracy.⁴ In the Caribbean, the arrangements that have been described provided the material basis for a social exclusion from mainstream society, aspects of which continue until today.

2.2 PHENOMENOLOGICAL STUDIES: LIFE NARRATIVES

This understanding of the historical legacy endowed on present day Grenadian society provides an important backdrop for the case studies that follow. The information for these are collected from households identified both by the communities of which they are a part and professional persons involved in working in the communities. These households are

³ Quoted in Meeks, Brian 1988 *Social Formation and People's Revolution: A Grenadian Study*, PhD Thesis, UWI, Mona Campus

⁴ Langdon, S, *Global Poverty, Democracy and North South Change* :Garamond Press, 1999, Toronto

deemed to be vulnerable and faced with formidable challenges to their existence. The interviews of these households are one component of the qualitative arm of the survey. The other is the community interviews and focus group discussions.

The latter collects data that are social-psychological in nature since they are collected in small group settings within the community. Interviews are conducted with groups defined in terms of gender, age, employment status and so on. These data, then, are shaped by small group dynamics and perspectives. The former collects data that are phenomenological in nature. They represent the collection of narratives of their lives by individuals. The in-depth interviews are aimed at arriving at an understanding of how individuals have experienced and interpreted material and social deprivation, measured at the aggregate level, over the course of their lives. The fundamental question raised by this type of methodology is "What does this narrative or story reveal about the person and world from which it came?"⁵

2.3 THE PHENOMENOLOGY OF POVERTY

Intergenerational Poverty, Family and Gender

Main Themes: Intergenerational Poverty; family; multiple mating partners; early, repeated childbearing; domestic violence; strong religiosity.

2.3.1 CASE STUDY 1. MARIE 49 YEAR OLD, SINGLE MOTHER OF 10, SEMI-URBAN GRENADA

"Yeah, because sometimes if I have a fifty dollars I can go to town and get some things. Maybe, maybe is just two meals out of that. So it kind of terrible. It hard. Sometimes when I get up at morning time, or in the evening, or whatsoever and look and see I don't have anything to give my children it does disturb me. I does feel real hurt. But still I does read my bible and I pray. I have faith and I say, is ok man the Creator won't make us sleep hungry. Even if I sleep hungry the Creator won't make my children sleep hungry. Sometimes even if is a hand of fig (green bananas) I does come upon, I will just cook it. And they will eat it. The children eating it."

⁵ Patton, M.Q. *Qualitative Research and Evaluation Methods*: Sage Publications 2002

The quotation above tells of the outcome of a set of life-long circumstances. Indeed, the circumstances that produced this outcome were in the making long before Marie was even born. In telling us of the main events of her life Marie enables us to gain insight into the ways in which the broader societal arrangements interface with individual biography to produce these kinds of outcomes. The implicit, unspoken issues that emerge out of Marie's story have to do with inherited historical social disadvantage, and the human response to it that draws on the available tools provided by culture and society. On a broader philosophical level Marie's account of her life tells us how the human spirit sustains itself in these kinds of circumstances. Marie's story also allows us to understand, given the interpretation of and response to, the circumstances of deprivation faced by her, how policy might be used to modify the structure-agency interface that produced Marie's type of outcome. How can policy be used to modify agency, its consciousness and its capabilities? What interventions are appropriate to effectively address the historically induced skewed opportunity structure that constrains the realization of human potential and relegates persons such as Marie to a life of insufficiency?

2.3.1.1 FAMILY OF ORIGIN AND GROWING UP

Marie says she did not grow up with her mother and father. Instead, she says, she grew up with her father's mother.

"I don't know now what it was the problem with my mother, but I know that one time she and my father had a dispute and they separate. So I think is from there I end up with her (father's mother)." Marie has ten siblings. She says her mother had eight children with two different men.

As she puts it, "two for one person and six for another one."

She was the third child of the lot of six that comprised three boys and three girls. Then there were what she calls, "two outside ones by father."

Marie says that her mother was a labourer involved in road construction. Her father was a cultivator (small farmer).

"But he did live in Trinidad too. I don't know what he did over there, but I know that he did married to a lady from Grenada and he did live over there. He came back when I was like 39 and I is 48 now. Sometimes I used to say like when he come back here I don't business with him, but then still I did accept him. When I see him I just had to because is my father."

Marie was born in 1961. In 1968 when she was seven her parents separated and she went to live with her grandmother.

According to Marie,

"It was hard, because I had to do things like bring load (carry produce packed in baskets to be taken to the market for sale). At that stage I not suppose to do that (she was too young she feels to be doing that heavy work).

Her grandmother Marie tells us used to be a market vendor. She continues,

"And then she used to sell ice cream. I used to have to carry the (ice making machinery) for a long distance. That was on a Sunday. Then on Saturdays I used to be in town selling. I went to AC primary school. I never went to secondary."

Marie says she never went to school on a regular basis, 'because of my grandmother's needs'. Marie says she was the youngest of the other children that her grand-mother was responsible for. She had a partner,

"but after a while he died. I don't think I could even remember him because he died when I was young."

Marie says she did not have enough food to eat growing up with her grandmother. Even in carrying the little that she had to school there was a problem. According to her,

"is like when other children used to have containers (to carry their food to school) I used to put mine in a pan and (when I am ready to eat) according to the time at lunch time, it (the food) always get black. Sometimes I don't even eat it...the pan that they put milk in so when they put the hot food in it by the time it get to 12 o'clock the food get black. So is not like it was put in a safe container. Sometimes I don't even eat it."

Marie continues,

"sometimes I used to end up to school without shoes and other children used to tease me, like they laughing at me then. I didn't use to have no books. And I remember one time I get into a fight because my friend was carrying the bag I used to put my whatever. She got into a fight and the person she was fighting with tear down my bag. So I end up fighting with (that person). Then, and maybe this is why I didn't end up in secondary school. I used to have a grand aunt and she used to have pigs and we had to go all the way up to Talloville to carry food that people use and they don't want (leftovers) they use to store it up for my grand aunt and we used to go for it. And I had to carry it on my head and children used to tease us. But all those times I don't think I was so conscious about what going on, you know? Like when them teasing me I was not studying them because it was just like a game to me. But there is sometimes according to the way they tease me I

used to be crying and thing, you know?"

2.3.1.2 LIVING AND LOVING: MAKING HER OWN FAMILY

She left school when she was 17:

".....and when I was 18 I got pregnant with my first son. I left school because my time did reach to leave. I did the school leaving (exam) and I still didn't pass. So when I did that I had was to leave. Then I end up going to learn to cook and bake and thing at a place they call the Centre."

Marie says she learnt skills because as she puts it,

"I could (can) do crochet, I could (can) bake. I have one brother when Christmas he does come by me because he say I bake better than the rest. Yea, I learn that too. And then I have other little ideas in which I could do things on my own. Because you have things I could just sit down...I could just watch (look at) that teddy bear there (pointing to a teddy bear on her table) and make it. But then again sometimes I does think that if I had the finance I could buy up them stuff and thing I know I could make it. I could crochet hats. Even, if I want to make a top (a blouse), I could take measurements and I could make it."

This is in spite of Marie having little or no training in dressmaking. She says she started dressmaking classes:

"on top of the hill there, but I had to drop it because of the children because of the hours, you know?"

Marie says that when she met the father of her first child she was not working and was living at her grandmother's home.

"After when I get pregnant she get vex with me and I had to leave. I came to [present location] and I was living with an aunt of mine. And when I was 19 the child was born and then I just having them like one after the other because I have 10."

Marie says the father of her first child was 2 years older than her.

"He used to be working in the park, taking care of the park, the grounds. But he still didn't use to come up as he should. Because I remember one time like when he get his salary he just used to give me.. and he used to gamble. He like to party. He used to go out with a DJ man (accompany a sound system when it played at parties) and I know one time he gave me some money to buy milk and groceries for the children and it didn't nuff (was not enough) I needed soap powder and thing and when I went to the park he was not there and I take half out of what he had and he get vex with me. I stayed with him a little time because I end up having four for him, but they big now. When the first child was one year I was three months pregnant already. And it was just like that. The only one I did not make fast

was the last girl for him... I went and live with him after, when I had my second child for him, I went and live with him."

Marie continues her account,

"the reason why I broke up with him is because he didn't used to treat me right. He used to like hit me and leave me off like on weekend and go behind the sound system (disco). Sometime (not) till Monday morning I might see him. I used to make coconut oil, you know I wasn't lazy too, I used to like to do something and I used to be making my coconut oil and thing. I had these two small children to look after, I still onto the coconut. I had to cook. I had to wash and everything. I used to be crying...all the time. I had two girlfriends one time they came by me and they say everytime I see you you just crying. When you going to stop cry? And then I still end up getting these two girls after (last two children for the first partner) and then I start checking myself, because I starting to learn.. And I decide a going leave him off (end the relationship). And leave him off again ah go and take up a nex one, I get five. Is 10 I have you know."

When asked why she was having so many children, Marie replies,

"I wasn't conscious. I wasn't conscious, because when I have the four and then I met this one and get this other one(fifth child) I start getting conscious And then I say well I can't go down so making children, but it still happen to me, you know? And is just because of I

ain't working, you know and is still needs (she still has needs) and this one come around and he says he still going to help. And it wasn't no help. If I moved in with him? No, no. Because, he was not responsible. He does not respond. Like, everything it was just like me still, you know? And he going out there and he drinking, you know? Sometimes when he go out there and drinking with his friends when time come for him to tell me something positive about his children he come telling me about what he and the friend might do out there, you know? I used to be just sitting down and thinking about it. I end up with the first one in them (those) kind of condition. Then to go through the second one with those kind of condition, you know? I thinking! Sometime I lie down by myself or ah working and I thinking how I going to handle it because still I don't want to damage myself because I did like him and I say just coming and saying well I finish with you just so it might affect me. So I take time off with it, you know? And then I make my decision."

Marie continues,

"But is not like it nice still. It still don't nice. Is not like the lifestyle better. It not better, because is I alone still. I don't have no one living here with me more than the children. Well the first four they gone by they selves (live on their own)."

Marie says the children's fathers do not support her,

"none of them, no they does not look after me. Those that going to school. I have six of them in primary school deh and is like I don't know the last day he give me some money for them. The first one (baby father) he was active (used to support his children), but going down the line he start turning. Because I used to say to him, not because I kind and nice you mustn't do that to me. You know."

Marie says she was working during this time, but she had to leave the work because even though she could get people to watch the children for her,

"I had was to pay them. So I prefer was to stay home. But still when I stay home he working. Two of we used to work in the same place eh. Sometimes when I stay home he going to work Thursday and I have nothing in the house. So I say you know how things does go. Try and come home early. You have to come and drop what you have to drop and go back. Sometimes when like 7 o'clock in the night, 8 o'clock, I have to go and look for him. Sometimes when I go and look for him I feeling so bad, if I see somebody I say call him for me, you know? And I hiding. I feel bad because I don't suppose to go and meet him there. He is supposed to come home. So, it's kind of embarrassing for him, you know? Until I rally on and on until I get rid of him."

I wasn't working. I used to be working in the GABC (the Nutmeg Pool) and after the hurricane Ivan they come and they close down. So when they close

down they give us some money. I think I did get like \$3100 and that little place you see there (she points to a wooden structure at the front of her premises), I had it going, a little parlour. I worked towards it. I say as I get the money I want to put it into it. But it don't finish, but I still used to do the business in the windows that finish. Still by sending them to school and I had to get food for them is like when I make the money I had to spend it back in the house."

Marie is asked what she thinks is the reason why so many women end up with children for different men that are not supporting them or the children. She replies,

"I think is...they not putting out themselves, you know? I think is that because my children father I think he could put out heself to get a job. He not working. And sometimes if I get a little part time job, like if I get a little two days I will go and do it. And sometimes when I doing that he not doing nothing. So if I could get, he could get too. He is man! So I just think he don't want to do it. I does think still that maybe because I not with him [they are not having intimate relations] he don't want to help. And most of them Grenada men that is what they does look to. They not with you so they not studying children they not studying you. I think is so they does think. Maybe not all because you have they who doing their part. They who doing their duty then."

Marie says she has no partner now. Does she intend to have any more? She replies,

"I does say to myself I don't think so because I don't want nobody walking on my children. If I get a husband, somebody to married with me and settle down. Because them men and them I don't find that they are conscious. I go through it already. They come and they does...just come around. Come with a nice face, nice talk and thing, but they don't live up to it."

Marie's present position should be understood to be one stage in a pattern of sequential, or serial monogamy that is characteristic of women in the folk Afro-Caribbean mating pattern. This has its roots in African cultural retentions and Plantation slavery. Marie's mating history is consummate exemplification of this pattern. She began her mating experiences in what is characterized by demographers as a 'visiting' relationship. She produced two children within this union type. She then moved into a common-law (cohabitive) relationship with (with the same man), bore him two more children before returning to a visiting relationship with another man for whom she then had five children. Subsequent to this she entered into a common law relationship with a third man for whom she bore one child. She presently lives by herself with some of the children from these relationships.

One of the deficiencies of cross sectional survey and census data is that they fail to capture this dynamism in mating and fertility patterns. If she were surveyed now Marie would be listed as single, or not in a union. Within some cultural contexts, this categorization is associated with lack of exposure to the risk of pregnancy and low levels of fertility. This would, of course, amount to a misrepresentation of Marie's situation and demonstrates how survey and census data can provide the basis for misplaced inferences about mating and fertility behaviour in this region.

More than this however, point in time-cross sectional data on Marie would tell us nothing of the dynamic that serves as a transmission belt for intergenerational poverty in the region and the central role that mating and fertility play within it. The dynamic consists of a synergism of a number of factors. These are: a mating system in which the initiation of a sexual relationship between a man and woman, in some local ecologies, has loose social, but no legal sanction, inadequate provision for the physical and in some instances emotional nurturing of the young, lack of preparation for effective participation in the labour market and economies relegated to positions of marginality within the global chain of production.

At the level of the individual gender mediates this dynamic. Men experience it differently from women. However, both should be understood to be its

victims. The primary labour market, for cultural reasons, favours the participation of men over women. Nonetheless, it is still a primary labour market with all of the insecurities of tenure, low level skill requirements, low pay and so on. Men, therefore, although favoured by this market (as Marie puts it, "If I could get he could get too. He is man!") are still subject to its deficiencies. So, they are more likely than women to get work and therefore in a position to make offers to the disadvantaged woman, but the nature of the work does not provide the level and stability of income to enable the man to make a sustained contribution to the upkeep of a single family. Because of this many poor men become migratory labourers within their own country, moving in search of uncertain work. Because of the transitory nature of their stay they are even less encumbered by what in many instances are already loose social sanctions pertaining to the initiation of sexual relationships between men and women. The poorest women in these locales are open to the overtures of men who, at least temporarily, have a source of income. The presence of women made readily available because of their vulnerable socioeconomic position is the basis on which these types of unstable relationships rest. (See case study 4).

For those men that choose not to move around in search of work, being in this labour market can mean that employment is, at best, intermittent. Therefore, even with the best will in the

world and the greatest love for their children, such men fall short in the provision of support for their families. Even where income might be relatively steady and sustained, the greater likelihood of the woman's inability to effectively participate in the labour market places her at a severe disadvantage and effectively increases the available pool of women from whom the man may obtain sexual favours. This lends an element of instability to the existing unions and often leads to the man overextending himself in terms of families of procreation and their support within his community.

This instability in the family and mating patterns of the poorest people in the region is debilitating. In practice it provides the basis for various expressions of conflict that represent the playing out of the insecurities associated with attempts at creating family in this type of environment. It should be understood as one of the ways in which poverty and disadvantaged social position are experienced in the lives of people living at this level in the societal hierarchy. Gender and physiology combine to produce its most stark expressions among women (See case study ...).

Marie's family options at this stage of her life are: stay single, enter into another visiting relationship that might eventually lead to cohabitation and marriage; enter into a common law

relationship; enter into marriage. Her decision in this regard will be based on her past experiences and the lessons she has learnt from them; her ability to sustain herself and family independently of income from a man. Let us look a little closer at her present circumstances.

2.3.1.3 COPING STRATEGIES

“So how are you managing?”

Marie responds as follows:

“Well sometimes it does be tough, but I don’t let nobody know. Sometimes it does be real tough. And one thing with them (children) I realize they does be contented whatsoever I have I give them, they does use it, but my conscience does tell me that sometimes they deserve better treatment.”

“Are you able to send them to school on a regular basis?”

“I does make it my duty. If they don’t have a shoe, if they shoe finish if is even a slipper I give them let they go (to school). With the food system even if is just a bake or a bread or something I could make even if they don’t have meat they going go with it.”

“Were there times,” she is asked, “when you wanted to send them and were not able to? When it real difficult I ain’t send them.”

