



ANGUILLA

COUNTRY POVERTY ASSESSMENT 2007/2009

VOLUME 2: THE PARTICIPATORY POVERTY ASSESSMENT



FINAL REPORT
COUNTRY POVERTY ASSESSMENT
ANGUILLA 2007/2009

REDUCING POVERTY IN THE MIDST OF ECONOMIC VOLATILITY

VOLUME 2:
THE PARTICIPATORY POVERTY ASSESSMENT

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PART I: FOCUS GROUP AND INDIVIDUAL

SECTION 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 emphasise 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 Anguilla 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), enriching the analysis, and deepening understanding of poverty from the perspective of the poor.

It was conducted in seven areas and it 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 and needs. The data generated and produced by these processes have provided insights into the effects and impact of poverty on poor individuals, households and groups living in the areas that were studied.

1.1 OBJECTIVES OF THE PPA

The **General Objectives** of the PPA laid out in the TOR were to:

1. 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 communities selected for study.
2. 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:

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

3. Identify the vulnerability and risks faced by poor individuals and households as they strive to sustain their livelihoods;
4. Identify assets, resources, facilities, and services to which poor individuals, households and groups have access;
5. Obtain information from individuals, groups and households about:
 - a. The initiatives that they take to sustain their livelihoods,
 - b. The constraints and obstacles that they encounter in their attempts to access available resources, facilities and services,
 - c. Their concerns, needs and priorities, and
 - d. 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
6. Generate data that can be used to formulate pro-poor policies that are informed by the voices of the poor.

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 was undertaken.

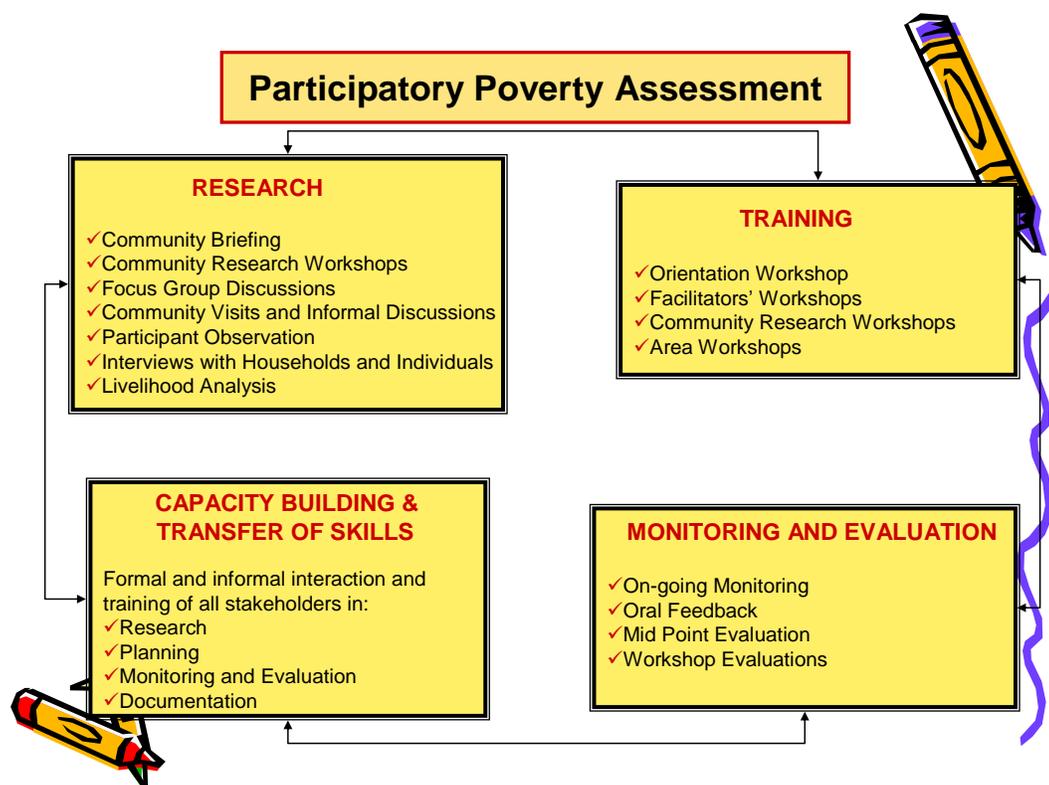


FIGURE 1.1: COMPONENTS OF THE PPA

1.2.1 RESEARCH

The research component was undertaken to:

1. Generate specific and concrete qualitative as well as some quantitative data on living conditions in various areas of the country;
2. Obtain information from individuals, households and groups in these areas on their perceptions, experience, and views about poverty and deprivation and its impact on their lives;
3. Identify factors that contribute to and perpetuate poverty and deprivation.

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 yielded a large quantity of empirical data which were obtained through observation, interviews, focus group discussions, and community workshops.

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, and 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 in an end-of-project evaluation workshop.

In addition, 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 villages and communities.

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 to help them to acquire additional, new and specific skills needed to conduct PPAs. Moreover, the experience would have assisted them in their regular functions, given that some number were involved in organisations engaged in the delivery of social services.

1.2.4 MONITORING AND EVALUATION

It was intended that monitoring and evaluation would be ongoing throughout. However while the Coordinator did monitor progress of the field work, some of the Field Research Facilitators were of the view that this could have been done on a more regular basis. The Consultants also monitored progress through their contact with the Coordinator and visited each of the areas, interacted with community members and conducted interviews with heads of households, community leaders and with a small number of individual residents.

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. They then participated in a two-day workshop in which they identified specific outcomes, discussed the effect and impact that the PPA 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.

1.3 METHODOLOGY AND PROCESS

1.3.1 THE APPROACH

The participatory research approach and methodology was used to engage residents, Field Research Facilitators, members of the National Assessment 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 areas were vehicles for obtaining specific information from residents about life in their villages and 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. At the same time 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 lives and living conditions.

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 villages and communities. (See details in Appendix 1). Face-to-face interaction and ongoing dialogue with the key informants were also key elements of the data collection process.

The use of this methodology did generate a significant amount of good quality qualitative data that have been used to produce this report.

1.3.2 CHALLENGES, CONSTRAINTS AND PROBLEMS

The use of the participatory methodology presented some members of the NAT and the Field Research Facilitators with several challenges and constraints that affected their ability to conduct and complete the field work in the time expected.