Marie continues,

“five in primary and one in secondary, and let me say one thing. The one in [secondary] she going up in Chalktown but every morning I have to give her five dollars.”

There are times when she does not have the five dollars so. Marie says,

“I tell her the bus you traveling with regular tell them you will pay them on the weekend. But she doesn’t do that. I don’t know if she feeling embarrassed so I doesn’t force her. You know, I will just let she stay more than (rather than) go and ask somebody.”

At time of interview Marie’s main source of income was her working children. She says that three went to secondary school, but none of them are in jobs that require certification. Marie’s account of their labour market status is as follows:

“The first girl she working in a restaurant. One of the big boys, the first one, he working in (the hospitality industry). My second son is working in (landscaping).”

Marie’s daughter who is currently in high school has just started. She says,

“She needs help with the books and with transportation. But I does still try and do what I could do. Because, sometime when she get the booklist, I does try to get second hand books.”

Of the children in primary school Marie says,

"well is one good thing the school is just from here to up the top there (pointing up the hill) I don't have to pay [no transportation cost)...and they get lunch in the school (school feeding programme). Is only my last little boy, and still the last is for another father and he ain't take care of him too. So is only one I does have to give lunch up there, because they didn't register him to get free. But the others register for it, they get free lunch."

She is however faced with the expense of providing uniforms for her children. Marie explains that when her small business was up and running,

"Everyday I have money, but right now I ain't doing nothing. Sometimes one child might give me a fifty dollars. Because, one child was here yesterday, my second girl and she give me forty dollars. So I think that will help me out this morning."

2.3.1.4 PATERNAL SUPPORT FOR THE CHILDREN

One source of Marie's dilemma is the lack of support from the fathers of her children. Marie says teachers at the children's schools encourage her to carry the fathers to court to obtain maintenance money for them, but she is reluctant to do so. According to her,

"I don't know is just me. I don't know if is my conscience. Is just me. Maybe I have a different heart. I just say, I think that that they suppose to do that, know to do it (support their children) and why

I have to go the courts to force them to do...that's what I think. But I know for sure they (fathers) suppose to do it because they (children) need the help. You had one time I reached all the way in the office, Social Services, is just for me to go and put them in the courts. But, one lady tells me it don't make sense. She tell me don't do it because sometimes the children does come back and have a feeling against the mother. But my little girl in secondary she does tell me to take her father to court. Yes, she does tell me that because I think she sees the needs. I tell she well if you go and take him to court they will file the matter real fast."

Marie tells us that the father of her second set of children lives by himself. The father of the last child lives with a friend and she says she does not even consider the father of the first four since he is married and according to her,

"I don't think they need him now. But is just like how the last set father behaving is just so he used to behave too. I don't know why they does mistreat me (laughs). Yea, I don't know why...I does still talk to them...about two weeks he see me. Well I have to say I looking real good now, because times when you see I was looking small and miserable and you could know I have some problem. About two weeks ago he passed and look for them and still no bring nutten for them. But he see me now and telling me how I looking good and keep it up and stay just like that for when me and he

come back together. But I would not go back with him, you know?"

She thinks that the real reason he came was because he saw her and she was looking good,

"Because that is the first thing he say to me."

Nonetheless she says the children have a good relationship with this father. She says she does not send them to look for him, but they go and he receives them. She continues,

"He love them, he love them a lot because the biggest one, he will lift them up, praise them and play with them. You know? So sometimes I does say to myself, he ain't have...but you have to make a effort."

Do you think he really does not have it (money to give them) Marie replies,

"I don't know...that is what he leave me to think. I don't know, but I know personally he has real love for them. I can see it, I can feel it. And maybe that's the reason I don't take him to court still. Maybe if he was a person like me last son father...he do me a lot of wickedness...this one...I think he was the worst on in the three (chuckles). Because he used to live here with me and after a while he leave and go and rent a house and put a next lady, not knowing to me. I don't know. Is like he don't have no heart, because I used to be around he and I didn't feel comfortable. If I go out and see his mother, his brother, his sister

and I tell him, look, I see your mother, or your brother or your sister in town today. He going tell me don't tell him that because he don't have no mother, father or brother or sister or nobody. He tell me one time he working and if he have any money he will put it in the bank and he will not put it in anybody name (in case any thing should happen to him) let the government get it. And he have children. So ah think about all them kind of thing and I decide sey a going to leave him now... because he used to just come in and when he come he used to hurt me and make me feel uncomfortable. And then I knowing that he had somebody else. That is the reason why he act that way because he didn't used to move so. Then after I decide ah going to leave him and I leave him out. He did break my foot once. Hit me a lash of wood on my foot and it break it."

Marie goes on to describe the bad-mindedness of her last child's father.

"When I was building that shop there, he is a trade man, he spend the money and buy everything to build it. But I had money I could buy the zinc. But he tell me he work for somebody and there is some zinc and windows that really look good and he could get it. ...and when I leave him, when he really believed that I leave him, he come and he take back his zinc and the three pairs of windows. He did give me a DVD, and the three pairs of window he come and he take it back. Yes he come and he go with it. And my second son sitting on the bridge and watching him and he call me and say

mummy that man, he know what you doing there? He had two big stone in his hand. I say don't bother. Let he go with it. When he go with it he know he would not have to come back here. My life might be better, you know? But you know what happen to him after? He got a cut on his hand with the power saw. He can't use the hand. So I does say it don't pay to do bad because is work he was working He get the zinc and he take it back he get the galvanized, he take it back, and he come and he damage his hand. Is work he was working. He can't work no more.

When he hit me with the piece of wood, with the breakfoot. I stayed with it two weeks before I know it did break. I keep rubbing it until one Friday morning I wake up and could not put it on the ground. I go to the doctor one time where I could get xray. The doctor tell me it broken. He question me and I tell him what happen. He advise me to make him give me some money. And still I did not do it. And then he still did not come and look for me. He didn't look for me. He don't give me no money. So one time I call him on the phone and I ask him if he don't think I have nobody that care for me. I ask him if he know what he did to me and he don't give me no money. I threaten him. I tell him I know where to go and file a case against him. And after that he start come in and give me little money. But not that he keep it up. Don't keep it up (chuckles).

Marie says she has no partner now.

"Does she intend to have any more?"

She replies,

"I does say to myself I don't think so because I don't want nobody walking on my children. If I get a husband, somebody to married with me and settle down. Because them men and them I don't find that they are conscious. I go through it already. They come and they does....just come around. Come with a nice face, nice talk and thing, but they don't live up to it.

2.3.1.5 DAILY EXPENSES

Marie says it would cost her about \$500 for groceries on a weekly basis.

"I can get a good grocery. Yeah, because sometimes if I have a fifty dollars I can go to town and get some things. Maybe, maybe is just two meals out of that. So it kind of terrible. It hard. Sometimes when I get up at morning time or in the evening or whatsoever and look I and see I don't have anything to give my children it does disturb me. I does feel real hurt. But still I does read my bible and I pray. I have faith and I say, is ok man the Creator won't make us sleep hungry. Even if I sleep hungry the Creator won't make my children sleep hungry. Sometimes even if is a hand of fig (green bananas) I does come upon, I will just cook it. And they will eat it. The children eating it."

Marie continues,

"It have time when the opposite leader was ruling (the recently defeated Keith Mitchell Government), I used to get a little assist(ance) I think they used to look after me alright...They used to have this work thing... contract, the person who was in charge of this area, anytime a contract come up, I always get one. ..to work, to clean, to cutlass...They had men to cutlass and women to sweep up and clean. So I was a contractor. Is Like I used to get EC\$700.00 for 10 days. That used to assist me good. And then they had this programme where they used to give a voucher with \$200. They used to make sure I always have that. Anytime school opening and thing they will give me a voucher with \$300 that would help me to buy up uniform and thing. Right now, no assistance and then job hard to get. And sometime I does feel it so hard...like that is one out of my daughter (pointing to her grandchild who is playing nearby) children...my first daughter. So in order for she to work, because I know she assisting me I take she from her. So whatever she have to give to the babysitter she give me (instead). Well, my first boy he doesn't show up. I don't know why. Maybe that is just he. So I don't bother (to ask him for anything). The second one, well he will give me something..."

Marie says her house has no water. She has to carry water from the public pipe located on the street. As she puts it,

"I doesn't have no water. I does have to wake up with the children ah morning

time. I doesn't let them do it alone. I does go with them. They does take it from the side there...public standpipe. I have a drum out there I does full up. I had a connection, but because of the bills they had was to disconnect it. Yeah, I don't have no water. I have light, but is only one bill I could pay for now. Is only when the children have to iron and thing, the bill does run up a little....and when I have the fridge on. ...maybe sometimes around \$30-32, but it never reach over \$40. Is only maybe like when I have the little parlour going and I have the little fried there...maybe like over \$50 a month. But now it kind a easier because I shut it down. I doesn't put nothing in it."

2.3.1.6 HEALTH

Marie's experiences in health care demonstrate the ways in which deprivation can undermine access even to relatively free public healthcare systems. Want of transportation money or money needed to pay for medicines prescribed are some of the problems experienced by Marie. One way in which poor people get around this barrier is through resort to folk medicine.

Marie says her family is generally healthy,

"Nobody sick...is just me last son last month he had this kind of gastro...and he get so weak. He had the cold, he had the fever, vomiting and everything. It have a bush called Dyjee. I give him it to

drink. In the beginning I went to the pharmacy and I tell the lady, I have a son and he have gastro. And she give me a medication.....something pink, a medicine and I give him, but I don't find it assist him. But for the vomiting it have something like a salt, to give him energy...to hold it up then. I go and buy one. I had to boil water and put it in it and I give it to him for the vomiting. Me mother tell me about the Dyiee and I boil it and give it to him. I give it to him like water. I give him tea without milk and thing, even though I had to give him juice. I just squeeze like the orange and I let he drink it. And I see he get a little ease up. But when I see he wasn't getting a ease up before that I call the father and ask him for a money to carry him by the doctor. He tell me he don't have it. And I still was trying to assist him, because I would just take the money to go by the doctor and I would go by the pharmacy because most time if I don't have the money I will go and tell the lady I will pay her later and she does do it for me. But he didn't turn up so I just don't bother...continue giving him the bush and thing and he get ok. Yeah."

Marie continues,

"I didn't even have the bus fare to bring him up into the hospital (where there is a free health clinic). Because sometimes when my children give me a money now eh, if they give me a hundred dollars I go in the grocery and make a little grocery I try to squeeze like a \$5 or a \$10, but I can't squeeze nothing great.

So sometime is just as I get it is so it finish."

2.3.1.7 EMPLOYMENT

This is one of the critical factors in enabling the transmission of poverty across the generations. Allusion has already been made to the fact that not having a steady job has place Marie in a position of vulnerability that has been exploited by men. The mating and fertility pattern associated with this situation itself conduces to intergenerational poverty since the offspring of such unions themselves are not always able to access educational services. This of course sets up boys for premature entry to the primary labour market and girls to early childbearing. Marie says she is actively seeking work. She has gone into the nearby town and tried places such as restaurants and stores, but to no avail. She continues,

"But right now everybody saying things slow. But I say man if I have a job I don't worry because is not that I lazy and don't want to work. I will work and if I working I don't even look out for the father and them (children's fathers) I do what I could do for myself. But then things painful because no job and still everything (all of the responsibilities for minding the children) turn back to me. But I still put God in front. I say by the grace of God everything will ..."

Marie says that when she used to have her business going she used to fry chicken and chips and fish,

“it used to be slow but ah didn’t use to go plenty and I used to get it sell especially if I have my drinks and thing going. If I have music, you know, people like music. (Marie says she is still owing \$250 on a stove she bought to facilitate this business) But being as I slow down now and I don’t have money another thing does come to me you know like Christmas time little things like doylie (crochet) even like them little teddy bear. So that is what I planning now. And bring down the stove after the shop finish and I could do like little ...and start to sell again, like little chicken and chips.”

Marie’s plans are in keeping with the strategy of using their home as capital adopted by many poor people. However she is constrained by access to financial capital.

As she puts it,

“But still is the money for the start (start up of the business)...I ain’t must start big. If I could come up with a \$500... still is a start, you know?”

2.3.1.8 YET ANOTHER DENIAL: ACCESS TO FINANCIAL CAPITAL

Lack of access to financial capital however small is an obstacle that faces the impoverished in society. It is an indicator of the importance of understanding impoverishment not only in terms of the characteristics or features of the poor, but also in terms of

the relationships they have with the non-poor. Marie continues,

“you had one time I did try to get a loan... is a place where you could get loans...small business. And then when the lady visits me she was questioning me about how much things I have, how much DVD and what and what...So she find maybe I didn’t qualify. I didn’t have enough (chuckles). So I get turn down. I never go up for it again.... Maybe the person they send to interview me she wasn’t in favour of me. You have other people, like the lady opposite me (neighbour) she get through. Maybe she find she have more than me. So she get through. Other people in the area get through. I don’t know. I still want to do the chrochet. Around Christmas time people does buy up little doylie, teddy bear, flowers, all kind of thing so, you know. I still have a little idea where I could go and take this thing called the jinghi (a plant) you have another one that send out a round... I does use them to make flowers, you know? But this one is local one where I could just go and pick it up For the other stuff I might have to buy, buy them up. But I still have a inquiry (interest). Sometime, somehow I going get through, you know.

Marie says seven people occupy her two bedroom house. She has no fridge. The only appliances she has is a radio and a gas stove.

Marie is asked to reflect on her life circumstances at present. She responds,

"I contented you know, but I think life could be better with me because of certain needs, but whatsoever I have I appreciate it. I don't rush nothing. But I think I could live better than that (her present circumstances)".

Marie says the hurricane did not cause much damage to her house. What is more troubling to her is the fact that a truck ran off of the road, nearly killed her children and grandchildren and caused much damage to her house. The truck driver she says has only partially fixed the damage he caused. She carried the matter to a lawyer and the man signed an agreement to fix her house, but has failed to do so. She has therefore given the lawyer instructions to sue the person involved.

2.3.1.9 ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY

"And, what of the wider community and society?"

"I love Grenada. Grenada. Grenada nice, especially this area...I love this area. I like the environment, close to the beach. Is only one thing some people they like to disturb you with loud noise, but otherwise the place nice.... Like this lady next to me she say if I need anything I could ask her. She say she could see that I funny. Is not that I funny (not friendly), I talk to anybody, but there is things I would talk to people about (its not everything I will talk to people about). So if I don't have any food here I am not going to tell anybody I don't have So sometimes she does tell

me I does stick out. And you know sometimes people telling you that and they not conscious, because sometimes they does turn it back on you (In time of anger tell the person that they have been their patron). I go through all that already. So I don't ask nobody."

2.3.1.10 SPIRITUALITY AS A COPING MECHANISM

"Sometimes in the day I does be hungry, but I don't tell nobody nothing. If I feel depressed I go and take up my Bible. I read, I pray, you know? And I think he does answer my prayers sometimes. Sometimes when I down and out, I ain't have nothing, I call upon the Father. I does tell him I know, I know you won't turn back on me. If it's small as how it is I going to get. And sometimes again is not even like money wise. Sometimes somebody would just pass and offer me something. I would just thank God. But I baptize and thing, you know, but I ain't really following up the church. And like I ain't really thinking about the people eh. Yes I does thinking about the people like how they does move. Like sometimes when I used to go to church...but some of the members and them, they don't nice. You will definitely see them talking. They talking about you. They will turn back they will watch you and then you see them talking. I does say this is not the place for that. And then if I go in there to better myself and I ain't seeing good people, conscious people with heart like me, It don't make sense being around them, you know?"

So I does prefer to stay home, pray read my Bible and thing. I think is the heart God want, the Creator yeah. So I does prefer to stay home. Sometimes I does feel a how when I see people going. When I feel a how, I does kneel down and pray and thing. I does listen to my radio. Every morning when I wake up I does put my radio on some gospel where I can hear praying and thing, you know? So I believe the creator by my side still, yeah, by my side “

Being poor does not mean an absence of happiness. Human existence is not defined by material possession. Marie is asked,

“Would you say that you are a happy person?”

“Yeah, so far.”

“What makes you happy?”

“.. A contented mind. The mind, God does make me happy. Because you have a part in the scripture I does always remember. He say, what...’Blessed are the poor...so when I get this word and them I think that does cheer me up. You had one time again when I used to go to church. I came out of church around 10 the evening, the night and the children when we leaving we ain’t got nothing and I tell them well we ain’t going church tonight because we ain’t got nothing. They tell me lets go and I went. And when I reach home the first thing I do was to rush to my Bible and I say God, give me a part in the Bible to strengthen me, you know, and when I open it was like ‘seek and you shall find,

knock and the door shall be open unto you.’ And that strengthen me. I came out with a lady who went to church with me too. I didn’t tell her nothing (about not having any food in the house). But when I reach here and I read, I went back to she.