Questions were raised about whether the methodology being used was the “correct” one and there was some concern about the length of time such a methodology was taking. However while the Research Facilitators were unfamiliar with the approach, the majority was eventually able to conduct the PPA activities with some degree of success.

At the same time some residents who participated in the PPA activities were skeptical about becoming involved since in their view nothing had happened since the last poverty study. In addition, some Research Facilitators experienced challenges in mobilising residents in some areas and as a result the field work and the preparation of reports took longer than was planned or expected.

It proved impossible with the resources available, to conduct the PPA in Area One “the tourist, belt”. This was unfortunate because tourism is a major economic activity, and it would have been important to compare living conditions there with some of the other communities that were studied.

In spite of this, participation was fairly high and a total of seven hundred and eighty-eight (788) persons participated in the PPA.

1.3.3 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 the areas to be studied, the individuals who participated in the focus group discussions and the community workshops, and the heads of households and individuals to be interviewed.

Hierarchical Sampling

Because it was necessary to obtain information from households and from individuals at different levels in the areas, hierarchical sampling was used to identify the units that were to be studied. These units included the communities, the households, groups and individuals. Using specific selection criteria and starting at the largest units, that is the communities, specific communities were selected and general information obtained from these was used to identify households, then groups and then individuals from whom more specific information was to be obtained by a variety of methods.

Phased Sampling

Phased sampling was used to identify areas across the country in which to implement the PPA activities. Data from the last census, information from key government ministries and from written reports and other documents were used to identify possible areas in which the PPA activities could be carried out. A list of characteristics and criteria was then developed and used to select eight areas that were to be studied. Following this, during the first phase information was collected in all of the areas, and in the second phase the households to be studied were identified.

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. Random sampling was therefore inappropriate. 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 as well as 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 their lives and on life and living conditions in their villages and communities.

1.3.4 DATA COLLECTION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

Face-to-face interaction and ongoing dialogue with the key informants was a key 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.

1.3.4.1 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 various areas in which the PPA would be conducted, Field Research Facilitators went on walks in the areas, interacted and held conversations and informal discussions with residents, and observed life and living there. They then 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 various areas. They recorded information about physical features and infrastructure of the community,

about the population, the economic activity, social interaction and relationships, the level of wealth and poverty, and about social and environmental problems.

- **Interviews.** Interviews were conducted with heads of households, community leaders and poor individuals. An extensive questionnaire was used to conduct face-to-face, in-depth interviews with thirty-six heads of households and/or other adults. During the interviews with heads of households, important information was obtained about the interviewee as well as about 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, intra-household relations, and the health status of household members.
 - In-depth, open-ended interviews were also conducted with a small number of individuals in some of the communities. A set of criteria were developed and used as the basis of a purposive sampling technique to select individuals in some of the households studied who were experiencing extreme poverty. Among those selected were the hidden poor, the destitute, individuals in multi-generational households, and elderly persons living in poverty.
 - These open-ended interviews provided 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.
 - Community leaders/individuals with influence in each community were identified by the Field Research Facilitators and a shorter interview schedule was used to conduct interviews with thirteen of these. 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.
- **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 were affected by poverty, and the strategies that they used to cope with it.

- Focus group discussions were also conducted with Challenged persons, with English Speaking Caribbean Nationals and with Non English Speaking Caribbean Nationals.
- **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 villages and communities and suggested actions that should be taken to improve these.

1.3.4.2 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. On the whole the reports submitted are of an acceptable quality and they provide important information obtained from residents during the various activities in which they participated.

1.3.4.3 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 have 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 not only designed 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 and that need to be addressed in any initiatives to alleviate or reduce poverty. 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 achieving the goal of poverty alleviation.

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.

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.

1.3.5 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 worked as 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 residents and whose role was critical in ensuring that the data were of the required amount and quality.
- Residents who participated in focus group discussions and community workshops and who provided information to questions during interviews.
- The Consultants.

The PPA was conducted over a period of several months and in each area activities were carried out by a team of two Field Research Facilitators who acted alternately as facilitators and recorders. In some cases Research Facilitators encountered difficulties in mobilising and convincing community residents to participate dynamically in the activities and to provide the required information. In addition some residents voiced their frustration and skepticism about the fact that in their opinion little if any action had been taken after the last poverty study. Some were also of the view that nothing different would happen as a result of this exercise. In spite of these sentiments, participation was generally good and many residents welcomed the chance to “have a voice” and to speak their minds about things that concerned them, and that in their view were important.

1.4 THE FINDINGS

The information provided in this report has emerged out of the actual lived experiences of people in seven areas in Anguilla. The information that they provided gives insights into their lives and their realities and gives their perspective on wealth and poverty and on what it is like to live in Anguilla. 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 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 reflecting on the data presented here to give serious consideration to the specific contexts and culture of the various villages and communities, to the changes that have taken place over time in lifestyle and in changed expectations, and consequently in the needs of 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 to respond to and meet the specific needs of poor individuals, poor households and poor groups.

1.5 THE AREAS STUDIED

Initially there was some uncertainty and concern about how communities should be selected and it is important to understand how the final selection was arrived at. Unlike several other Caribbean islands, in Anguilla communities are not always well defined geographic entities, nor were some of them large or concentrated enough to provide the numbers of people needed to provide a comprehensive picture of living conditions of their residents. As a result it was decided to identify general areas that would meet the selection criteria provided. Census and other relevant data were therefore used to identify large geographic areas that would cover most of the country and that would provide a sufficient number of residents to provide a comprehensive picture of living conditions in the country.

Eight areas were eventually chosen and each of these areas comprised of several small settlements, villages and/or communities that represented varying levels of poverty and wealth. Unfortunately in some areas the communities selected were totally different, not only in size, proximity and in physical features, but also in economic activity and other important characteristics like population. For example a coastal, fishing community was selected to be in the same area as an inland community.

Communities are usually not homogeneous and neither were those in the areas chosen. Consequently while some of them may share a number of characteristics, their residents may not always experience or feel the effects of poverty and deprivation or wealth in the same way. Moreover because of the large size of some of the areas it is difficult to know how many persons from each settlement, village or community participated in each of the various activities conducted. In addition reports have only been received for seven of the eight areas selected.