I say, I ain’t going and ask somebody who ain’t going to church and thing to reproach me. I went to she and then she treat me good that night (was generous to her), you know? So sometimes I does say is just God, you know? And that night I was tempted, because you have (there is) a mister, as I reach out to go to the lady he come and he tamp (touch) me on my bottom, you know? Yeah, and want to hold a conversation with me. But I wasn’t up to that I was thinking about my business. So I even say, that is the work of the Devil too, you know. ... But I didn’t give up, I still go and I get through. I could (have) just turn back and ask he. But I didn’t choose to (structure and agency, impelled, but not compelled). So I think the word of God keeping me a lot too. I don’t think I so righteous, but I trust him....”

2.3.1.11 THE DYNAMIC CONTINUES?

Marie carries on with her dialogue,

“But right now you have a person who is coming towards me (there is a man who is interested in me). I think he is a [Caribbean nationality called]. But I don’t know he. But when he see me he tell me how first time he see me he interested in me and how he like me and he think that I could be a good person for him. I does still talk to he, I don’t go out

with he and sometimes when we are together if his family does call he tell them he find a wife. Yeah, he and is wife dey together; he have a wife.

That is how he is coming out. But still, I still don't trust because of what I go through already, you know? I don't trust, I still giving him some time. That is how (come) we does talk, you know? Sometimes I want to believe him."

"What would it take to convince you?"

"I don't know, I don't know...because I still telling God about it. He could be the one, I don't know. But, indeed I really looking for a husband, I want to settle down (chuckles). Sometimes how he talks to me I think he really serious, but sometimes the talking serious is not really in the heart, you know?"

"Would you insist that he marries you as a condition for being with him, without being married?"

"I don't think so, I don't think so. Because one time he tell me that he want me for himself and he want me to have him for myself. He ask me if I going to married he. I say well I don't know you. I don't know none of your family, I can't just go do that. But, you know, the way he does talk about those things, I does feel sort of conscious, because how he could be telling his family that? I does feel happy when I am around and he is telling his family that, but still I don't know. Although is that I looking for but still, I don't know. And I never ask him to do that (marry her). I used to ask the father of my five children I used to ask

him that. I used to ask him to marry to me. But he always saying we ain't have nothing we ain't have no convenience or nothing. I say well, we way bless, you know, we could achieve. Because we living a good life. I tell him we could even married without a ring, but he didn't up to that. I even sit down and look into that. I say if I good to make children, I ain't good to married, what the sense? But sometime everything does work out to the better because is not we really controlling our live is God. And maybe if I did go and married me life would have been in more mess, cause I wouldn't did want to leave me husband, yeah. Everything does work out for the better, yeah.

2.3.1.12 THE CYCLE CONTINUES

Marie is a grandmother. Her eldest daughter is the mother for two children for two different men. She is currently employed.

Marie's description of her family life provides insight into the linkages between poverty and its transmission across generations via a mating and fertility pattern that more often than not makes the provision of adequate care and protection of children and their preparation for the responsibilities of adulthood challenging.

2.3.2 CASE STUDY 2: MS. WENDY 54 YEAR OLD MARRIED MOTHER OF 9, RURAL, GRENADA

Main themes: Inherited poverty; unstable family life (origin as well as procreation); insufficient schooling; early and repeated childbearing; domestic abuse; life long economic insufficiency; late detection of chronic illnesses.

2.3.2.1 EARLY LIFE

Ms. Wendy says she was born to parents who were labourers. Her mother had 20 children for four different men.

"My parents didn't have anything to talk about (were lacking in material possessions)."

As a child, she says, she was quite sickly. In a classic case of child shifting, a strategy employed by poor people to cope with insufficiency, Ms. Wendy first went to live with her grandmother. Then at the age of five, her mother's sister who lived in Trinidad came and took her there. She loves Trinidad, but "too much ah killing. They kill too regular."

There were no other children in the household. Her aunt worked as a domestic and had a partner that worked on the port. She was eventually to divorce this man and remarry a second.

Ms Wendy continues,

"I leave school when I was 14. I missed school a lot of time because when you hear the sickness take me I stay home a 5, or 6 months. I went and do Common Entrance once, but I did not pass. I failed. She take me out of school and tell me I not going back to school because I fail...I still use to runaway and go to school, you know? And when I reach 14 years I leave school. Yes, I runaway and go to school, but when I reach 14 years I leave school because I didn't want her to hit me. But on the other hand when she hit me she used to say, hush, hush, don't cry baby. She don't want me cry (laughs)."

She continues,

"I grow up soft, you know. But then after I come and I get pregnant, I say Ma'am I pregnant, you know. She say 'for who?' I had to leave go all about, that's how I end up in Grenada."

Ms. Wendy explains that when she left school she went to learn sewing and from sewing she went to work as a domestic.

As she says,

"and that is how I come and get pregnant. I was 14 and a half, almost 15 (laughs). You know when you bigyou feel you is a big woman...you meet boys, boys say they like you, you like them too and you go and thing and you get hook, right? When things and he fi stand up

with you, he don't stand up with you and that is the bad of it. And when you have children you have to talk to them very serious about that. The child's father was in Trinidad. He was older than me. I doubt he is in Trinidad now he must be in America or England or so, but he was a Grenadian. Through his aunt he came up in Trinidad. I understand he is married and he deh overseas with his wife."

Ms Wendy says that she and the child's father did not stay together very long because,

"when I told him I was pregnant, he say is not his and he blank me out and so I jus leave him off. And me aunt send me to Grenada because her husband giving her problem and I come to Grenada. That is how you see I am in Grenada today. And I struggle!"

Ms. Wendy says when she came back to Grenada, she came back to her mother. Her mother and father did not live together at the time. She continues,

"but my father was willing to help me and he help me until the child die. The first one died. And my father bury that child, you know? So as he bury the child, everything go pretty. I go to work in town, and then afterwards – while I was working in town they give me problems. Have to wake up five o'clock bathe and I say that is cold (sickness). So I leave and I come back down to my mother. But my mother didn't like me either, but say what? I have to say she didn't like me, but I did love her a lot."

Ms Wendy says she does not know why her mother did not like her.

"She did like me when I came from Trinidad, but I was pregnant and she had to stand all the responsibility. I had to go to work pregnant, get money to buy child clothes and do everything for myself. But it wasn't a problem because I know about work and I could work. I go and I work on the road... me aunt send down somethings from Trinidad for me. But in the first instance them children, her children, the other man's children they used to treat me real bad. Me step father used to treat me real bad. .. Is a lot of children [lived in the house] I can't done check. A little Janit house we used to live in, who sleep on the floor, sleep on the floor, some sleep on the sofa. I used to sleep on the sofa with one of mi brother."

Ms. Wendy goes on to relate an instance of maltreatment meted out to her by her half brother, a clear case of misrepresentation of her to her mother who nonetheless believed him and punished her, only to subsequently discover that the brother had indeed crafted a lie against her.

2.3.2.2 GOING ON HER OWN

Ms Wendy left her mother's home. This is an unsettled period in Ms. Wendy's life. This is the time between the death of her first child at 7 months and her first long term relationship as an adult.

"A boy coming behind me. But I tell him it don't make no sense. I just make a child and I don't want no man again."

The child tek in sick, go in hospital and the child dead. Me father bury the child, a girl. But my uncle Allman, who work in the doctor shop, he used to bring five tin of milk for me for the baby. So I used to give the child milk and thing."

She changed jobs as well as places of abode during this time.

"After that the child dead. I leave and go in town and start to work. I couldn't take the work. I leave and come up back by my cousin. Me cousin didn't want me. She tell me 'oh this, oh that, oh the other'. When she husband come they locking me outside, all kinda thing. I say, you see me? I going ...I can't take on what they doing me. If I had money, I would pay my passage and go back in Trinidad, because it ain't make sense I stay in Grenada and struggle.

So then, I come and I pick up a nex fellow. He is all my children father. I have nine children, all of them is his. BUT...is struggle, I struggle with him too. I struggle from the day I make the first one. I was eighteen. Well, me and him was going down good. The first time I come and get pregnant. I lose that baby and shortly after I get pregnant again. I say well, I doing every thing. I washing, I cooking, I doing everything. But then one day he come before me. He say, Wendy, you have a nex man. I say where I getting a next man? I have you, I don't want a next man. He say, 'oh this, oh that.' Try me and see if I have a next man."

Apart from lack of trust, the couple's relationship is also plagued by physical instability. Her children's father Wendy

says worked as a labourer, "and in those days they did not earn very much."

The couple were renting house at this time and during her pregnancy moved homes a number of times. During one of these occasions she gave birth to their first child. He eventually buys a house, but not the land on which it sat. He gets notice to move, does so and eventually secures a piece of land she says, "from the estate," and that is where the father of her child puts down the house in which she says, all her children were born.

2.3.2.3 DOMESTIC ABUSE

Ms. Wendy goes on to describe the relationship between herself and the father of her nine children.

"We have struggle, I struggle with him. He beat me. He kick me, all them kinda thing. We used to fight real bad eh? I could have beat him, but when dem children start growing up a little bigger, I say, you see me? This fighting don't make sense. Dem children going end up fighting with one another and I don't want them hate their father. So with that now, he getting on. Sometime when he have money he don't want to give me money. he tell I ain't giving you money today....I know me is a working woman. I go and look work somewhere...even though I couldn't work I trying, because try you try succeed in life. And then afterwards he use to make me see so much of trouble eh. I couldn't take it. I use to cry. Everytime I going to work I

crying. One day I walking in the road like I drifting. I deh in the centre of the road, but I know I going and make me day work. Sometimes I don't drink a cup of tea in the morning, but I know I going out and make me day work. I only crying and crying and crying, I going up the road I crying.

One day I say I ain't going to work today, I find I drifting too much. I go by the doctor. When I go by the doctor he give me a tablet green as the grass. When I go home he say girl that is crazy people tablet. I say I don't know, I go by the doctor and he give me. Maybe is for stress. Too much of stress. After that I dey home, he come he start again. I say Father, what must I do for this man to live at peace in this house? No peace. He make me see good trouble. And you know when you have patience and you have you belly and you taking anything that come across? That is me. Because fight him down to the last bone. Before he dead and I couldn't take more, I run. Rat start to bite me slippers. Rat pinch me on me foot. That make me run you know. When the rat pinch me on me foot, I say eh, I run."

At this time Ms. Wendy says she had all her children. She then goes on to relate the sequence.

"The first one, a girl, born 1973. The boy born 1974. The girl born 1976 and from these three children I seeing trouble straight. And I make a next girl again she born 1977. And I struggle with them children and when I can't make it, people have to help me mind some of them. I struggle, I work hard,

I mind me children, me alone. Because when he have his money, he like to see big money in his pocket. He have callaloo, he sell cow and he keeping his money in his pocket, he don't give me none. I don't know why. He say I have man. And poor me, I don't have no man, cause anybody, anybody in District will tell you about me, how I struggle, I struggle with that man. And he was a ignorant, ignorant, ignorant man.

He had a girl in District name called, but with she she used to want to boss (be in charge). When he bring her in his garden she picking peas, she doing all kind of things, but that don't shake me. In the night he leaving me home and he crossing the river and he going (to the other woman). "

Ms. Wendy says she decided to get out her papers and take her children to Trinidad. Her children's father gets a wind of her plans and confronts her.

"Eh! eh! He make me shame in Altoville. I started to cuss. Those days I used some real dirty words. A lot of obscene language. He says, you see those words you using, you going pay for it. I say is you going pay for it because you giving me too much ah trouble and I can't take it again. I can't stand it, too much trouble. Watch me, I don't deserve that. After that, that come and done. Next day I go down by the riverside. I going tell your brother about you. You had a man on the breadfruit tree, the girl mother [was there] he had his cow on the ground there. He asked me where I going. I say don't ask me that and I sing

a song and the mother wasn't pleased and she go. He give her a breadfruit. She forget the breadfruit and she leave and she go. "

Ms Wendy explains that her children's father had a child with the girl. Ms. Wendy says the girl because she bore a child for her children's father, "thought she would be the best."

Ms Wendy continues,

"after a while I say it don't make sense fighting for man that don't looking good and me children. Better I fight for my children more than fighting for man."

2.3.2.4 BECOMING A SINGLE MOTHER AGAIN: COPING

Ms. Wendy says she left her children's father's house and went to stay with her son the very next day. She left from there and went to stay with her brother. She explains that people had already taken three of her children to live with them because of her inability to provide for them. She says she eventually had to get a house to rent for herself and these younger children since for one reason or another, the previous arrangements were no longer working. Ms. Wendy says at that time she was working for two hundred dollars per month and the cost of renting the house was one hundred and fifty dollars per month.

"When ah pay the house rent one hundred and fifty dollars, Lord, Father, fifty dollars I have in mi hand for them

children to eat! I think. I pay the rent. Them children were coming to school in District, they had to walk down and walk up. I say I going take a bus. The bus won't be too heavy. If is \$10 or \$20 dollars per month, I going pay the bus \$20 dollars. And the other \$30 I going take it and make a message and make it last; buy more rice. I have callaloo round there (planted) cook rice and callaloo everyday. Survival must come. Buy the hage (25lbs) of rice."

Ms Wendy says she was feeding herself and seven children, four of her own and three grandchildren. The parents of the grandchildren were taking care of them so she had to take care and ensure that they went to school. She says she told them

"if is a hage of rice you buying, buy the hage of rice and cook a little bit every day. For me don't worry bout me. I working and where I working I going eat down there. And I will get food (provision) and cook it with coconut and make a kind of 'tun han' (food cooked in coconut)"

She explains that the children have relatives in the district who will give them green bananas. Also there is a man in the district who she helps out in his field and he would also give them green bananas.

" So I explain to them boil the fig in the coconut and make a kind of tun han to eat, just to save their life. Because if you don't know what to do...Grenadians ain't starving you know? Anybody who starving in Grenada starving

themselves. They have food. In Trinidad if somebody don't have the money to buy food, yes, they starving. In Grenada you have too much food. You have fig (bananas), you have bloogo, you have coconut, you have yam, you have breadfruit, you have all kind of thing. This person...give me two hands of fig please...ah going and look for a coconut. You don't must have meat, you know? So if someone don't want to do that is they want to starve their ownself. And the most high god is a master we have to trust. So, if we don't trust him, all gone with us you know? So we have to trust him. We have to trust him. So if you hear Grenadians say they starving, they telling a lie. They starving their own self."

Ms Wendy continues,

"all this time he working and he don't give me a cent. But before I leave the house and go. One morning I get up he decide to take advantage of me and one of my son hit him, you know? Me son hit him, he come and he hit me and ah hit him. And he take a chain saw and he bust me stove. When he bust me stove ah can't take it I say police. I say you have to buy back me stove. Police come, he run. But he die now. ..The father of my children, hmm, hmm."

She continues, "yes, he die and when he die I come back in the house."

2.3.2.5 FAMILY LIFE

Unhappy family relations continue to plague Ms. Wendy.

" I have a girl, she giving me real trouble. She not working nowhere and she only making children. Why I don't make her go yet? Is because I don't want to see them children see trouble, but she have 6 children, six or seven."

Two of the children have been taken by the state and put in a home because they were out of control, One father has two, the mother has one and another father has one in Guyana."

Ms Wendy goes on to explain that her daughter is 35 years old and she really has 8 children.

" the 1 and 2 is different father, the 3, 4, 5 is one father, the 6 is a different father, the 7 is a different father, the eight is a different father. So is eight children she have. The big boy do want to stay with me so I let him go. The big girl don't want to stay with me so I let her go. Is eight children she have and is only the first one is a boy. All the rest is girls. The eldest one, the boy is 19 years old. May coming she (the mother of these children) is 35."

Ms Wendy explains that she has both children and grandchildren attending school. She says, that the whole situation has caused her to

"see a lot of trouble. I struggling to mind those I have home. Well, one finishing school this year. That one going in (is attending) Minarch. And the little boy he going to school in SASS. But I say if them children have mind and them have belly them going help me. But is not all of them. They

want to pack up on me and I mind them and still when they get [to be adults] I still have to mind them. I say no that can't happen. Everybody suppose to mind themselves... The big boy, the first boy, he does help me. The second boy, he working. I don't know what he doing with his money. The third boy, he working he does help me, but the 4th boy he is in school still. He is just 14, he having 15 years this year. He is in form 1. My grandchildren they gone with them so I ain't minding grand again. The little baby. She (her wayward daughter) have a little baby, you know? (Laughs) Seven months. She dey by she boyfriend. So I want her stay up there and don't come down. But she coming back down still...coming back down still. Right now me home closed, when I go back home. I meeting her home. Hmm, hmm. She could make it on she own, but she just wuttless. She don't want to do nothing, but lay down sleep whole day. When somebody come [she says] help me nuh, help me clean the house... I have to quarrel with her. I say I tired, I come from work I can't come to cook food for you to eat!