1.5.1 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,
- Identify their problems and concerns,
- Identify community needs, and
- Make recommendations for improving living conditions and reducing poverty in their communities.

One hundred and thirty-four persons, about 60% of whom were females, participated in the workshops in seven of the areas studied. They included young and elderly persons, parents and grandparents, married and single persons, persons with different levels of education and of different occupations, as well as unemployed persons.

Participation was generally high and community residents welcomed the opportunity to express their views. They not only described their reality and their experiences but emphasised their wish for their experience and perspectives to be considered in any initiatives being taken to understand and to alleviate poverty.

While the primary goal of the workshops was to generate information on life and living conditions in the areas being studied, and while participants did generate large quantities of data, 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:

- Opportunities to meet old friends and see new faces.
“We have a picnic and we could form a support group to look out for each other.”
- Opportunities to express themselves.
“Persons had the opportunity to vent and express their feelings.”

- Opportunities to share experiences.
“Our experiences are real.”
- Acquisition of new knowledge about their communities.
“Helped to identify the true standard of living in the community.”
- New understanding of the different dimensions of poverty.
“Enlightened about various aspects of poverty.”
- Greater awareness about the existence of poverty in their communities.
“Never realised that poverty exists in this community.”

SECTION 2: AREA PROFILES

2.1 COMPOSITION OF AREAS

- **Area Two:** South Hill/Blowing Point: an urban area
- **Area Three:** Sandy Ground/North Hill: North Hill is an inland residential community. Sandy Ground is a coastal community.
- **Area Four:** Valley/George Hill/Long Ground/Little Harbour West: an **urban area** comprising of Little Harbour West, George Hill South and Statia Valley, Old TA, Rock Farm, Wallblake and Little Harbour East, Crocus Hill, The Valley West, Central and South. The last four can be classified as one community.
- **Area Five:** North Side: a residential and business area
- **Area Six:** The Quarter/Stoney Ground: comprising of Stoney Ground, Cauls Bottom, The Quarter, Rey Hill, True eyes, Little Dixs, Welches, The Forest
- **Area Seven:** Farrington/Sandy Hill: comprising of Sandy Hill North, Seafeathers, Cauls Bottom East, Deep Waters South Farrington Road, Wattices,
- **Area Eight:** East End/Island Harbour: Island Harbour comprises of the following villages: Mango Garden, Welches, Island Harbour, Sea Rocks, Junks Hole, Windward Point, and Harbour Ridge. East End comprises of East Village/The Copse, The Pond Ground, and Mt. Fortune

2.2 POPULATION

The population in the areas studied is very diverse and is made up of people of different ethnic backgrounds from Anguillians, from a number of other English Speaking Caribbean countries, from the Dominican republic, A Spanish Speaking Caribbean country, and as well as from non-Caribbean countries. To a large extent, external and internal migrants have determined the composition of the population in several of the areas studied.

While there are significant numbers of Anguillians in every area and the population in Farrington/Sandy Hill is mainly Anguillians of African descent, and in the Quarter/Stoney Ground, there are a small number of Indians. In some areas, including in the Farrington/Sandy Hill, Sandy Ground, North Side and Sandy Hill/Blowing Point areas, there are noticeable numbers of returning nationals, retirees and returning students and some short term migration as young people go abroad to study.

In several areas including George Hill, Sandy Ground, there are significant numbers of Spanish-speaking immigrants and in North Side of English-speaking immigrants from a number of Caribbean islands. The large numbers of immigrants from English-speaking Caribbean countries and from the Spanish-speaking island of the Dominican Republic have contributed to an increase of the population in several areas. These immigrants are a significant pool of human resources that includes professionals, technicians, tradespersons, hotel and domestic workers, and that fills the country's need for a larger and more diverse base of human resources. In spite of this, in the areas studied there is some evidence that some Anguillians deeply resent their presence, especially that of the Spanish-speaking immigrants, and that some immigrants have experienced discrimination, exploitation and exclusion.

In addition there is also a smaller long-term resident expatriate population, as well as a seasonal expatriate population, especially in areas like Farrington/Sandy Hill and East End/Island Harbour where there are beaches. However from the data provided it appears that this group is not deeply involved in day-to-day life in the areas studied.

In terms of age there are more elderly persons than young people in Blowing Point/South Hill, but while in Sandy Ground/North Hill there are large numbers of retired and elderly persons there are also large numbers of youth as well as a significant number of school-age children. In Deep Waters and the Farrington there is a significant number of children under the age of fifteen and in North Side there is a large youth population.

2.3 LIFE AND LIVING CONDITIONS

2.3.1 THE PHYSICAL AND MATERIAL DIMENSION

The physical and material dimension of life in an area or a community is shaped not only by its geography, topography, natural resources and location in relation to other areas and communities, but also by its natural resources, its infrastructure, and the number of facilities and services available to its residents.

2.3.1.1 Infrastructure

While main roads are generally good, some of the secondary roads are unpaved. In North Side there are some new roads. Some of the old roads have been upgraded more recently, but others are in need of repair. In George Hill South and Statia Valley a large number of secondary roads are unpaved.

The existence of utilities is a significant factor that contributes to the standard of living in a community. Public utilities are available in all of the areas, but some residents in Farrington/Sandy Hill were of the view that proper lighting is needed and that existing

street lights were not being well maintained and that there were too few street lights. At the same time, while in most of the communities there is water, electricity, and telephones, residents complained about the high cost of utility bills and their inability to pay them. To overcome this problem, even though it is illegal, some residents do share electricity with their neighbours. Some young people were concerned about the number of power outages and surges and their impact on computers.

“The cost of electricity too high.”

“Power outages take place during the day but ANGLEC don’t give you back money for all those power surges we have each week.”

“They don’t tell you when they going to shut down so you can unplug your computer.”

At the same time participants in some areas, including The Quarter/Sandy Ground commented on the absence of public toilets and the need for such a facility in every district.

On the other hand, residents in the South Hill/Blowing Point area commented on the absence of standpipes, on the sub-standard water supply and on the fact that cisterns were affected by drought. In the Farrington/Sandy Hill area while water from the government is available, not all houses are connected so several people use cisterns or collect water in drums. Some participants in The Quarter/Stoney Ground area admitted that they had to do without water sometimes because they either could not afford or depend on “government” water.

“Water bills too high.”

“Water is too high I had to disconnect it.”