....And I married again, but me husband is just like...like. He staying in Altoille. When he come home from work he staying in Altoille. He come and he sleep and he go away next morning. Go to work, next morning...my second husband. He working in Fishery, you know? He works two night..."

When asked why he does not come home straight Ms. Wendy replies in an incredulous tone of voice,

"when he comes from work he does not come home straight he stops in Altoille, I don't know. That is his hobby, liming in Altoille, preaching the word of God in Altoille. From there he just pass through the yard and he go by a shop up there [nearby their home]. Say he going and listen news. When he come he just like to sleep (sighs deeply). So, I just dey watching and ah waiting. Ah waiting, because the house I living in, it want fixing, fixing, everything. It falling down. I can't walk hard inside mi house."

The house, she says, is 16 by 16. It is occupied by herself, her husband, two sons, two daughters and a grandchild." The house has three bedrooms and she got it from her first husband.

2.3.2.6 COPING

Ms. Wendy now works as a domestic, but she has done all kinds of work.

"I used to work on the estate. All kind of work, laboring, domestic, all kinds of work."

She says her main expenses are "foodstuff expenses" on which she spends

"200 and something dollars per week for everybody in the house. It could be more, 250 for everything, the meat, the food the this, the that, the gas. Because right now I don't have no gas. I have to wait until I get pay to buy a gas. I using coal stove, but I don't decide to buy a gas because is me alone buying gas"

She says two of her sons make a contribution to the house.

"The one that working in town. He come and he bring up groceries. If we don't have gas and he get pay he going buy gas. The other fella, the big one. He working and when he get money if we don't have he going buy grocery, he going buy meat we going cook and we going eat. If we don't have gas and he have money he going buy gas too. But the girl! I tell her she have to buy a gas. If she don't buy gas I ain't buying no gas she have to buy gas. She have to do something for herself, because she getting money. I don't know what she doing with she money. She don't working. She boyfriend giving her money. The children's father giving her money and they don't know what she doing with the money. That's why they come and take their children. The boy down there giving her money he come and take his children, because he don't know what she doing with the money. The two children going to school and them children they leaving home without eating something and they don't know how they going to school. You understand? Whilst I going to work I don't know whets going on home. You understand?"

Ms Wendy says three of her children are employed, her husband and herself. Her husband she says gives her \$300 for the month.

"He give me once for the month and that's it. He never give me anything else. That is all he giving me for the month. But me, I working [here] by Mr.

Smith and I working with the church. So when I get mi little money from the church and mi other working, I pay mi bills, I pay mi death dues and I see what I could buy with the rest. And his (husband's) money...if he give me I take, if he don't give me I don't ask him anything because is my children. I don't have a child for him You understand? That is why I doesn't dig around him. I doesn't dig him to get nothing for my children. If he give I take it, if he don't that doesn't bother me because I know I working hand to mouth."

Ms. Wendy says that she works for \$500 per month. This is supplemented with the \$300 from her husband and the grocery that she gets from her sons. When she gets her money she says

"I gone and do mi grocery. By the time the 15th of the month the grocery done long. When it done he bring, you know? This cause me to do go and beg, you know? But even though I don't have I don't go and beg people."

Ms. Wendy is asked if she plants a garden. She informs the interviewer that she can't work hard again because of a stroke she has had. It has affected her left side and she says sometimes her left hand "give up. So, I can't do this set of cutlassing and work that I used to do before." The youth have not turned to farming. As she puts it, "none of them not planting garden. None of them planting garden. Me husband, he have a piece of garden behind there they just leave it mek the bush grow up."

Other expenses faced by the household include utilities. She says the electricity bill comes to \$100+ per month because since her hand is not good she has had to buy a washing machine on hire purchase terms.

“And me other son he has a fridge and he taking current from me and he doesn’t want to pay the current bill either. So I decide to cut out the current, but ah don’t make him no wiser [she did not tell him of her intention]. About three months in the year he don’t pay current bill. So if he don’t helping me how he want me to live. Can’t live without help.”

When asked why the children are still living with her and not on their own, she replies:

“ My son who works in Altoille he is on his own. He put an apartment in the back [of the land]. What happen is I was working down the road in Font Hill and he had a little works by me home, but everything he doing home. I get some material from the government to fix me home. One day when I come me son say Mummy look John use up you material. When ah go the place done box round, like he work for the day. I say John what you doing man? That don’t good enough, that don’t good enough. Ah say that don’t good enough boy. That making me look small. Material come to fix my house and you tek it and fix your house and my house rotting?”

Another of her sons she says tells her,

“Mummy, he do it already, leave him. So I leave it give him, and finish with it and I stay in mi old piece of ranch still.”

Ms Wendy says she used to pay \$200 + dollars for light but

“it cut down now and I pay \$100 and something for water because the washing machine taking plenty water and everybody washing in the machine. So when I pay dat and I pay me death dues, \$20 per month, pay \$60, mek up for the time I skip. Plus me medication.”

2.3.2.7 HEALTH

Epidemiologically, the region has gone through a transition in which its disease profile was dominated by exogenous or contagious illness with their bases in the environment to one where endogenous illness or illness related to the physiological malfunction of internal bodily function tend to be the most significant. In the surveys of living conditions, the poor report better health than the non-poor. The odd finding on reported health from the surveys points to a number of structural constraints and the kind of adaptation in attitude that is made by the poor of the region. Lack of resources means an inability or, at the very least, difficulty in accessing good quality medical care. This, coupled with the preoccupation with ‘making two ends meet’, and a lack of

knowledge about human physiology serves to undermine the development of a 'check-up' culture, or a preventive approach towards health care. So, even as they report no ill health in the surveys the disease is often at work, but not yet manifested.

Ms Wendy is afflicted with the chronic illnesses of diabetes and hypertension. The diabetes is recent but the hypertension is a long standing ailment.

"Ah had the pressure long because I had me hand since 2000 (hand disabled by stroke). Ah come and I fall with the stroke. And when it was about 2002 I realize I had the sugar. All the time I had the pressure, the sugar still working, you know, because hand to mouth I didn't have the money at the time. Hand to mouth. I work for \$200 and I owe the shop. By the time I pay the shop and give them children a money...because is I and I alone and I didn't well to have to buss mi shut to go here and go there...but them children used to get an allowance from NIS. So when they get the allowance I tell them take the allowance and buy food, you know? I work for \$150 before I come and work for Mr. Jones (present employer) and is just about two years now I working with Mr. Jones."

When asked about the condition of her house, Ms, Wendy describes it in terms that suggest it is dilapidated.

"If you see it you going cry shame on it. (Sighs) but what ah going do, it sheltering me still. It sheltering me still, thank God. I have faith in God man."

When asked how she maintains her health Ms Wendy says,

"to be truthful I does go in the surgery (public health clinic) and test me sugar and pressure. Every month I have to pay \$24 for medication, every month, every month. If they don't have it in the surgery and I have to buy it, I have to save money to buy me medication... \$30, \$40, \$50.. about four different type of tablet... And it could cost more than that, you know"

Ms. Wendy normally attends the public clinic for any medical needs, but not often. She puts it this way,

"I hardly go to doctor, you know. If pain don't hold me or something don't do me I don't go to doctor. But you know I go and check me sugar and me pressure every month and make sure me sugar alright and me pressure alright in the clinic. If I don't feel any pain in my body or feel sick, I don't go to doctor. Because I don't go to doctor and say I am sick and nothing don't do me, you know? If ah feeling weak and feeling sick I go by the doctor and tell her ah feeling sick or ah feeling weak and she will say something wrong with you blood or so. But, if ah doesn't feeling sick or feeling weak I doesn't go to doctor. The only problem I have is diabetes and the pressure."

Ms Wendy is asked is asked if the household ever finds itself without food. She replies,

"if I find myself without food, I have a credit at the shop (grocery store). Right

now I owe the shop \$100 and odd for goods taken on credit and the month don't up yet. I owe the shop and hundred and something dollars for this month plus grocery that I make me son bring up grocery the other day."

Does that keep food in your family's stomachs?

"Yes... a little is a feast(laughs). "

Ms. Wendy is asked what kinds of food her family eats. She replies,

"well like rice, provision, callaloo, macaroni them kinds of thing."

Then she adds,

"chicken, fish, meat..."

Do you think your family has an adequate diet?

"Well", she replies, " I could eat fish everyday, but when you have children you can't cook fish everyday because is not everyday they eating that, is not everyday they eating that. If they eating saltfish everyday you have to give them that, but you have to know what you children eating. If they eating saltfish everyday is saltfish you have to give them. You know, some people say if you have you children they have to eat what you give them but, is not all the time you can give them that. You have to ask you children what they want. You have to find out what you children want. If they want high faluting food you can't afford that (laughs). One day I ask what they want they say macaroni pie, chicken (laughs) I say I mamma can't

afford that, you know. So that is the thing you have to try to avoid them from saying things you cannot afford to buy. You know, one day you could buy. Even buy one day, you know month end when you get pay you buy a macaroni pie and a fry chicken. Next week you ain't getting that. Once for the month. (laughs) Yeah. I struggling to mind them cause its good."

Ms Wendy reports that two of her sons have children.

"Me big son, he have a boy. He staying down in Caper with a girl. But he is a big boy. He going to school. He used to stay with me. Ah grow him. He staying with his mother. He used to stay with me.

"When I look back on my life I feel like I could sit down and cry. Because the struggle I struggle in life. Life is a struggle, you know? Life is really a struggle. To come out of the struggle you have to dey on Jehovah, God. You have to trust him with all you power, all you might, all you strength. Trust him. Although he give you the strength, but you still have to trust him with you strength. If you don't trust him, you ain't going nowhere. You will struggle until the last thread fall down and you don't see where you going. You have to trust him, you know? Once you have faith in God and you have love between you anything good can come your way. Because he sent his son into this world to save us and he is saving us..."

The future, Its kinda tough you know, its kinda tough but we have to make it good. Because I have a daughter

overseas and she hardly send anything for me. She in America. She hardly send anything for me. I thank God she alive, I thank God. I thank God for me and the rest of my children. I thank God for the strength he give to me and my children to work everyday. Praise him every morning, praise him every night. Thank God. My past was a hell of a thing, but that past. My coming one I don't know how it going to be like. I'd like to have a nice quiet future, so when I dead, I dead in glory (laughs).

2.3.3 CASE STUDY 3: JOHANNA, 34, MOTHER OF 9 LIVING IN A COMMON-LAW RELATIONSHIP WITH THE FATHER OF SIX OF HER CHILDREN.

Main Themes: Inherited poverty; unstable family life; inadequate schooling; early repeated child bearing with more than one man; economic insufficiency; life threatening domestic abuse; incestuous relationship of husband and step daughters; failure of social agencies

Johanna's story provides interesting sociological insight into the ways in which material deprivation and social neglect find expression in interpersonal relationships and diminished quality of life. Factors such as inherited poverty, unstable family life, inadequate schooling and unemployment have combined to produce a form of existence fraught with pain, unhappiness and danger. This case study demonstrates in stark and dramatic fashion the ways in

which socioeconomic deprivation translates into the everyday experiences of some people.

Johanna was born into poverty. She says she never lived with her mother until she was 11 years old. She was shifted to her maternal grandmother's care at birth and stayed with her until she went to live with her mother at 11.

"From ever since I know myself, I grow up with my grandmother until ah had eleven years. Then I went to live with meh mother. Meh grandmother used to work in the 'nutmeg pool."

Of her mother she says, "I used to see her around."

When asked what her mother used to do for a living she replies, "I don't know, you know, nothing." "Up to this day" she says, her grandmother is her real mother.

Johanna says her mother was a housewife and that she lived with her children's father. Her mother had six children for two different men.

"I have four brother and one sister. Me and me brother is different father, but the next four is same father. Meh father dey in Trinidad. I never know meh father until ah have about 22 years. "

He left Grenada before she was born. Her grandmother sent her to primary school, which she attended for 8 years. Her grandmother worked in the nutmeg pool cleaning nutmeg and mace (the

skin of the nutmeg. Johanna's grandmother raised two other young children with her - cousins - children of another daughter. She herself had nine children. Johanna describes a life of basic living in growing up with her grandmother.

"You know life long time (ago). When you wake up in the morning you have to go and draw water. If you cooking outside on fire wood you have to go and get that wood. If you have animal to tie out you have to do that and then you know you have to go to school."

Still Johanna does not seem to have had a distressful childhood growing up with her grandmother. She went to school on a regular basis and had adequate food to eat. As she puts it,

"I never know when I small going without food! Is now when I get big now.. is now when I get big now (laughs) it have times when it ain't have nothing inside here (laughs). And all of us does have to go and sleep so. "

When she grew up with her grandmother she was single. Her husband had died.

Johanna completed school at the age of 14. By that time her grandmother had migrated to America and she had moved in with her aunts. She stayed with them she says until,

"when she see I get big and could look after she children she take me. When I was 14 I reach in Standard 7. When you reach in that standard you do school

leaving and you leave school. [She stayed home] to look after meh mother children. I had was to look after two. It was not bad at first, but after she not there, step father not there and I had was to see after dem children. Go school, come back, see after them. So ah going for water I had to have them on mi shoulder. To go in the shop, I has to go with the children."

Johanna says that at age 15 she got pregnant with her first child, "the big girl there [Indicating her pregnant teenaged daughter inside]."

The father was, " a fellow from the area. ..he used to go and fish."

Her mother was not pleased. "She vex with me. She beat me and she tek me and drop me back in meh grandmother house."

Her aunts and uncle lived there, but she says

"from there I had was to cook for myself. I didn't do anything after that. I just stay home and look after the child. I had meh aunt there and she working and she used to give me a little help out and I used to see after dem children for her. I back in the house there. Meh aunt used to let her sister see after the children, but she left and go. So when I come back there now I used to see after them."

Johanna received no support from the father of her first child,

“sake of (because) of meh mother dem. Meh mother didn’t want me to talk to him. She didn’t want me take nothing from him, she didn’t want me to talk to him and she still didn’t used to give me anything. I stayed in the house till I end up have two after she (the first child). The father take one and he leave me with one. So I end up with two children.”

Johanna says she was 16 at the time of the birth of her second child.

“One[at] 16 and one[at] 17, somewhere there nuh. The father do security [work]. He guard the clinic...and he still doing it.”

The father lived by himself,

“not far from us. The father left me with one and I have one. That left me with two and I still have two of them. The second one (the second of the additional two children that she had i.e. her third child) come and live with me (in the current time) and since she come inside here everything turn upside down.”

Johanna says the father of her second and third children used to support her and at that time she still got income from looking after her aunt’s children.

“I did still looking after them. Even when the first set get big she had about three after they and I end up coming and see after them. ...six, six children...all ah dem is big man and big woman now. I stayed there until I had about 19 years. That is when I come and pick up the children’s father here [her current partner]. I have six of them for him, two

boys and four girls. He did construction work. I stay home and look after dem children. It was good in the beginning, but right now? For a little while [things were good] three, four years, somewhere there [and then] everything just turn upsided down. He just come and get wutless. I just can’t handle he and the vibes and dem kinda situation there. Fourteen years [the duration of her relationship with her current partner] and when you think you know people you ain’t know them at all.

When I fist come to live [in this community] you only have light, you didn’t have water and that was a problem. Where I used to live in [other town] you had water. Right in the yard and when I come down here you had was to go so far to go and drew water. When you hear dry season you have to wait for the water truck. When you hear rain fall people up here glad because that mean they getting water. They don’t have to go and drew water. [The community] was nice before, but it ain’t nice now at all. [A lot] has changed. Dem youths and dem out dey they terrible. They sitting down out deh, dey smoking weed, the cursing the biggest set of word (using obscene language). They getting on out deh. Out deh always have some little drama. Something always happening out deh.”

Throughout the interview, Johanna evinces signs of emotional distress. As the interview progresses Johanna becomes more forthcoming about what disturbs her. She had indicated that she would soon be moving out of the house.