2.3.1.2 Transportation

There is no public transportation in Anguilla and those who do not own vehicles usually hitch rides from neighbours or friends. However several persons who owned cars complained about the high cost of gas and residents in some of the areas identified the need for public transportation, and for public not private buses.

“The price of gas is so high that some people are parking their cars and walking on small trips.”

2.3.1.3 Housing

Shelter is one of the basic human needs and adequate and affordable housing is one indicator of the living conditions and quality of life in an area or community. In most of the areas, houses are mainly of concrete but in a few there are some smaller wooden houses and

in East End village there are a number of old abandoned and incomplete houses. There are also a few houses without bathrooms and toilets inside. Several houses have concrete roofs that have deteriorated and that are in poor condition with flaking ceilings and exposed iron strips.

Apart from family-owned dwelling houses there are apartment buildings in many of the areas and this is so in Welches, Little Harbour West, Rock Farm, South Hill/Blowing Point, Farrington, and Cauls Bottom. In most cases apartment buildings are rented to immigrants, but in a few of the areas, for example in Pond Ground, some houses and apartments that are substandard and in poor condition are also being rented to immigrants. There are also villas and homes owned by expatriates, some of whom in Sea Rocks reside in them for a few months and rent them out in the tourist season.

Because of the high cost of renting, some young people commented on the difficulty they experienced in finding affordable housing.

“I have been looking for an affordable apartment.”

“Rent is too expensive.”

“House rent too high.”

“When I see an apartment and would like to get it the price is so very high I can’t take it because I can’t afford two bedrooms for US\$800.00-US\$1,400 monthly.”

Construction of houses is evident in several areas including in North Side, Old TA, North Hill, Farrington and Cauls Bottom. However it is interesting to note that in East End village more young women than men are investing in building homes.

2.3.1.4 The Environment /Natural Resources

The physical environment and the natural resources to which people have access help to determine their standard of living and the quality of life that they can enjoy. Residents in all of the areas identified several natural resources including land, sea, mangroves, ponds, and as well as residents’ actions that are contributing to environmental degradation. These manmade disasters are contributing to soil and beach erosion, flooding and pollution, as well as to the creation of unsightly spaces and of breeding grounds for mosquitoes and rats as well as to health hazards. Over the last decade the country has also been affected by natural disasters including hurricanes, tropical storms and drought that have damaged some beaches, diminished the quality of drinking water from roof catchments and the supply of ground water for irrigation.

While in several of the areas there is some arable land, in Sea Feathers and Sandy Hill there is some rocky, arid land with little vegetation except for aloe and other types of cactus. In Wallbake, The Pond Ground, and Little Harbour East there are large areas of undeveloped land, but land is an important resource for housing and in some villages/communities like Mango Garden, Island Harbour for agriculture and backyard gardening. Cauls Bottoms East, Wattices, and Sandy Hill North have rich fertile soil that is used for cultivation of a range of vegetables and some medicinal herbs. However abuse of this resource by indiscriminate clearing of bush in South Hill/Blowing Point, and removal of top soil for beautification purposes in East End/Island Harbour, has resulted in soil erosion and decreased the amount of arable land in these areas. Meanwhile in Farrington/Sandy Hill, clearing of land to build new roads and houses has destroyed a significant amount of the vegetation.

The sea and the beaches are major and important natural resources not only because they contribute to the national economy by attracting tourists and facilitating economic activities like fishing, and boat building, but also because of their natural beauty and the opportunities they provide for residents to relax and enjoy themselves. A significant amount of beachfront land has also been sold to individual expatriates, foreign investors or companies, many of whom have built homes or hotels. A small number of Anguillians have also built guesthouses and other tourist attractions on, or near to the beaches.

Many of the areas, villages and/or communities are situated either along or near the coast, and residents in several of these identified a number of things that are destroying them. Among these are:

- Destruction of reefs and therefore of marine life
- Endangering of sea creatures like lobsters because of catching underdeveloped lobsters or lobsters with eggs
- Beach erosion as a result of uncontrolled sand mining. Within the last twenty years Windward Point Bay and Sile Bay have totally disappeared as a result of sand mining. Other beaches have also been so damaged.
- Clearing of vegetation from beaches. This has left them exposed and damaged by tropical storms and hurricanes.

Ponds and mangroves provide sanctuaries for local flora and fauna. There are mangroves in South Hill/Blowing Point, in Wallblake, and Little Harbour East, and there is a pond in East End. These natural resources are homes to local flora and sanctuaries for local fauna. However, there was a concern that they were being damaged by land filling and by drought. For example, filling in of the East End School Pond to create a playing field has

resulted in flooding of the surrounding areas during heavy rains, and because of frequent droughts, the Pond is less likely to continue to be a bird sanctuary.

In the South Hill/Blowing Point area, because of flooding there are pools of stagnant water that are breeding grounds for mosquitoes. According to some interviewees, because of the high cost of trucking white solid waste to the dump site, it is usually dumped anywhere. As a result, in some areas including in the Farrington/Sandy Hill area there are large numbers of derelict abandoned vehicles, discarded tires, old washing machines and other household appliances, plastic bottles and bags, empty cans and old batteries that are also breeding grounds for mosquitoes and rats.

Pollution and contamination of water sources were identified as environmental and health hazards. Contamination of the water table because of the location of burial grounds was identified as an environmental hazard by residents in Farrington/Sandy Hill area, and in the East End/Island Harbour area pollution of water sources because of the absence of proper sewage treatment facilities, effluences contaminate the water table and the sea.

In Farrington/Sandy Hill, there is also air pollution from burning of garbage and from vehicle exhaust as well as noise pollution from racing cars, and loud music, and loud noise from vehicles in Blowing Point/South Hill. Along with noise, in the Valley/George Hill/Long Ground/Little Harbour area dust is also causing air pollution.

Although there is garbage collection by the Sanitation Service in several areas, there is also evidence of littering and poor disposal of garbage in North Hill/Sandy Ground, The Valley/George Hill/Long Ground/Little Harbour, and in North Hill/Sandy Ground.

“I am living in an environment where there is always garbage on the street.”

Residents in Farrington/Sandy Hill were concerned about radiation because of the proximity of antennae placed by telecommunications businesses.

In a few of the areas including The Valley/George Hill/Long Ground/Little Harbour, there was a concern about the advent of what some identified as invasive species including the African snail, and the increase of frogs and snakes.