When the topic comes up again she says,

“yeah I leaving. I just waiting on she to make the baby (speaking of her pregnant 18 year old daughter) because her due date is on the 5th (a couple of weeks time). That is the one there that did get involved with the teacher. She is 18 years. She is one that did involve with a teacher. Is not one ..other people children too. “

Of the teacher Johanna says,

He should lose his work! Because she and him had a case about four years aback where he used to interfere with her and nothing become of the case. And when I think she don't going behind him or he don't going behind she, see she end up with her belly there and all these children is mine. She going to school. She go to school with it. And she dey on maternity leave now. So when she finish make the child she going back to school. They does give them 3 months maternity leave home. So she going back to school till September.“

Johanna reports that when the girl got pregnant she was in Secondary school. She continues,

“Is not he alone that doing that, is not he alone. You have other teachers involved [in that type of behaviour] too. “

Johanna says that her husband is currently employed. There were times when he was not and during those times,

“mi aunt in America used to give me a little help. But through the sake ah he (husband) and what he do dey she doesn't send no more help. Around four months now she don't call me.“

The story unfolds,

“the second child used to be with the father and she step mother. The father and the step mother come and they mash up, but the step mother say she would take being as she grow up with them [from] small. And the step mother had she in [district] there and that little girl didn't use to behave. Every Wednesday she used to go for counselling... and she attitude and she behaviour didn't good at all. And the step mother bear patience and she bear patience. And she lying and she just leave and walk out and do what she want and when the step mother talk she want to come in what hours she want. When they there sleeping in the night, the little girl passing out the window. Fifteen years you know? And go and sleep with man and come back in the morning. If the little sister did not get up for water in the night they woulda neva know. She used to pass through the window.“

2.3.3.1 FAMILY INSTABILITY AND POVERTY

The question of the contribution of Caribbean family form to the reproduction of poverty across the generations is a moot one. Does the family cause poverty or is what happens with family the outcome of poverty? Johanna's experiences provide insight

into the possible outcome of the instability that seems to inhere in the complex pattern of mating and child-rearing that is a feature of this family pattern. But, can it be divorced from the circumstances of neglect and deprivation that is the milieu with which it operates? In this instance a daughter raised under unfavourable conditions devoid of the love, guidance and discipline that is every child's right is about to manifest behavioural problems that threaten to derail her mother's life.

Johanna continues her narrative.

"The step mother say she couldn't take it. The step mother say she tired and fed up. I say well let she go by she father. Because I know she don't easy. So I say to bring her down here I know it going cause problem with she attitude and thing. But I say no well is my child still. I take her. Oh God! That is the biggest mistake I ever make in meh life eh. From the time that little girl come down here, she spend a week..... everything quiet she don't do nutten...but the step mother tell me watch her! Because she is a little woman, when people sleeping she does pass through the window and go out in the night. I say well she dey down here, she ain't know nobody she ain't gonna do that. So she don't do that. She dey, here she dey good? ...when me and dem children father [her current partner] have something and I sit down out side and talking [about the matter] she hear and she go in and tell him, creating more confusion inside here.

Everyday he come, people telling him this and people telling him that. I get so fed up and frustrated. Come, things settle down in here for a week...and then the next week? Everything turn over...the fighting, the cussing, the abuse is too much. If a night he want sex and I not giving him, nobody can't sleep, the whole house can't sleep because he cussing the whole night. If you see I tired and I ain't giving him, he in me [expletive] the whole night. I can't sleep. I tell him I rather go than to stay inside here and put up with this stupid[ness]. Things settle down for a little while. Come, I hear a talking... I heard a talk. A friend of mine come and tell me, a fellow he does carpenter work. He come and tell me...he say he see him using the little girl [her husband having sex with her daughter]. But him partner and dem (his co-workers) didn't know that that was going on. They did not know the little girl. So when they see her down there they say she must be one of his daughters friend and he maybe like her, not knowing that she is the sister [of her husband's daughters]. The fellow did not tell me. He tell Dawn [a neighbour]. So she call me and tell me look at what the man tell her, I must go and question them [her other daughters].

So when I come I question Maureen, because he say Maureen does be with her, Maureen might have a idea. So when I question Maureen she say she never notice, she never know. I call her and I question her (the daughter alleged to be in the relationship with her step father). She say no, he doesn't interfere with her. I say ok. I even threaten her

with CID (Criminal Investigation Dept). I say I will bring you in to the CID to make them question you and find out. She say no. At the same time he come I ask him. He say no, people lying on him.. But is talk and it spread in a place. A partner of his meet him and tell him and he come and say how I joining with people and say wrong thing. I say, I don't joining with no body and say wrong thing. I say I heard the talk, I come and I ask you, you say no, that is not true. For a whole two weeks eh, that boy cuss me inside here. Is what he don't remember, he don't tell me. He cuss, he say all kinda thing. Ah turn to him and I say, if you know that is not true and I say for a whole two weeks you cussing me and telling me all kinda thing how I joining with people and spreading your name. I say I not spreading your name. I come and tell you what I hear. I say if you know is not true you wouldn't get on as how I see you get on dey! I say, it look like you guilty of something. How he get on alone and he movements alone, you could see like he guilty of something. He come, he stop, lie down, then he start back afresh again. Every time you see him, she behind him. He leaving and he going to work.. before the time he step out she passing all here, she passing through the bush and she behind him. I come and I ask her, I say well you can't do nutten, is just everytime he leaving don't go down the road. He come and he cuss me! He come and he cuss me, you know? I say well no. What people saying is true! Because if you could come in and I talking to her. I say don't go down the road do something and you

come and you cuss me and telling me oh I believe too much in what people say it look like something going on. And then I observing them inside here and she movements and he movements alone could tell me well what people saying is true. And then after, everything come die down."

The plot thickens. Johanna is about to suffer another blow. Johanna says that her husband started to get involved in the arguments of the siblings and even though she spoke to him he persisted. This caused her to disrespect him even more. On one occasion his second step daughter (the older sister to the one that recently joined the household) told him that someone passed and saw him having sex with her sister. One night Johanna says he approached her for sex and she told him no. He started

"fighting up with me and she (the elder of the two step daughters) appear from nowhere and pull him up from over me, you know? So I jump up and I say, what the so and so going on inside here? I say, oh it look like that is yuh man so you have to come and pull you man off of me! He say he find a mustn't say that, but what else for I to say? Well, I going think that. She come and she just pull him off of me and say, you don't hear she telling you she not giving you. You don't have shame? I want to know what going on. He start to cuss her. He tell her he don't want her here, she have to go. So I go by [friend] borrow a \$10 and give her for her to go by she father. When I helping her with the packing he cuss her and say why you don't tell you

mother how I tek you, but you telling you mother how people telling you they see I tek [little sister]? You did see I taking her. She say, no I don't see, the person who see meet me and they tell me. And he keep continue cussing. And I tell her, I say don't bother with him. Ah say he want you to answer... she keep on continue packing she don't answer him. He take off the light. We see down in the dark, but the streetlight from the power station shining in the house and we keep folding the clothes.

He keep cussing, 'why you don't tell you mother who you taking? I say well don't afraid, you is a big man, say who you taking. Either you taking she or you interfering with [the little one]. And he keep continue cussing.. I say well don't afraid and I get up now ..I get up to drink some water. He keep continuing. Why you don't tell you mother when I did taking you, but you telling you mother how people telling you I taking [younger sister]. Tell you mother is you I used to take. I say well if you used to do that for a big man! I say you nasty! And I heave on him and I start to fight with him. He stand up right there and he take all the cuff...and the finger nails because next morning his face did scratch up. Then he turn and tell her, 'you don't see when she and the teacher did have the case and they bring her twice in the hospital to examine her she didn't want to open she foot because she done know I did already taking her.'

And he cuss that little girl, he cuss her, he say things he say things. What he say it not good to put it on that thing (tape recorder) for people to hear. I say that's

not right. He didn't have to tell her that at all."

2.3.3.2 FAILURE OF THE SOCIAL AGENCIES

Johanna continues,

"I say let's go to the CID. I going and make a report to the CID. But when ah going now I say tek care I go now and is vexation cause him to say those things. I decide to question her. She tell me yes that is true. I so shame all now I don't even ask her how long he doing her that (having sex with her). Because right about now I can't even make sense of what happen. I go in the CID...I going down, I crying- them policemen from ..pick me up they as me what happen. I go in the CID. They ask me what happen. I tell them. They say no that is not right because when me and he pick up (started the relationship) she had 4 years. He grow her up as he daughter. If he could do she that he could do his own the same thing. So I go and I talk to the man (officer) and he tell me they must have a woman present (to examine the girl) so come in the morning for 8 o'clock. They drop me back up and they tell me if when I go home he making noise, don't answer him. That man cuss the night, say I don't make the teacher make jail and I want him to make jail and is a good thing she have 18 years he can't make jail and they can't do nothing. But what the police tell me even if she have 18 years they could still charge him, cause that is a serious charge. I tell them is he and the next one (the younger sister, 16 years old). They tell me bring her in the morning.

The morning I say, lets go. He tell me, don't bother with her, go to school, don't go. I say well the police going come up here and pick you up in the school. He tell if you go with you mother and they question you, don't say nutten. She never go, you know? Up to now. When I reach in the station in the morning they ask me where is the next one. I tell them what and what he tell her. I go and I talk to (woman officer) and she I come and I tell her what happen says yes is true she say the little girl didn't want to open her foot to take the test. On two occasions we go. And then I tell her, look at what he tell her and all what he say. She say yes, all of what he say there and what you say that is what happened. She refused to take the test and she didn't even want to talk and say nutten about the teacher. She never take the test. She refused to do it. Look her there you could ask her. She didn't want to talk to (woman officer). So she tell me go in Social Service. I went to Social Service. I Social Service what happen .. and about the next one (15 year old). They write down what they have to write down and they tell me well let they talk to her (the elder sister who accompanied Johanna to make the report). They went and they talk to her and she tell them yes he used to interfere with her that is why she run away. She leave the frying pan and she jump into the fire, because when she run way from him she run straight into the arms of the teacher. One thing led to another, she in she pregnant condition where she is there now."

So what about the younger one?

"The younger one, well she ain't dey here now you know. She cuss him last week Tuesday, that is the 14th. Because I does go... I can't even make sense of all what going on you know. Two weekends I leave and I go by meh mother. Meh mother not there she gone in (district) by she man, but me sister and brother they there. So I spend two weekends up there to cool meh mind and try to make sense of all what going on inside here." So you are about to move out? "Yeah. Social Service tell me stay, half of the house is mine. I end up remaining back. I don't go." Stay!? Why did they say that you should stay. " Because I have six of them here for him... I going with them. I ain't leaving them. Because if he could do she the big one that he could go on his own. And I go down there and I tell them that. The lady tell me well they going get the police and they going go by the lawyer and they going come and put him out. I tell them I say no. It don't make sense coming here and put him out of the house. Because when they put him out and me and them children dey here, He going come back and try to do me something. I go to them and I talk to them and I tell them well (chokes up with tears) if I could get some material because me grandmother give me a spot up in (district) there. I gotta go, I know I gotta go, I will go, but I getting caught back. I go and talk to all kind of people."

Here we see the shortcomings of Social Services, firstly advising Johanna to stay in a potentially deadly situation and secondly not being able to relocate her or assist her with material to build on her house-spot in the countryside and

thirdly failing to do the pursue the prosecution of the husband for his misdeeds. Johanna continues,

“they tell me remain there, remain there and things will get better. If I remain there what example will I be showing the big ones. I tell them I ain’t staying there. He going do them little ones the same thing.”

This, perhaps, provides insight into the attitudinal base on which the high incidence of statutory rape in this society with a relatively high rate of teenage pregnancy takes place. The response of this agency provides us with insight into a level of tolerance of adult sex with minors that is remarkable. The police even in the face of the unwillingness of both girls to cooperate with the investigation should at the very least have acted on the mother’s account and brought in the husband for questioning. The social agency should have taken immediate action to ensure the removal of the mother and her children from this situation of sexual, emotional and, as we learn later, life threatening physical abuse.

Johanna continues,

“right about now meh 16 year old daughter, she panicking, you know? The other one she leave and go. She cuss him last week Tuesday because he send her in (town) and asking a friend of mine children if ah does be by her, where I does go. Is meh mother ah going by, he going and tell everybody is man ah

going by. I ain’t going by no man, ah just going by me mother to cool my head, because me grandmother have a piece of house up there...the back ain’t good, but ah say ah rather ah go up there and the breeze blow me and them. ..she panicking because if he could do the other ones so, he could do her so too. She just there and she just panicking. The other day she come out of school she asking me mummy when we going up? We going up today? Cause ah bring up meh clothes already, just waiting for her (pregnant daughter) to make the child and ah going for things not getting better inside here. Half of the time we are here and we don’t have anything to eat and he does have money. When he work he put \$120, \$130 in meh hand. You see ah have a little child there. She need milk and pampers, half of the time is hotwater tea she drinking. He ain’t studying that. When he see ah actually going now he calling them (children) and saying, ‘anything they want. When they dey inside here they ain’t getting more than a piece of food and a piece of food is [expletive] for them...everybody saying, remain inside here, remain inside here. I remain since January and now is April and things ain’t getting better. They getting worse because he cussing me inside here. You see ah cut meh hair. Me hair did long. When he ready to fight me he grabbing me hair and bounce up me head on wall. Last year he had hot porridge he scald half of meh face. The Saturday before he talking to the same one their (second daughter) about having she own way. He say I mustn’t say nothing. I get a split silver wood with two nail it go through me lip.

Meh mouth did swell big so (holding her hands around her mouth. I still taking doctor injection. Ah go in the police station, I report it."

Statistics on conditions such as overcrowding, lack of facilities and other aspects of the living conditions of poor people can translate human stories of dishonour, emotional pain and destroyed lives when told as life stories.

Johanna continues her lament,

"March Monday, me and him get away. Ah say 14 years, ah do something with me life...ah do something with me life and ah regret. He sleeping you know, he don't hear what ah say and ah deh talking. She (her daughter) go back and she tell him. The Friday evening he give me some sweetie for the child, ah tek two. He say, 'ah see you. Ah say well what I do for you to see me? I ain't do nutten. I don't tief. I say I have two sweets in meh mouth. I say you want it? I say I getting sick and tired with you and this thing that is going on inside here. I can't take it again. Because I dey inside here and he bumbing (having sex) with the little girl right inside here. I have a girlfriend. She have a daughter and the daughter working in [hotel named] and she stays here after work since she lives on other side of the island).

From the time the girl reach here, about a week after. She say to me, Johanna, what going on inside here with yuh man and Suzie (daughter who most recently

joined the household)? Ah say girl ah don't know nuh. People tell me all kinda thing and ah find he moving too suspiciously. Ah say, somebody taking somebody. She say well I notice that too....One night I lay down there and I almost drop asleep and I turn and I hear her (friend's daughter) say, ' umh, I ain't have nothing to say eh. I jump up and I say Jane, what happen? She don't answer, because she is a little girl, she don't talk eh. I still go, I put on the light, I say Jane what happen? She tell me nutten. She say, meh, I ain't have nutten to say nuh! I can't sleep because I say is something she see why she say that. I don't sleep the rest of the night."

"Well the morning ah get up now, ah put on meh nightie and I notice it bun (burnt). I say who was ironing. I say you see all of you doing things in here if people don't see, God watching.... when all of them children gone to school now I call Jane and I ask her what happen. She say she lie down on the chair and she turn and she see him taking Suzie.. and when he see her turn on the chair and facing them he come over now and watching to see if she sleeping. She say she cover she face with the sheet but she watching them. She say, Johanna, I thought it was you. I thought you leave the bed and come down on the floor. Cause she say she lie down there and she hear the little groaning. So she say (to herself) what Johanna go down for she little thing. But she say when she see me come down off of the bed, she wondering well, what going on. She say even if she don't see she hear. ..."

2.3.3.3 THE FAILURE OF THE PROTECTIVE AGENCIES

"I go I report them.. nobody don't come.. they should come and question the little girl. Even if they can't do him nothing for the big one they should question the 16 year old one ask her what going on. The little girl leave Tuesday. She cuss him dey. What she don't tell him! He sit down there, He don't say nothing. He don't tell her if she eye black or if she eye brown She cuss him, She tell him all kinda thing. And he don't say nothing. That's when I realize well something going on. Because them rest ah ones when he ready he cuss them, tell them all kinda things. With she now he can't tell her nothing... And she always have money. He have a little credit in the shop. When we don't have nothing, I will send them children and tek things. He say Johanna don't take nothing in the shop. But when she the 16 year old one seeing she period and want something to eat she can go and take it in the shop and I can't go and take things to give his children to eat?"

So I tell him aready, I come out plain and tell him is take you taking her. I say I is not stupid, I could see. I could see what going on in front meh face. And then the week end I didn't dey here, meh little 10 year old son tell me in the night he get up and he see he father taking her... Social Service joking, they joking. They go on radio and they talking about child abuse, and this kinda thing. And when you come and you report it they don't coming and do nutten! When ah tell last Friday ah going with meh 12 year old sone, because the police tell

right about now they under age go with them. But I say he have to do Common Entrance and he say he going stay with his father. I say well he is a boy the father can't do him nutten. But ah tell him Friday, I going with him you know. He say, you can't go with him. If you want to go, go. I say but that is my child and if the police tell me I going with him I going with him, but I wasn't going with him. But ah pack up the clothes. I sort them out and I put them in a garbage bag Friday. He see ah pack up the child things and he start to cuss.. I ain't answer him because it might go to fight and sometime I might get meh self beat up. I don't answer him or say nothing. I make him say what he have to say.

Friday night now I go down the road I come back up, he coming and touch me. I say don't touch me. All the time Suzie dey here you don't know me. I say more than six months now you don't know me. You don't know if I living. You don't study me. I say now that she leave and she walk out you know me? I say no don't touch. Oh so you have man. I say you put it any way you want. And he start to cuss me.. and he start to threaten me. Well, I give him me back.. and the next thing I know the man grab me in me throat and he threatening me, 'Is all woman like you that cause man to kill allayuh.' I say you little woman don't here, you not getting sex from her. What you coming to interfere with me for. I say just leave me alone. When he grab me in meh throat and he threatening me deh I say me and he going look for a fight. So ah say you see me I going and make a report ah going

in the police station. 'oh, you not going in no [expletive] police station and he grab meh clothes. Ah sit down in the bed there till about after 2.00 am. And I don't bother to go. He sit down there and he cuss me and he threaten me. He say if he don't want me to leave the house and go I never leave the house and go, because he will spire me and put me foot under his foot like a dog (obeah). All that when dem children hearing that, dem children want to go more faster. Because the big girl who making the child there. I know she will never be comfortable inside here. I don't sleep inside here you know? I don't sleep. Since after he cuss and I hear he tell her that and I hear it from his own mouth. I hear it from your own mouth. I don't hear it from nobody and when I question her she say is true. Ah go ah report all that nobody come. Ah go all about. Ah go and talk to a man in housing ...All saying the house is yours, don't leave it and go. I say I live inside here I know what I going through."

Johanna's experiences tell us of the meaning, in human terms, of objective quantitative indicators such as premature childbearing and in unstable union types, household density (where it tells of overcrowding), low levels of skill and education, female unemployment as representing the disadvantaged position of women in the labour market. All of these conditions are integral to the situation of being poor. It is not that some of these circumstances do not affect the non-poor in the society, however it is evident that poverty makes them more acute

and also that they in turn reinforce the conditions of deprivation and conduce to its transmission across the generations.

Johanna's life is in crisis. Some of the events that brought this about are larger than she and the other individuals that they affect. They are properly located in areas such as inherited (intergenerational) poverty and the associated denial of access to social and economic resources, non-functional social agencies and a culture that tolerates the sexual abuse of under-aged females by adult males. The events that have brought this about also give exemplification to the importance of understanding how poverty's impact is intensified by gender. As a woman she has been used all of her life to provide a critically important, but unacknowledged domestic function. Coming out of a dysfunctional family of origin, Johanna begins childbearing at the very young age of 15. This thwarts any prospect of additional education and training that she might have been able to acquire. It also ties her into providing domestic services for her mother's family.

At the age of 19 she enters into a relationship with a man in which she again assumes the domestic and procreative role. Lacking certification, she has never been formally employed and has dedicated her life to the care of her children and the father of her last set of children. He has ruthlessly exploited her situation of structural and personal vulnerability. Furthermore, the social agencies (the police, the social services)

charged with the responsibility of protecting her both as a child and a vulnerable woman have failed dismally in the fulfillment of their mandate. Not only have they failed Johanna, but the culture of institutional negligence has carried across the generations and allowed for a similarly ruthless exploitation of her daughters by unscrupulous adult males; all done with impunity. Furthermore, if the situation remains uncorrected they are likely to fail her grandchildren as well. Perhaps, one of the most fundamental social interventions that is needed in Grenada today to ensure its transition into the 21st Century as a civilized, progressive country is a legislative frame-work dedicated to the protection of women and children (with an emphasis on poor ones) and the creation of the appropriate levels of sensitization and technical competence among the personnel of the agencies concerned to ensure its effective implementation.

2.3.4 CASE STUDY 4: PHIONA, 44 YEARR OLD MOTHER OF 5.

Main Themes: Inherited poverty; early repeated childbearing with more than one partner; the dynamics of family instability; inadequate schooling; poor housing; underemployment, unemployment.

The next case study comes from the islands rather than mainland Grenada. Its focus is on the life experiences of two adult persons and allows for an understanding of the ways in which

poverty structures and is in turn reinforced by family and the relationships that take place within it. The themes of intergenerational poverty, unstable mating patterns and the effects of confinement to a primary labour market characterized by a marked gender bias again come to the fore. The interview takes place in the home of one of the interviewees in the main community on the island. In walking through the community in the middle of the afternoon one is struck by the large number of young men gathered on the verandah of the homes that are located along the roadway, gambling. Part of the explanation lies in the fact that one of the main forms of occupation on the island is fishing and it might very well be that this is the off-season, or that part of the day when men retire from the sea.

The person listed to be interviewed is Phiona, 44 year old single mother. On entering the home however, one notices her in deep conversation with Philip, a male friend. On being explained the reason for the visit, Philip agrees to be interviewed after Phiona.

Phiona says she was born in this community and lived here all of her life. According to her, her mother 'used to break stone.' This is a reference to the breaking of stones the fragments of which were used to build the roadways. Her father used to 'go in boat and fish.' Her parents she says had three girls and one boy. The boy went to sea one day

she says and drowned. Phiona left Primary school at 16.

According to her, "since ah growing up it hard and up to now it hard."

She elaborates,

"We was poor, poor, poor people. We had to carry load for people to get a little dollar to survive. We mother used to break a lot of stone and, you know, we used to go and help her and thing and she encourage us to work with her. We no grow up with ... we grow up poor, poor you know? Me mother couldn't afford to send us to school...books to buy.. sometimes we come out of school nothing to eat. I know meself sometimes I come out of school is some sweet water and biscuit. We eat that and have to go back to school. After I leave school I used to go and break stone for meself, you know to help our mother just to survive. I did that awhile and after that I pick up a...I pick up a guy and get pregnant."

She was 18 at the time. The father of her child used to be in fishing "and after when I make him [the baby] the father take him."

The father of the child now lives in Tallville.

" I have 5 children." Phiona continues, "at the time I used to live in a old, old house. .. I struggle a lot."

Phiona's children that she lives with are aged 16, 12 and 21. She also has two of

her sister's children in the house. She, herself, has 4 boys and one girl. The girl she says is married and lives in [district named] and

"the big boy he live in Grenada. He has 24..25 years. I have a little boy doing common entrance going to school. The government gives them some books, but if you damage the book you have to pay for it. They [the government] used to give us something to go in school to get books and things like that. Now, they stop that. [food] used to be free for children going to school, but now they stop it."

2.3.4.1 COPING

Phiona says she works on and off [road work].

"But ah have a sister in America she sends barrels and I sell stuff...But [pointing to a barrel] this barrel is a barrel of foodstuff. .ah have family I have to share it."

The road work is not regular.

"Sometimes whole year before I do a little road work .. sometimes when it come to Christmas time. .. You working from 7 to 1 in the hot sun [for] \$35 for the day. [that goes on] for a month."

At this point the interview is interrupted by her eldest son who demands some information from her and reminds her in the tone of an angry parent that he has instructed her to look for something that is need for an impending trip.

Phiona is asked what she does when the road work is finished. She says her son,

"the same one you see come and talk to me there. He does own a boat (fishing) and when he comes." he brings fish for food" Sometimes gives her money.

The house is small and is occupied by six persons. It has electricity and is supplied with water from a plastic tank that is filled from rainwater off the roof.

"When is dry time it tough and who have cistern you have to go and beg them for a bucket of water."

2.3.4.2 FAMILY

Phiona had each of her five children with a different man.

"It not easy was to undergo. Sometimes you pick up this one, this one nuh treat you good, you know?"

Some of the fathers she says are around [and involved in their children's lives] but some of them just turn their back and they gone.

"The father for the one taking Common Entrance offers no help, nothing, nothing. If he go and pass Common Entrance I mightn't send him because you have fi buy uniform, you hafi buy this, you hafi buy that..."

She says she gets no assistance from the govt for her son. Of the programme that used to be in existence she says,

"they cut out all that. You see this government that in now, this government do a lot of strange things.

You see the government that was in they was very good. You used to get you little food basket. You used to get you work often in the road. We used to get we road work often. It was a very good government. They just change him. Now, now they [the people] call him now, they want him back, but it too late."

Of her son attending school Phiona says

"he is kinda bright away like.. [but] .he like a lot of fight and if he go to [new school] he might fight and they might beat him.."

Phiona says food is expensive,

"Before now if you go in the shop with hundred dollars you could see what you buy, but now hundred dollars come in like \$10.. expensive! Sometime \$800 for a week eh.. fi food...expensive ah tell you. Foodstuff was cheap, cost of living get high, high, high."

It is her sister's support that she has to rely on. "She is a singer. Ah have she children them. She have five, but I have two of them." The other three are in another part of Grenada.

Phiona's roof is brand new and she says it was given to her by the Red Cross. She remarks that it is built in a way that allows wind in, maybe to ensure that it can withstand hurricanes.

When asked why she has not gone to another part of the country where she might get more work she replies, "well

this is meh country. You more safe here."

She says she likes the fact that

"you are free, you go when you want and you can leave your door open. Nobody to trouble you. It is a free place."

Phiona explains that even though she does not always have food to eat she has a friend who is a boat owner that she goes to when she has nothing and he assists her. Light bill she says amounts to \$200 plus but this figure usually contains some monies carried from the last bill. Gas for cooking amounts to \$54 and she buys 2 for the month. Her son's lunch money can vary from \$5-15 per week. Phiona says she is diabetic. She gets treatment at the local clinic and her medication is about \$10. Her mother, she says had both diabetes and hypertension.

"She didn't know she have it (diabetes). They been treating her for pressure."

Phiona says she has traveled to Cuba under a government scheme to get treatment for some eye problems and to do neurological checks as a result of headaches that she used to have.

"They had to push a needle in meh spine to test the fluid and they found nothing, nothing. Up to now it still continue. Headache, and funny head and sometimes this spot burn me as pepper. And they can't find out is what cause it."

Since she has come from Cuba, she says,

"ah go in the doctor and he give me tablets, but ah suppose to go in Grenada and do a head scan. They suppose to help me with it. They ask me how much for the scan. I tell them \$800 and something, so I want to hear what they saying when I call them [again]."

"I need a good work. 20 years now [I have not had a job]."

Phiona explains that construction, one of the economic mainstays has slowed considerably because of a prohibition placed on the removal of sand from the beach.

"They have to get sand from Guyana and other places, you know?"

Housing is another critical need faced by Phiona.

"You see the house small. It need an addition and it don't have no bathroom and toilet (it only has an outside bathroom and pit latrine. Six persons live in the house and it only has one bedroom area."

At the time of the interview, Phiona has a male visitor present. It provides an opportunity to understand the man-woman dynamic and the place it has in the life of people who are patently victims of material deprivation. It also provides an opportunity to hear the man's side of the story in the mating process that seems to have such a strong association with poverty in general and intergenerational poverty in particular.

Leroy says he was born in Grenada in 1968. This makes him 3 years younger than Phiona.

"My father used to do mason work, my mother used to work in the field, planting bananas and thing you know? ..Is five of us (siblings) four boys, one girl. I am the second of my mother's children. I went to Catholic school in Grenada... Primary school. I reach in standard 7 and I was suppose to do School Leaving (exam) dem time dey. Then they had a training school open in the area, so ah lef school and ah go and learn trade. I learn mechanic and the other trades...I am a trade man...electrical too. But the only thing that make all the money is the carpenter trade so I do it to survive. After ah lef school I get a job in a (inaudible) I wok, I wok, sometimes I go and collect fish with meh pardner, you know what ah mean?"

Leroy says in growing up he

"..didn't have it 'so tough' but those times was easier for me. When ah growing up and going to school, meh mother have time to prepare for us, meh father have time to prepare for us, you understand? So we use to have it easy to go to school. To training school, the mother for us, the father for us we don't have to time to go and ask anybody for anything because my mother was working, my father was working. Is when we start reach man now we go on we own."

Leroy says he completed trade school at age 18-19.

"From that time ah on meh own, no problem up to now. Since ah lef school ah could a manage mehself...no problems up to today now."

Leroy explains his presence in the Carriacou/Petit Martinique as follows.

"My father used to work in Trini[dad]. He come back when I was 23. When he come he get a job in Carriacou (to make water catchments) and ah come with him...We go back home, come back up and I just passing here to do a little job...masonry and carpenter."

This he says, he has been doing for six, seven years. Asked about his own family (procreation) he says,

"Yeah ah suppose to have two youths, but a girl did want to give me a next one (laughs), you understand? But is mine still because is me he see as his father, you understand, but is one register under my name. His first two children are with "two baby mother" and they are both 17. One born in March, one born in September. I provide support for them, especially the one who register ..when the mother tell me he want something, but I maintain the two of them. "

So, Leroy is asked, this lady, Phiona is your friend? He replies,

"Yeah. As Ah come up here we make friend and I decide to give a little help.."

Leroy explains that he lives with Phiona, but says its

"Only for the time being I don't stay here too long, I more be in Carriacou, because they don't have work here to the fullest (a lot of work is not to be found in this place) like how we in Carriacou and Grenada. Because I been here since January (it is now May)...the work doesn't too flow up here to the fullest...You can't depend on a daily work up here."

In Carriacou Leroy lives at his father's place. He explains that his father is now old and has returned to Grenada,

"So I just control my own destiny now. In Carriacou I have a brother and I chill with him.. until I ready to go back home because I does go to Grenada still."

Who do you live with in Grenada?

"Well ah live with meh mother, ah don't have a personal house for mehself. If I find things too slow here I go to Carriacou. If I find things too slow in Carriacou, I go back home where I born and grow, so I spend most of the time in Grenada. Is only when I have a job up here I come up here. If I dey up here now and a friend call me and tell me ah have a house to block up I will go down and I will do ah work. Suppose things slow with him and somebody want me plaster a house [here], ah leave part time and I come. I don't deal with permanent work. But me personal, ah never have a personal thing (house) for mehself, you understand. Is just how life live, you understand? Because if I have a personal

house for myself I wouldn't be running here and running there."

The underlying reason for his nomadic existence is the non-availability of steady work.

"Even though I get a steady work here that go up to three years in Carriacou and I could say I going look for a steady work to settle mehself, ah never look to say there is a steady work to settle mehself, you understand? To say well ah going to depend on a job for a six years culture or a five years culture, to say ah going settle mehself, ah never look."

But is it because you want it so or is because it not available

"Its not available. Is not I want it so. If I could get a place for myself that would be more than nice, but is not to say I reach ah stage where I can get it, you understand? You see my father old and my mother she can't work for money again, so I have to look for it now."

Leroy says he assists his parents as long as he is living home and working he has to contribute something to the house, this includes the paying of bills.

Leroy continues his story.

"You see the first child mother deh now? We could ah settle one place you know, but.. you know wha ah mean? When ah build the house for she.. get some starter material from the government but.."

He goes on to explain that they had differing temperaments and so he moved out.

So what about the next one?

"Well she is the cause of the breakup with the first one. Although ah do a lot for she (the first one) and she would want me to come back and build a house on (her) land. She give me the opportunity to build a house for me and she, but me nuh mek up meh mind to do that yet, you understand? Ah don't know what kind a dream she see she want me to come back, but ah just easy. Meh nuh mek up meh mind for that yet. Meh and this one (the second one) we don't have no conflict like the first child mother, so this one now the second child mother we kinda go down close, you know? So that is the only one ah feel ah could you know? That is besides this one (the first child's mother) because she behind me now to come and build a house in Grenada to stay, you understand? Because is two house I bought you know, because is for the children... I just chill you know and when the opportunity come. So if ah deh by she and the opportunity come, you know what I mean? Although she have a house already, you know. She buy a piece of land and she want me to build a house on it and start a life wid she. Ah don't know if she serious or not."

When asked if he maintains regular contact with his children, Leroy responds, "Yeah man, all the time, all the time."

Both, he says, are in secondary school. "Right now they taking exam, CXC exam."

He says he has just recently had to send money for subjects for one of them and money to buy boots and "all kinda thing" for the other.

"Sometimes, I don't have it and the mother have to provide. One mother sell .. at the school and the other works at When you making children, you have to make you children with someone who could help."

When asked about the future Leroy says as far as the immediate situation he finds himself in on this island he is just going to continue to

"Chill and take things nice and easy and relax himself. I can't say I am going to stay here and build a house because I can't live here. It have no job here, you understand. Is a small place too. I can't survive up here. If I was a fisherman."

But can you do that in Grenada?