As can be seen in the Table 2.1 below, the data show that the country is plagued by several serious and devastating environmental problems. Some of these have already begun to destroy the island’s delicate ecosystems and have the potential to continue to do so if radical and urgent steps are not taken to deal with them. Others not only are compromising the quality of the inland natural resources but threaten the health of the population because of

their potential to contribute to a number of diseases, and to increase the burden of the current health services. In addition some residents were concerned about the negative impact of these environmental problems on tourism and eventually on the national economy.

At the same time, information obtained from leaders in some of the areas indicated that the majority of residents are only somewhat aware of environmental issues. Given the large number of environmental problems, this suggests that there is an urgent need for an aggressive national environmental education programme.

TABLE 2.1: ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEMS

Environmental Problems	Area Two	Area Three	Area Four	Area Five	Area Six	Area Seven	Area Eight
Littering						x	
Poor disposal of Garbage	x		x				x
Poor drainage	x	x	x		x	x	x
Deforestation	x						
Soil Erosion	x				x		
Sand mining	x		x				x
Beach erosion	x		x				x
Destruction of reefs/marine life							x
Over-fishing							x
Air pollution		x	x	x		x	
Noise pollution	x	x	x	x			
Removal of top soil							x
Flooding	x	x			x		x
Improper Sewage Disposal/Contamination of Water Table						x	x
STAGNANT WATER	x						
Mosquitoes	x	x					x
Abandoned vehicles	x	x			x	x	xx
Abandoned appliances	x					x	
Abandoned houses						x	x
Over tourism development							x
Drought		x					
Hurricanes	x	x	x	x	x	x	x

2.3.2 FACILITIES AND SERVICES

The existence of facilities and services is essential to enable residents to enjoy an acceptable standard of living. The extent to which they can benefit is determined not only by availability but by several factors including accessibility, affordability, information, and

attitude of providers of the services. The data show that there are churches in all of the areas studied, recreational facilities in six of them and primary schools and health centres in five.

2.3.2.1 Educational Facilities

The data show that there are some educational facilities in most of the communities; preschools in four, primary schools in five and one secondary school. The majority of adults do have a primary education and literacy is said to be high in North Hill/Sandy Ground, North Side. On the other hand some unemployed persons in The Quarter/Stoney Ground area admitted that since they had left school at about twelve years of age they had very little formal education.

Most of the participants acknowledged and welcomed the increase in educational opportunities and the assistance provided through scholarships to enable people to further their education. The Community College Development Unit in The Valley/George Hill/Long Ground/Little Harbour area provides opportunities for people in the country to access tertiary education. The Comprehensive Learning Centre in North Hill/Sandy Ground offers CXC classes and other vocational training sessions. At the same time, adult education programmes have become more accessible, and while there are opportunities through distance learning programmes offered by the University of the West Indies, several participants expressed the view that establishing a College in the country would increase opportunities for higher education and decrease the need for students to go overseas for this.

The majority of those who participated in the PPA activities seem to value education highly and many believe that it is important for self-development and for obtaining good jobs. Some were also of the view that it would reduce poverty, but at least one male participant strongly believed that rather than reducing poverty, education increases it.

“Education is the primary factor to help move out of poverty and enjoy a good quality life.”

“Education does not bring anyone out of poverty, it puts you in poverty.”

“The increased cost of uniform, shoes, text books and other school supplies and to provide food every day would make people poor.”

Some participants were also critical of the school curriculum and were of the view that it only benefited children who were able to get good grades. They therefore saw the need for “proper” education for children and that this should include opportunities for obtaining technical and vocational training.

“Technical and vocational institutes.”

“They should build a technical school for children to learn a trade.”

“The education system not planning for young persons, Anguilla needs technical schools.”

“Anguilla needs technical schools.”

At the same time, because of the high price of school books some parents could not afford them and their children had to go to school without any. In addition there were concerns about the frequency with which textbooks are changed.

“School books are too high. Other countries sell the same books for less.”

“Many of our children go to school without books because we can’t afford them.”

“What are my children suppose to learn from if I don’t have the money to buy books?”

“They change the textbooks too often.”

Some students also mentioned the impact of negative attitudes displayed by some teachers.

“Some teachers don’t care about the students.”

“Some of the teachers are too young and they can’t control the students and this keeps back the class.”

“Most students don’t like the teachers’ way of teaching.”

“Some teachers don’t take time to give notes in a way for students to understand.”

“Teachers are not always present at school.”

“We are struggling to learn under the worst conditions.”

However some residents in the East End area identified the need for continuing education and some were of the view that an adult education and training programmes would help to ensure that they can continue their education to develop themselves and become self-reliant.

“After school programmes for students would help to reduce crimes.”

“We need more training programmes.”

“Training centres should be put in place.”

2.3.2.2 Health Facilities and Services

Health centres offer a wide range of health care services and significant numbers of people rely on, and make use of these services. There are health centres in five of the seven areas studied, but residents in the other two areas have access to and use health services from facilities nearby.

The medical clinic in the East End/Island Harbour area offers a wide range of services including daily screening of diabetic and hypertension patients, ante-natal services, child care and immunization, family planning, counselling and health education and home visits.

While there is a general agreement that health services are available and while some residents are of the view that the health clinics are either reliable or very reliable in providing health care services, others are of the opposite view. In addition, some residents expressed concern about the inconvenient location and limited opening hours of health care facilities. Some also identified difficulties in accessing health services in cases of emergency and others the high cost of accessing health services and of medication.

The cost of health care is too high.”

“Medicals should be free even if I have to pay for medication.”

“I go to the poor man doctor.”

“You have to pay first before you get treated, so if you can’t afford to pay you stay home and stay sick.”

“Sometimes they don’t have the medication in stock.”

“A person needing asthma medicine should not have to pay \$15.00 to \$30.00 for each pump because this is a life-threatening illness.”

In the face of the high cost of medication some people take half the required dose and some resort to local remedies.

“I cut the high blood pressure tablet in half so it could last longer.”

“I does use bush.”

At the same time some were concerned about the lack of professionalism played by some health care professionals, the sometimes long wait to see a doctor and the lack of confidentiality.

“The health care system appears to lack professionalism, you don’t know if the people are fully qualified.”

“The doctors wait so long to see you.”

“The hospital is not confidential, your business is on the street before you see the doctor and find out what is really wrong.”

“It does not make sense to have a public hospital and you cannot use it.”

“The service at the hospital not good.”

Although some medical benefits are available, some participants were concerned about the process of acquiring them, including the long and detailed application forms, and the kind and amount of information being requested.

“The forms too personal and too long and they want to know about your children’s income.”

In spite of encouragement to live healthy lifestyles, many people, especially the elderly, are unable to do so.

“They encouraging people to live healthy lifestyles, but I am a pensioner on a fixed income it has to do everything.”

“With the high cost of living I have to cut and contrive.”

“As you get older health problems escalate but you are cut from insurance and it costs so much.”

“Diabetics now have to pay \$2.00 for sugar testing every two weeks.”

“We have to pay for sticks to test for sugar.”

The data therefore show that obesity, diabetes and hypertension, lifestyle diseases are prevalent in several areas, and not only in male and female adults but are also present in younger persons and even in school-age children. Moreover, participants acknowledged that lack of proper nutrition and poor eating habits are contributing to these phenomena.

“We do not eat proper meals.”

“Sometimes we have to choose between buying medication and food and our health suffers because of this.”

Other common diseases are alcoholism, heart problems, stroke, cancer, arthritis and renal failure; while very little mention was made of HIV/AIDS, it was said that there has been an increase in sexually transmitted infections, (STIs). Some children and young people also suffer from allergies and asthma. A few children also have skin rashes and eczema and display low levels of dental hygiene. The data also show that in some areas they were persons with disabilities.

Some participants do have health insurance; a significant proportion does not. Participants in some of the areas shared their views about the proposed National Health Scheme; several were wary and reluctant to support it because of their fear that they would be unable to afford it.

2.3.2.3 Welfare Services

The Ministry of Social Development and the Welfare Department are government agencies that implement a welfare system to provide a number of services to those segments of the population that are most in need. Among these groups are children and elderly persons, single parents, unemployed persons, persons with disabilities and those who are poor.

During various PPA activities some of these groups, including some who were in need, unemployed and elderly persons and single mothers, commented on the inefficiency and ineffectiveness of the welfare system.

Welfare department should visit our communities to get a first-hand look at the living conditions.”

“I have no bathroom, I have to bathe in the open but not much bush around so people can see me. I can’t work because of a fall. Welfare has the information two years now they have seen the situation but have done nothing.”

Some unemployed persons were of the view that there should be a system put in place to assist them.

“The Welfare Department should assist Anguillians who are unemployed.”

While some elderly do receive pensions and the amount is often inadequate to meet basic needs, without it they would be in a worse position.

Pension benefits are very low.”

“Barely existing on pension.”

“I am scared if the government stop giving us pension.”

“The boss paid nothing to social security so I am without pension and can’t get any benefits now I sick.”

Some single mothers indicated that although their children’s fathers were supposed to provide support for their children this is hardly ever the case.

“Fathers neglect to support their children but the system is of no help.”

“Caseworkers don’t make fathers pay their monthly maintenance fee.”

“We don’t get no help from the Social Welfare Department to maintain our children.”

Some participants also commented on the disrespectful way that they were treated by some of the staff of the Welfare Department

“The way the social workers handle us and speak to us, we feel demeaned.”

“They don’t take you serious, as soon as you turn your back they laugh at you.”

“The system need improvement.”

“We don’t have any welfare system here.”

“There is no welfare in Anguilla, the name is farewell.”

TABLE 2.2: FACILITIES AND SERVICES

Facility	Area Two	Area Three	Area Four	Area Five	Area Six	Area Seven	Area Eight
Pre-School	x		x	x	x		
Primary School	x		x	x	x		x
Secondary School			x				
Day Care Centre			x				
Health Centre	x	x			x	x	x
Recreational Facilities	x	x	x	X	x		x
Churches	x	x	x	X	x	x	x
Business places		x	x		x		x

2.3.3 INSTITUTIONS AND ORGANISATIONS

Institutions and organizations are vehicles through which goods and services are provided to communities and their residents. During the community workshops residents identified institutions and organisations that were present in their areas, grouped the institutions and organizations according to whether their initiatives and programmes are preventative, remedial, supportive or developmental, and created Venn diagrams to show the importance of the work that they do. They also discussed the extent to which residents and the area were benefiting from the interventions, activities and programmes of the various institutions.

The data show (see Table 2.3) that some areas are better served by institutions and organisations than others and that the institutions and organizations identified by participants implemented programmes and projects that cover several topics including non-formal education, leadership, sports, the environment, health, and sports.

TABLE 2.3: COMMUNITIES, TYPES AND MOST BENEFICIAL ORGANISATIONS

Areas	Development	Preventative	Remedial	Supportive	Most Beneficial
Area Two	8	2	1	2	Sports Clubs
Area Three	5	1	2	2	Youth Groups, Women's League
Area Four	3	3	3	3	Church Groups, Schools
Area Five	2	4	6	7	Red Cross,
Area Six	2	1	1	1	Churches, Fowl Farm
Area Seven	16	5	7	10	Church Youth Groups
Area Eight	5	1	1	1	Red Cross, Scouts & Guides

They also show that a significant number of institutions and organizations are concerned about the development of young people, that their programmes are intended to engage them in wholesome activities and to limit their involvement in gangs, crime and other illegal activities. Such organizations included church groups, sports clubs, youth groups and the Red Cross. Participants in several areas were particularly pleased and impressed with the services and programmes of the Red Cross and of Guides, Scouts and other youth groups which in their opinion were extremely successful and effective in contributing to the development of residents and of their areas.

At the same time participants identified some institutions and organizations that were not being effective and the programmes of which were not seen to be beneficial. Among the latter were the Social Development and Welfare Departments, the Health Authority, and environmental clubs.

In addition to categorizing institutions and organizations as developmental, preventative, remedial or supportive, they can also be categorized by whether they are governmental or civil society organizations.

2.3.3.1 Government Institutions

Various government ministries and departments including Education, Health, Social Development, and the Social Welfare Department create facilities and have outreach programmes through which essential services are delivered to communities. Schools and other educational institutions provide opportunities for children, youth and adults to obtain formal education. The Ministry of Health, through the hospital and health clinics provide health services, and health professionals organize a variety of health education programmes and visit the elderly and some ill residents.