"Yeah man. In Grenada you have nuff place you could make a job. You could get a work in St. George's. You could get a work in the city area. You could get a work out of St. George's. But you can't depend on a job up here. The only way you could depend on a job up here is if you get a six year contract you might try a thing. Any money you work for you might squeeze it and have something, have a business going ...Ah get about a two years contract in Grenada already you know, but it

wasn't steady. You have a guy wanting to build a hotel down there and he going call me. So longs as he get a two year contract down there that would be nice. If after that I get another two years again, I going make it down there, steady. You get work eh, but the work ain't steady."

Leroy continues

"The new government just get in power so I don't know how things going work out. I have to give him a chance to see because he never get in power yet. One in power for ten years .. you must have changes, you must have changes. You have to watch it and see. You have to wait and see what going happen. How the system is you have to move around to survive.

You can't stay here and wait on a job because that job might never come, you understand. Like I come up here now and do a little job you know, a little work that's how come me and she (Phiona) get wey. I did want to deal with no woman. Cause I didn't have no job to maintain a woman, because you have to have a job to maintain a woman. You putting stress on yourself. After me and them (the mothers of his two children in Grenada), I say I don't want no woman, because I don't have no money to maintain no woman. Is stress on you self. I don't have money to maintain meself much more money to maintain woman, you understand? Two little dollar ah mek ah have to maintain me woman, you understand? You have to starve youself. So if you take up woman is pressure on youself. So ah

leaving that now say I don't want no woman to maintain cause I can't maintain mehself, you understand. But it happen I just come around and life just happen and she say she want to be friend .. so I just deal still, you know what I mean? Survival still, yeah, yeah."

2.3.5 GRENADA: CASE STUDY SEASONAL/STRUCTURAL POVERTY

In our study of poverty in the region, following Thomas, we have identified three forms of poverty: chronic, structural and seasonal. The group of individuals falling below the poverty line at any given point in time would be comprised of all three types, although there will be no way of knowing, using point in time survey data, how they are distributed across the three categories. A large number of the most impoverished households in the region has, on closer examination highlighted in the in-depth interviews, turned out to be chronically poor. That is to say, they have antecedents of poverty in their immediate forebears or those households in which they and their parents would have grown up.

In the next case study we depart from the theme of intergenerational poverty to look at a household that could be characterized as being a victim of structural and to some extent seasonal poverty. The principals in the household also suffer from physical disabilities.

On the basis of fluctuations in market demand for goods they produce, the ability of the household to provide for itself varies during the course of the year. This case study is also of significance for the overlap it demonstrates between two of the three categories of poverty that we have identified. The head of the household came from very humble beginnings; his parents were agricultural labourers. He, however, by dint of hard work managed to acquire property and establish himself in farming, and so improve on his status in life. However, as his story reveals, he is still plagued by the vagaries of economic fluctuation due to natural hazards and seasonal variation in demand for the goods that he produces.

This case study is also noteworthy for two other reasons. Firstly, its location in the northern parish of Grenada points to the devastating effect on the agricultural sector of the recent hurricanes. Perhaps this is what makes the household now subject to seasonal poverty since crops that would have come on stream when others were in their off season have now been destroyed. The second significant feature of this household is the particularly unhealthy status of its members and past members. The illnesses to which they are subject are chronic and appear to be congenital. This family's experience in regard to health care provides us with some insight into this very important area of social concern.

2.3.5.1 BACKGROUND

Mr. Donald tells of his past.

"I was born in this district in 1942. My parents used to be farmers, I mean agricultural workers. They work in the estate, the nutmeg estate. My mother had seven kids. Her husband died. My father got married to her and she had another five. So she had 12 of us. I am the first one in the second set. At one time it (the household) had 14 of us. As time goes on it boil down because my sister migrate. My brother migrate and then it boil down into 5 and 2, 7 of us. I went to all-age school. I go to 7th standard. I left school in 1960. I went to school that long because I had a problem with my eyes. The teachers realized it... so is through the eyesight and so."

Mr. Donald explains that when he left school he started work on the estate as he had to take care of his younger siblings since his mother was sickly. He worked on the estate until 1980.

"My mother used to work real hard, both parents, but my father he used to be all about drinking. You find when he get pay he go with the boys. When he get pay on a Friday evening he drunk by the road and I have to carry him home, and confusion went on now, and then mummy died and after she died we stay with him. She died in '68 and then he died in '79. It was hard with us, but within the 20 years that I worked I tried and I save a little, save a little until I could have managed to buy - ahm - I

had \$10,000 which I saved then I went to the bank and I borrowed and I bought a piece of land for my wife for \$20,000... it got a little easier because at this time I started to work for myself. But I started building a house. In 1990 I started a concrete house. And I was going on good and I had things that I could have... because things was good and – ahmm – I reached a good way and it throw down all the trees. Last year June I finish the house by putting the blocks and covering. Right now it need plastering inside and outside and it need ...”

2.3.5.2 NATURAL HAZARDS, SEASONAL VARIATION IN DEMAND: THE IMPACT

Mr. Donald laments the fact that even though he lives in a farming community, some of the people do not want to offer their labour to work in the fields. He says that he used to grow bananas (the majority of people used to grow bananas), nutmeg and citrus. However the hurricanes (Ivan and Emily) have destroyed most of his cultivation.

“I personally don’t have any nutmegs standing (and) all the citrus fall down. And most of the people my age can’t plant it back, you know? And we not getting assistance. The government might have come in to give us... but they mostly clearing up people who have cocoa and nutmeg.” He goes on to say that he did not plant cocoa before now because “it does not do that well up here. I personally now have a few bananas, not much and I have some

chicken, like 100 chicken from which I get some eggs. I would do 50 chicken (layers) every time I do 50 broilers (chicken to eat) And when it (finished) I would do another 50 again...But right now we have a problem because the place that used to take the eggs is a supermarket and for the past two weeks they telling us they not taking eggs because they overcrowded with eggs. Too many eggs on the market.”

Mr. Donald goes on to explain that the demand for eggs is seasonal.

“For Christmas they want every one that you have and around January, February there is no guarantee... because nobody can’t buy... I did not do anything (make any alternative plan) because is only two, three weeks.”

He explains that the autumn period he expects the falloff in demand for eggs to last “a month or two” after which it may rebound.

“What we do is to go and sell it for half price around the place, you know? This enables us to buy food...”

He explains that in addition to the commercial farming they also plant food for home consumption.

“We plant dasheen, a little pak choi... mostly things to eat, you know? We don’t have to go and buy all these things from the market.”

In terms of income, Mr. Donald explains,

"when we selling the eggs, I could sell 10 trays of egg ah week and is \$17 for a tray. Then I buy 50 broilers and a friend would sell 3 or 4 every week for us. Sometimes when things are good he sells six for the week. Sometimes when things not so good he sells two for the week. Then about 10 boxes of bananas for a fortnight. Sometimes we get dasheen to sell. We sell about 160 to 200 lbs for the week. The chickens, sometimes I get \$100 for 4 because its \$25 for 1. The bananas normally we get 60c per pound and we sell 400 pounds. But we have to pay \$4 for one box. One empty box cost us \$4.50 cents for 20 boxes. So when you get \$240 per fortnight you have to turn around and pay \$90 for boxes. Dasheen, well sometimes you get \$1 per pound. We not making anything."

"Every fortnight we dropping shorter and shorter. Sometimes we do without grocery, sometimes we do without... you know? We just buy the important things we need. That is why sometimes we don't get the medication. A lot of times the medication is left out. We have to buy something else and most time she (his wife) don't get the medication. Sometimes the pressure goes up high and she drink some bush and things like that. Is not only this family, is a lot of people I know going under this struggle, you know. A lot of people going under this struggle. We cope by sometimes a guy will come around and say things bad for me and I give him some dasheen, another might come around and I give him some bananas. Sometimes someone might give me some potatoes. Somebody might give me coconuts. Sometimes they go and help somebody in their garden

and they give them some... you know? We live like that. Sometimes it be eggs, it be... what ever you have. We never have the time when you don't have any food. I never really experience that you don't have enough food. You always have some...we eat whatever we get. We can't always have a balanced diet, whatever we get we eat."

2.3.5.3 HEALTH CARE ISSUES

"Medical expenses could go for about \$4-500 per month."

Mr. Donald explains that his son has a disability.

"He cannot climb up stairs or he cannot walk to the garden as you and I would because he has a problem with balancing. The only thing he good at driving... because driving is sitting down... the doctors say they don't find anything wrong with him... I have three children. I have two girls and a one boy. The two girls are not in Grenada. One just went through an operation with the liver. The other one is...living home and her husband is working. The boy and the other girl had the same problems with the legs (imbalance)."

"The mother... in 1974 she got scratch on her hand by cleaning the garden. So she had to take some antitoxic vaccine to see if she did have any rabies. One of these injections they give her around her waist. One of the injections a doctor say it affect the nervous... since that time in 1974 to 1994 she been taking operations. She had 27 surgeries. She had some in

Grenada. Some in Trinidad in Cocorite hospital. Some in the General hospital in Port-of-Spain. And she had some in Barbados too. And the last one she went and took out the kidney in New York. Because all the time they were trying to see if they could save the kidney, but the kidney pick up a disease... and right now she have sugar and high blood pressure. And right now the pressure is 400 up and the reasons the doctors say is because the other kidney is pressured, it is not functioning as well you know? So she always have a high rate of pressure."

Mr. Donald's problem with health does not end there. He has complaints of his own.

"In 1986 I went into Barbados and did an operation for cancer in my neck. I was a patient in ...hospital and they operate to get out cancer in my neck. Right now the skin cancer is on me (Mr. Donald is albino) because it is on my back and my head. I had about three operations after that my neck, my head, my back. They just grow up and grow up and then they cut them off. Right now I am 66 and the doctor say the sunlight is my basic enemy. But we still have to go in the sun and try to make a living."

Mr. Donald is asked if he gets any assistance from his daughters. He replies,

"the only time they send us a barrel is like at Christmas, you know? But as for money ...well one her husband working, she not working. The one that had the

liver operation has a young baby. She is about 5, 6 years old now. I tell the other one whenever you have something give the other one because she don't work all the time. So most time she says Daddy I feel to send you a few dollars. I say well give it to her because she would be better off. They could send something more often but you know they have mortgage, mortgage to pay. They have their own houses. This is why we not getting much assistance."

Mr. Donald says his household has no running water.

"There is no piped water in our community. So we go down to the spring in the vehicle, put water in buckets and bring it up."

Some people in the community, though, have tanks, plastic water tanks.

2.3.5.4 THE FUTURE

For the future, Mr. Donald says,

"the only thing is if I could finish the house for my son, because he can't go about and work. So if I could finish the house for him and maybe as time pass he could put a little shop there where he can sell something. Sell some little thing and have... able to make life. Yeah that's how I see it, because the future is not looking that bright. Quite a few people up here have land, but the people that have land are elderly people. Most of us can't work and the land is there and it have nothing in it... sometimes people go in there and take what ever they could

get because the people can't work it again."

In returning to the subject of medical expenses, Mr. Donald is asked if he received any assistance from the government for his wife's operations. He replies,

"oh no, we never had any assistance form the government for those operations."

He qualifies this by saying,

"we get some operations down here free, but in Trinidad I had to pay for her, Barbados and in New York I had a brother that help me to pay for it there...because I remember once she went into Cocorite, the Adventist hospital in Trinidad and she had an operation and it was not successful. So when I came she was outside by the hospital waiting and when I spoke to somebody in the office there, they said to me the operation was not successful and she would have to do it over again. That operation was costing, I think was TT\$3,500. So I had to come go to the bank, go into my little savings that I had. Gave it to the Adventist Pastor. And I phone them in the hospital and told them he has the money and they should accept her. Otherwise... So if you don't have money you not in it. Right now it's a long time since she don't go and have a check-up, but I make an appointment with a doctor for (next two months). She always complaining with her tummy. She always have a pain in her tummy. And then the high blood pressure, high cholesterol and high

sugar. Those are the things she is suffering from and now the glaucoma." Mr. Donald explains that his wife's medication has to be bought on a monthly basis. "Two month's now she didn't buy. Things down, things not right because we don't... we not making any (money)."

His most immediate need now, Mr. Donald says ,would be to finish his house.

"Because if we could finish it maybe we could put a little shop there. Or we could provide a place for someone to rent because we have upstairs and downstairs. If I could get it finished that would be my best wish at this time."

His other most pressing desire is to obtain some kind of medical intervention for his son that would enable him to walk. His son he says is 35 years old and his two daughters are 38 and 36 years old respectively. They attended primary schools in the community. Mr. Donald says he has requested assistance from the State for his son as well as his wife. He says,

"I did ask the government, nobody gave us any reply. The same thing with my wife, we write the letter time and time. We also asked for help in completing the house and they keep telling us yes, yes and they never did. We sent costing for doors and so on and nobody tell us anything."

The only assistance he has received from the government he says in the

form of some galvanized (zinc roofing) and some ply board.

"Yeah, they did give me some galvanized and some ply. They did give me some rafters too, (but) we didn't get assistance for medical needs. Where I am right now, I think I am satisfied because there are many people right now who are less fortunate than me. They doesn't have - ahmm - a bit of land. Some of them doesn't have a house. I don't mind that mine is not complete. And some of them doesn't even have a little vehicle. The only thing that embarrass me right now, which I put in the hands of God, everything I put in his hand, is that if anything happen with me right at this time now, with anyone of us well we might have to borrow to do any move or so. But - ahmm - right now we don't owing anybody and we don't have any money. So that is a situation that I thank God for."

2.3.6 GRENADA: FITTING THE QUANTITATIVE AND QUALITATIVE DATA

As we have seen, the quantitative data gleaned by the formal survey and household questionnaires and the qualitative data gleaned from the in-depth household interviews are of course based on different approaches to the measurement of social reality. It is important, though, that the possibly complementary nature of the two types of data be understood. Their combination might lend much to enhancing our understanding of the

causes and sustainers of poverty as well as some of the corrective measures that can be employed in the area of policy. This can happen in two ways. Firstly, qualitative information in the form of extended discussion on a topic can alert us to some measurable issue that is of significance that has been overlooked. Secondly, qualitative data can enable us to understand meanings attributed to experiences that simply cannot be measured or quantified and yet are important for social outcomes.

Analysis of the two sets of data seems to indicate at least three substantive issues that emerge from the phenomenological data that find resonance in the quantitative data. In all instances the qualitative data deepens our understanding of what is reflected in the quantitative. The issues are as follows:

(1) social services delivery failure, particularly in the area of child sexual abuse and health care; (2) chronic illness and poverty; (3) intergenerational poverty, gender and the segmented labour market. The case study on seasonal/structural poverty also provides us with insight into the devastating effect of the recent hurricanes on agriculture in the north of the country. The parishes in this part of the country show the highest proportions of the population living below the poverty line. In the case of chronic illnesses and poverty the qualitative data point to serious misrepresentation of the situation by the quantitative data. In the case of

intergenerational poverty, gender and the segmented labour market, the qualitative data bring to the fore dynamic linkages between the variables that are not made obvious by the quantitative data.

The issues of social services delivery failure emerge out of Case Study 3; Johanna and her experiences of abuse experienced by herself and her children. The issue of chronic illness and poverty emerges out of Case Study 2 from the narrative provided by Ms. Wendy. Intergenerational poverty, gender, family and the segmented primary labour market emerge from Case Studies 1 and 4. Finally, the issue of the devastating impact of the hurricanes on agriculture in the north of the country emerges from the last case study based on the narrative of Mr. Donald.

2.3.6.1 THE FAILURE OF SOCIAL SERVICES DELIVERY

The failure of the social agencies responsible for the protection of women and children as captured in Johanna's experiences is patent. The veracity of this finding is affirmed by the fact that it finds reflection in some of the IA analysis. Johanna's life is in crisis. The events that have brought this about give exemplification to the importance of understanding how poverty's impact is intensified by gender. As a woman she has been used all of her life to provide the critically important, but oft unacknowledged domestic function. Coming out of a dysfunctional family of

origin, Johanna begins childbearing at the very young age of 15. This thwarts any prospect of additional education and training that she might have been able to acquire. It also ties her into providing domestic services for her mother's family. At the age of 19 she enters into a relationship with a man in which she again assumes the domestic and procreative roles. Lacking certification, she has never been formally employed and has dedicated her life to the care of her children and the father of her last set of children.

The failure of social services delivery in the life of the poor is brought out when at a critical stage of her life, as a result of physical and sexual abuse of herself and children she appeals for the assistance of these agencies and they fail to make any difference to her situation.