Residents in some areas have benefited from initiatives and programmes of the Department of Social Services that provide social welfare including social assistance and old age pension for the elderly, and although the amounts provided are small, sometimes they are the only money that the recipients receive. At the same time, several participants were critical of the services delivered by the Social Development and Welfare departments, about the negative attitudes of the staff of these departments and about the sometimes disrespectful ways in which they are treated. As a result there is a belief among many that social service delivery is highly unsatisfactory.

Through the implementation of sanitation services there has been a significant improvement in garbage collection and in some of the communities the garbage is collected once and in others twice a week. However habits of poor disposal and dumping of garbage limit the effectiveness of the efforts of the sanitation department.

In spite of these initiatives by various government departments to improve living conditions, residents in several of the communities are of the view that in order to really improve living conditions and alleviate poverty, greater efforts must be made by all of the government institutions and departments.

2.3.3.2 Civil Society Organisations

Civil Society Organisations include Private Sector and Non Governmental Organisations. Among the latter are NGOs that operate at the national level and CBOs that operate at the community level.

2.3.3.3 Private Sector Organisations

Although there are several small businesses in every area and a few large businesses in others, only in North Side, in The Quarter/Stoney Ground, and in The Valley/George Hill/Long Ground/Little Harbour was mention made of the presence of private sector organizations including the communications companies, banks, the Chamber of Commerce, and a few of the small businesses. While it was acknowledged that a few of the private sector organizations did sponsor some sports clubs, it was felt that the Chamber of Commerce had not been successful. On the whole participants did not provide information that showed whether and in what ways private sector organizations were impacting on their lives or on their communities.

2.3.3.4 National Level Non Governmental Organisations

Among these are The Red Cross, Brownies, Girl Guides and Boy Scouts; service clubs like the Lions, Rotary and Soroptimist Clubs, and National (Umbrella) Associations like the Nation Council of Women, the National AIDS Programme, and the Hotel and Tourism Association.

The Red Cross is seen by residents in most of the areas as important because it provides training and family counselling, assists needy persons and provides support in the wake of natural disasters. Residents in several of the areas also recognized and acknowledged the important role of Girl Guides and Boy Scouts in shaping young minds and instilling morals and values. .

2.3.3.5 Community Based Organisations

Community based organisations play important roles in the lives of residents and in the development of an area. Residents often therefore form themselves into groups to further their interests, to meet individual, group and community needs, to solve community problems, and to motivate individuals to develop themselves and to take action to achieve individual and community goals.

Among the CBOs identified by residents in the community workshops are church groups, sports clubs, Parent Teachers' Associations, community groups in several areas and environmental groups in a few. Church groups exist in nearly every area and according to residents in several of the areas, the church and church groups play important roles, not only because they promote and facilitate spiritual development but through activities that provide practical help, especially to the elderly and those in need. They also pay a great deal of attention to young people by organizing youth groups like the SDA Pathfinders, the Girls' Brigade, and Anglican Youth groups. Residents in the Farrington/Sandy Hill area also felt that the Junior and Senior choirs offered opportunities for youth and older people to interact in a variety of activities beneficial to both.

Residents in this area also recognized the important work being done by the PTA in supporting learning and preventing delinquency.

“The PTA is where parents can meet the teachers and see what their children are doing.”

While there is evidence that many NGOs and CBOs were doing important work and that several people depend on them for their welfare and survival, others were not being as successful as expected. Among the reasons for this is that as in some areas like The Quarter/Stoney Ground some of these organizations were not physically located in the

community, and in some areas there were few, if any suitable venues in which to conduct their activities, and their activities and programmes were not meeting residents' needs. At the same time, residents were not always aware of their existence, and may not be interested or involved in their activities.

Residents in some of the areas are of the view that the various institutions and organisations must target those who are most in need and that they should do much more to improve living conditions and the standard of living in their areas. Consequently, although many of the government agencies, NGOs, and CBOs have created facilities and services that provide assistance and support to residents, the data suggest that the various agencies and organisations need to make residents more aware of their presence in the area and of their activities, and that in order to respond to and meet the needs of those who are in most need, their interventions, activities and programmes should be better targeted.

SECTION 3: THE ECONOMIC DIMENSION

The ability of residents to sustain their livelihoods depends on a sound national economy, and opportunities for them to engage in productive activities from which they can earn an income that would allow them to at least 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, because of the high cost of living their earnings are insufficient to allow them to meet all of their needs and to sustain their livelihoods as they would like.

Several people referred to the economic boom that had taken place earlier and to the fact that they had taken out mortgages and loans, and compared it the present state of the economy and the current economic crisis. Consequently while credit was still available several of the participants were finding it difficult to keep up with payments. At the same time because of the shrinking of the economy and the high cost of living, including high food and utility bills and house rent, a significant number of people were finding it a challenge to enjoy what they regarded as a good standard of living. Consistently participants in every activity commented on the high cost of living and of everything, and lamented their inability to sustain their livelihood.

“Cost of living killing us.”

3.1 THE FORMAL ECONOMY

Tourism is the major contributor to the national economy and in every area some people work in the hospitality industry in the tourism sector in hotels, restaurants and bars. At the same time many residents are also engaged in a variety of other economic activities from which they make their living. Agriculture, including subsistence farming, backyard gardening and rearing of livestock is an important activity in Farrington/Sandy Hill and fishing is an important activity in Island Harbour which is regarded as the Fishing Capital of the island.

“You can tell by the many fish and lobster pots in the yards.”

“When the sea is rough you can see about twenty fishing vessels in the Island Harbour Bay.”

In Island Harbour and Sandy Ground, building of sail boats, sailing and boat tours are also economic activities from which some residents make their living.

“Many yards have boats that are used for sailing.”

The construction industry is vibrant and in several areas including The Quarter/Stoney Ground, South Hill/Blowing Point, and Farrington/Sandy Hill. Significant numbers of males work in the construction sector. In all of the areas there are civil servants, large numbers of self-employed persons and entrepreneurs, and those who work in the private sector. The data show that in every area there are large numbers of small businesses and that many residents are self-employed. This suggests that entrepreneurship is highly regarded and seen not only as necessary, but also as being lucrative.