"I say let's go to the CID. I going and make a report to the CID. But when ah going now I say tek care I go now and is vexation cause him to say those things. I decide to question her. She tell me yes that is true. I so shame all now I don't even ask her how long he doing her that (having sex with her). Because right about now I can't even make sense of what happen. I go in the CID...I going down, I crying - them policemen from ...pick me up they ask me what happen. I tell them. They say no that is not right because when me and he pick up (started the relationship) she had 4 years. He grow her up as he daughter. If he could do she that he could do his own the same thing. So I go and I talk to the man (officer) and he tell me they must have a

woman present (to examine the girl) so come in the morning for 8 o'clock. They drop me back up and they tell me if when I go home he making noise, don't answer him. That man cuss the night, say I don't make the teacher make jail and I want him to make jail and is a good thing she have 18 years he can't make jail and they can't do nothing. But what the police tell me even if she have 18 years they could still charge him, cause that is a serious charge. I tell them is he and the next one (the younger sister, 16 years old). They tell me bring her in the morning."

"The morning I say, let's go. He tell me, don't bother with her, go to school, don't go. I say well the police going come up here and pick you up in the school. He tell if you go with you mother and they question you, don't say nutten. She never go, you know? Up to now. When I reach in the station in the morning they ask me where is the next one. I tell them what and what he tell her. I go and I talk to (woman officer) and she I come and I tell her what happen says yes is true she say the little girl didn't want to open her foot to take the test. On two occasions we go. And then I tell her, look at what he tell her and all what he say. She say yes, all of what he say there and what you say that is what happened. She refused to take the test and she didn't even want to talk and say nutten about the teacher. She never take the test. She refused to do it. Look her there you could ask her. She didn't want to talk to (woman officer). So she tell me go in Social Service. I went to Social Service. I Social Service what happen... and about the next one (15 year old). They write

down what they have to write down and they tell me well let they talk to her (the elder sister who accompanied Johanna to make the report). They went and they talk to her and she tell them yes he used to interfere with her that is why she run away. She leave the frying pan and she jump into the fire, because when she run way from him she run straight into the arms of the teacher. One thing led to another, she in she pregnant condition where she is there now."

So you are about to move out?

"Yeah. Social Service tell me stay, half of the house is mine. I end up remaining back. I don't go."

Stay!? Why did they say that you should stay?

"Because I have six of them here for him... I going with them. I ain't leaving them. Because if he could do she the big one that he could go on his own. And I go down there and I tell them that. The lady tell me well they going get the police and they going go by the lawyer and they going come and put him out. I tell them I say no. It don't make sense coming here and put him out of the house. Because when they put him out and me and them children dey here, He going come back and try to do me something. I go to them and I talk to them and I tell them well (chokes up with tears) if I could get some material because me grandmother give me a spot up in (district) there. I gotta go, I know I gotta go, I will go, but I getting caught back. I go and talk to all kind of people."

Here we see the shortcomings of Social Services, firstly advising Johanna to stay in a potentially deadly situation and secondly not being able to relocate her or assist her with material to build on her house-spot in the countryside, and thirdly failing to pursue the prosecution of the husband for his misdeeds. Johanna continues,

“they tell me remain there, remain there and things will get better. If I remain there what example will I be showing the big ones (her children). I tell them I ain’t staying there. He going do them little ones the same thing.”

This, perhaps, provides insight into the attitudinal base on which the high incidence of statutory rape in this society with a relatively high rate of teenage pregnancy takes place. The response of this agency provides us with insight into a level of tolerance of adult sex with minors that is remarkable. The police, even in the face of the unwillingness of both girls to cooperate with the investigation should at the very least have acted on the mother’s account and brought in the husband for questioning. The social agency should have taken immediate action to ensure the removal of the mother and her children from this situation of sexual, emotional and, as we learn later, life-threatening physical abuse.

“I go I report them... nobody don’t come... they should come and question the little girl. Even if they can’t do him nothing for the big one they should

question the 16 year-old one ask her what going on. The little girl leave Tuesday. She cuss him dey. What she don’t tell him! He sit down there, H e don’t say nothing. He don’t tell her if she eye black or if she eye brown. She cuss him, She tell him all kinda thing. And he don’t say nothing. That’s when I realize well something going on. Because them rest ah ones when he ready he cuss them, tell them all kinda things. With she now he can’t tell her nothing... And she always have money. He have a little credit in the shop. When we don’t have nothing, I will send them children and tek things. He say Johanna don’t take nothing in the shop. But when she the 16 year old one seeing she period and want something to eat she can go and take it in the shop and I can’t go and take things to give his children to eat?”

“Everybody saying, remain inside here, remain inside here... I remain since January and now is April and things ain’t getting better. They getting worse because he cussing me inside here. You see ah cut meh hair. Me hair did long. When he ready to fight me he grabbing me hair and bounce up me head on wall. Last year he had hot porridge he scald half of meh face. The Saturday before he talking to the same one their (second daughter) about having she own way. He say I musn’t say nothing. I get a split silver wood with two nail it go through me lip. Meh mouth did swell big so (holding her hands around her mouth. I still taking doctor injection. Ah go in the police station, I report it.”

Johanna's partner has ruthlessly exploited her situation of structural and personal vulnerability. Furthermore, the social agencies (the police, the social services) charged with the responsibility of protecting her both as a child and a vulnerable woman have failed dismally in the fulfillment of their mandate. Not only have they failed Johanna, but the culture of institutional negligence has carried across the generations and resulted in a similarly ruthless exploitation of her daughters by unscrupulous adult males; all done with impunity. Furthermore, if the situation remains uncorrected they are likely to fail her grandchildren as well.

Perhaps, one of the most fundamental social interventions that is needed in Grenada today to ensure its transition into the 21st Century as a civilised, progressive country is a legislative framework dedicated to the protection of women and children (with an emphasis on poor ones) and the creation of the appropriate levels of sensitisation and technical competence among the personnel of the agencies concerned to ensure its effective implementation.

2.3.6.2 CHRONIC ILLNESSES AND POVERTY

The relationship between chronic illness and poverty is brought out quite clearly in Ms. Wendy's narrative. Her illnesses are chronic, lifestyle based, silent killer diseases. Given her stressful circumstances of deprivation, low levels

of education and her health care seeking behaviour it is perhaps no wonder that she came down with the two diseases that she did and that they both took her by surprise.

In the household surveys the poor report better health than the non-poor. The odd finding on reported health from the surveys points to a number of structural constraints and the kind of adaptation in attitude that is made by the poor of the region. Lack of resources means an inability or, at the very least, difficulty in accessing good quality medical care. This, coupled with the preoccupation with 'making two ends meet', and a lack of knowledge about human physiology serves to undermine the development of a 'check-up' culture, or a preventive approach towards health care. So, even as they report no ill health in the surveys the disease is often at work, but not yet manifest.

According to Ms. Wendy,

"I hardly go to doctor, you know. If pain don't hold me or something don't do me I don't go to doctor... If I don't feel any pain in my body or feel sick, I don't go to doctor. Because I don't go to doctor and say I am sick and nothing don't do me, you know? If ah feeling weak and feeling sick I go by the doctor and tell her ah feeling sick or ah feeling weak and she will say something wrong with you blood or so. But, if ah doesn't feeling sick or feeling weak I doesn't go to doctor."

'Ms Wendy' is afflicted with the chronic illnesses of diabetes and hypertension. The diabetes is recent but the hypertension is a long standing ailment.

"Ah had the pressure long because I had me hand since 2000 (hand disabled by stroke). Ah come and I fall with the stroke. And when it was about 2002 I realize I had the sugar. All the time I had the pressure, the sugar still working, you know, because hand to mouth I didn't have the money at the time. Hand to mouth. I work for \$200 and I owe the shop. By the time I pay the shop and give them children a money...because is I and I alone and I did well to have to buss mi shut to go here and go there...but them children used to get an allowance from NIS. So when they get the allowance I tell them take the allowance and buy food, you know?"

Table 2.1 is based on self-reported information. It reveals, in the case of the silent, chronic illnesses, what appears to be a serious undercount on the part of the three lowest quintiles. The undercount is particularly pronounced in the case of the poorest quintile, the one in which Ms. Wendy would fall. Note that in the case of asthma which is a very 'noisy' disease the socioeconomic differential virtually disappears. This means that the circumstances of poor persons make them particularly vulnerable to the worst effects of the silent, lifestyle illnesses. In summary terms, low levels of income, stress, poor diet, bad healthcare seeking behaviour and quite possibly poor quality health care are the factors that seem to be at work in Ms. Wendy's case. Ms. Wendy does not point to the quality of health care as a factor, but given the comments made by community members who speak of the doctor writing the prescription as they enter the door it might very well be a factor.

TABLE 2.1: DISTRIBUTION OF CHRONIC ILLNESSES BY QUINTILE

Type of Chronic Illness	Consumption Quintiles					
	I	II	III	IV	V	Total
	%					
Diabetes	8.0	10.2	17.5	23.5	40.8	100.0
High Blood Pressure	5.2	12.4	20.2	25.7	36.5	100.0
Heart Condition	5.6	18.1	12.2	25.0	39.2	100.0
Cancer	.0	37.9	14.9	11.5	35.7	100.0
HIV/AIDS	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0
Asthma	15.7	28.7	14.2	24.9	16.5	100.0
Other	4.9	25.7	16.2	32.6	20.6	100.0
Not Stated	.0	14.9	46.7	23.6	14.9	100.0
Total	7.9	15.3	18.7	26.0	32.1	100.0

2.3.6.3 INTERGENERATIONAL POVERTY, GENDER AND THE SEGMENTED LABOUR MARKET

The case studies bring to the fore the above mentioned variables. The case studies have provided information that suggests that intergenerational poverty occupies a significant position in the Caribbean's socioeconomic landscape. Given the nature of the region's historical political economy this should come as little surprise. The question that arises though is the nature of the mechanisms that are responsible for the reproduction of poverty across the generations. The information coming out of the in-depth household interviews seem to suggest that that one important mechanism is the mating and family formation patterns of these households. The causal status of this factor is not immediately evident. What is apparent is that it is related to low levels of education, family situations in which young females lack the emotional and material support of a male and a segmented primary labour market. The pattern of early pregnancy as a precursor to repeated pregnancies with short birth space intervals is evident in the lives of virtually all of the women encountered in these case studies. The relation of this fertility pattern to their socioeconomic status is evident from an examination of Table 2.2. The socioeconomic differential in this measure of fertility behaviour would be repeated in virtually any measure of fertility that is used.

At the aggregate level these populations evince signs of demographic transition with a marked reduction in births and very low rates of mortality. Poor women however have been left behind, caught in a time warp so to speak. They still produce as their mothers before them, relatively large families tied as we have seen to early pregnancy and repeated child bearing with short birth intervals. This of course significantly reduces their life chances through curtailing their education and restraining them from as full and active a participation in the labour market than would otherwise have been possible.

The most noteworthy feature of Table 2.2. is the marked differential between rich and poor when it comes to fertility behaviour. What the case studies alert us to is the interface between agency and structure and its outcome in terms of fertility differentials across socioeconomic status. The problem of high levels of fertility among poor women that is signaled by the data contained in the table is easily understood in personal terms when we look at the case studies. It ceases to be a personal or psychological issue though when entire social strata in the society faced with the constraints of a segmented primary labour market take the decisions relating to reproductive behaviour that is manifest in the differential evident in Table 2.2.

TABLE 2.2: AGE AT FIRST BIRTH BY QUINTILE

Age at First Birth	Consumption Quintiles					
	I	II	III	IV	V	Total
	%					
Under 15	4.6	0.9	7.7	6.2	0.0	4.0
15-19	57.8	45.6	34.3	31.2	25.0	40.3
20-24	13.2	26.8	29.5	25.4	33.2	24.8
25-29	2.4	8.1	5.6	13.1	11.1	7.7
30+	1.1	1.2	3.6	6.6	15.6	4.9
Not Stated	21.0	17.4	19.3	17.4	15.2	18.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

How is this related to the segmented labour market? What do the case studies tell us about this process? The first thing that is noticeable is that all of the women having births in their teens in these case studies are from dysfunctional households. Ms. Wendy, Marie, Johanna and Johanna's daughter (s) all lacked the emotional security and protection that should normally attend a young woman's development. Johanna's daughter, who joins her household long after its establishment, was raised by someone other than her mother and started showing signs of being out of control from even before she came to live with her mother. Her second daughter was callously exploited sexually by Johanna's husband and eventually sought succor in the authority figure of the teacher who promptly impregnated her. Ms. Wendy, Marie and Johanna herself all came from households marked by high levels of deprivation and which did not provide the emotional and material security that underpins stable psychosocial development.

The case studies provide us with a measure of insight into how these factors play themselves out in the lives of these women. Take Marie, for instance. She began her mating experiences in what is characterized by demographers as a 'visiting' relationship. She produced two children within this union type. She then moved into a common-law (cohabitive) relationship with (with the same man), bore him two more children before returning to a visiting relationship with another man for whom she then had five children. Subsequent to this she entered into a common law relationship with a third man for whom she bore one child. She currently lives by herself with some of the children from these relationships.

Marie notes the seeming irresponsibility of the men who fathered her children. Yet, she notes the obvious love they have for their children. It is this contradiction that alerts us to the existence of structural constraint that

overrides even the best of intent in human will. Both Marie and her partners are subject to the dictates and logic of a dynamic that consists of a synergism of a number of factors. These are: a mating system in which the initiation of a sexual relationship between a man and woman, in some local ecologies, has loose social, but no legal sanction, inadequate provision for the physical and in some instances emotional nurturing of the young, lack of preparation for effective participation in the labour market and economies relegated to positions of marginality within the global chain of production.

It should be noted that these are structural factors that exist independent of human will and indeed, in many instances shape and influence it. At the level of the individual, gender mediates this dynamic. Men experience it differently from women. However, both should be understood to be its victims. The primary labour market, for cultural reasons, favours the participation of men over women. Nonetheless, it is still a prime labour market with all of the insecurities of tenure, low level skill requirements, low pay and so on. Men, therefore, although favoured by this market (as Marie puts it, "If I could get he could get too. He is man!") are still subject to its deficiencies. So, they are more likely than women to get work and therefore in a position to make offers to the disadvantaged woman, but the nature of the work does not provide the level and stability of income to

enable the man to make a sustained contribution to the upkeep of a family.

Because of this many poor men become migratory labourers within their own country, moving in search of uncertain work. Because of the transitory nature of their stay they are even less encumbered by what in many instances are already loose social sanctions pertaining to the initiation of sexual relationships between men and women. The poorest women in these locales are open to the overtures of men who, at least temporarily, have a source of income. The presence of women made readily available because of their vulnerable socioeconomic position is the basis on which these types of unstable relationships rest.

For those men that choose not to move around in search of work, being in this labour market can mean that employment is, at best, intermittent. Therefore, even with the best will in the world and the greatest love for their children, such men fall short in the provision of support for their families. Even where income might be relatively steady and sustained, the greater likelihood of the woman's inability to effectively participate in the labour market places her at a severe disadvantage and effectively increases the available pool of women from whom the man may obtain sexual favours. This lends an element of instability to the existing unions and often leads to the man overextending

himself in terms of families of procreation and their support within his community.

The following case study reinforces the point that has been made.

Leroy, 41 year old father of 2 and temporary partner of Phiona, temporarily employed 44 year old mother of 5.

Phiona left Primary school at 16. According to her "since ah growing up it hard and up to now it hard." She elaborates,

"We was poor, poor, poor people. We had to carry load for people to get a little dollar to survive. We mother used to break a lot of stone and, you know, we used to go and help her and thing and she encourage us to work with her. We no grow up with... we grow up poor, poor you know? Me mother couldn't afford to send us to school...books to buy... sometimes we come out of school nothing to eat. I know meself sometimes I come out of school is some sweet water and biscuit. We eat that and have to go back to school. After I leave school I used to go and break stone for meself, you know to help our mother just to survive. I did that awhile and after that I pick up a...I pick up a guy and get pregnant. (she was) 18. He (the father) used to fishing and after when I make him (the baby) the father take him."

The father of the child now lives in Tallville.

"I have 5 children." Phiona continues, (at the time) "I used to live in a old, old house... I struggle a lot."

Listen now to Leroy,

"how the system is you have to move around to survive. You can't stay here and wait on a job because that job might never come, you understand. Like I come up here now and do a little job you know, a little work that's how come me and she (Phiona) get wey. I did want to deal with no woman. Cause I didn't have no job to maintain a woman, because you have to have a job to maintain a woman. You putting stress on yourself. After me and them (his two baby mothers in Grenada) I say I don't want no woman, because I don't have no money to maintain no woman. Is stress on you self. I don't have money to maintain meself much more money to maintain woman, you understand? Two little dollar ah mek ah have to maintain me woman, you understand? You have to starve yourself. So if you take up woman is pressure on yourself. So ah leaving that now say I don't want no woman to maintain cause I can't maintain meh self, you understand. But it happen I just come around and life just happen and she say she want to be friend... so I just deal still, you know what I mean? Survival still, yeah, yeah."