3.2 THE INFORMAL ECONOMY

The informal sector economy is more flexible than the formal economy. It provides opportunities for unemployed or underemployed persons who may not be qualified or have all of the skills required to be employed in the formal economy, to obtain some level of income. Individuals involved in this sector work in a variety of jobs and move in and out of the sector in response to their demand for financial resources or to meet specific financial needs. However, because of the volatility and unpredictability of this sector, jobs can be seasonal and unsustainable. Like the formal sectors of the economy the informal sector is segmented along gender lines with males and females more likely to be engaged in activities that are seen to be appropriate to their gender.

Some residents in every community are involved in the informal economy and males as well as females are small business owners, shopkeepers and vendors who sell a variety of goods. Males are usually involved in traditional male activities, as construction workers or mechanics. On the other hand, women are usually hairdressers, food vendors or domestic workers, all activities that are extension of their traditional gender roles as homemakers and caregivers.

Among the activities identified in Farrington/Sandy Hill as well as in some other areas are weekend barbeques, piano lessons, taking care of elderly persons, braiding of hair, and burning of coal-keel.

3.2.1 THE UNDERGROUND ECONOMY

One aspect of the informal economy is the underground economy. This economy is characterized by trafficking of drugs and involvement in other illegal activities, and while people are aware of the risks involved in becoming involved in such activities, many see them as an opportunity to obtain an income. While the data suggest that there is an underground economy on which some people in some of the areas depend to sustain their livelihoods, only a small number of those who participated in PPA activities admitted to being involved in illegal activities.

“Use and sell of marijuana.”

“Prostitution just for the money.”

“Yes some sell drugs because they need the money.”

3.3 EMPLOYMENT AND UNEMPLOYMENT

Opportunities to obtain jobs that would pay reasonable wages are essential for survival. On the whole job opportunities are available, and unemployment is low, and while most people are engaged in a number of income-earning activities, there is evidence of a significant amount of underemployment. There is full time, part-time, and seasonal, and a significant number of persons do have two or even three jobs: one full time, another part time and another seasonal.

“I have two jobs in order to meet my monthly demands.”

“I have only one job, some people working two and three jobs taking away the job from someone with none.”

However, while many people are employed, because of the high cost of living a significant number can be considered to part of the working poor, because, according to them, they were unable to meet even some of their basic needs like food or to pay their utility bills.

“Some people in the community fall into the bracket of the working poor.”

“The money we working for not enough.”

“Salaries low.”

“We need a minimum wage, how long is it going to take?”

“The prices in the shops killing you.”

“There is need for price control.”

“Persons are working but can't meet their demands.”

“When you get pay, you want to know where the money gone.”

An important dimension of employment and unemployment is the large number of immigrants in the workforce. The achievement of national development goals depends to a large extent on the human resource capacity of the country. However, the relatively small number of Anguillians that comprise the human resource pool has created the need for more people with the necessary skills and competence to achieve these goals. This situation has provided opportunities for other countries to fill the gap in the local human resource pool and to work in Anguilla. As a result, a significant numbers of people from several English Speaking Caribbean countries and from Santo Domingo, as well as from places like

Africa, China and India have taken advantage of the number of job opportunities available in the country.

While some of the immigrants are employed in professional areas like health, teaching and commerce, the majority work as technicians, construction workers, tradesmen, hotel workers, and domestics. While these immigrants make a valuable contribution to the country many of those who participated in the PPA deeply resent their presence. They not only blamed immigrants for whatever unemployment there is and for low wages, but for some of the social problems that exist.

“I can do masonry work, but since they bring the Chinese workers they lay us off.”

“Employers import Chinese to work for cheap labour so Anguillians have to work for less money than they would want.”

“Look we home and the foreigners working.”

“Government recruiting professionals from other Caribbean countries, soon we will have no place in our own Anguilla.”

“The fire service employing only Dominicans and no Anguillians.”

“Too much Spanish coming to Anguilla to work without work permit.”

“Getting rid of the Chinese and Spanish would make payment better.”

On the other hand, several immigrants shared experiences of discrimination and exploitation, and of being subjected to poor working conditions and unfair practices, not only in the workplace but in other aspects of life.

“We are not treated well by employers but if we make reports we might lose our jobs.”

“In construction work when we go to cash our checks they reduce our time of work so every time we go to the bank we get less.”

“We are discriminated against.”

“The Labour Office does not defend us at all.”

Most of the immigrant workers are on work permits and are only supposed to work for the employers who obtained the permit. This means that if they are dissatisfied with conditions they are not free to try to obtain a job from anyone else. In addition they are often unaware of whether their work permit would be renewed.

“If you not from Anguilla you are to remain at the bottom of the ladder.”

“You feel rejected.”

“We are underpaid.”

“We are not treated well.”

“I can't leave because I can only work for the person I have the work permit for.”

While this was the reality of most immigrants it was generally believed that the Spanish-speaking immigrants were treated worst of all.

Given the negative experiences shared by many immigrant workers it is evident either that the existing labour laws do not offer adequate protection for these workers, or that there is need for new labour laws. There is therefore probably a need to look at existing legislation and to take steps to ensure and preserve the rights of these workers.

“Wages need to be set, insurance coverage on the jobs needs to be put in place and social security deductions must be paid into the system.”

Several immigrants are aware that they are making a valuable contribution to the island and wished that Anguillians would acknowledge this.

“We are not here as parasites as lots of people think.”

“There is a need for people to accept us and to appreciate and recognize our contribution.”

SECTION 4: 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 they identified positive and negative features of their social environment. Residents in all of the communities recognize that opportunities to obtain a good education, ability to enjoy good health and good social relationships and to have access to supportive social networks, along with absence of social problems are features of a good social environment.

Mention has already been made of educational and health services available to residents and of the way in which these impact on their lives. However the data also provide useful insights into two other aspects of social life, social relationships and social problems.

4.1 SOCIAL RELATIONS, NETWORKS AND SUPPORT SYSTEMS

Social interaction, the way people interact and relate to others is essential in order to live a good life and to achieve personal aspirations and goals. People therefore create formal and informal systems and networks to establish and maintain harmonious interpersonal relationships and to facilitate cooperation among community members.

The family is one mechanism in which family members interact and relate. Relationships between males and females, between parents and children, and between young and elderly people are cemented. However several of the participants believed that family life had deteriorated because morals have been lost.

4.1.1 GENDER RELATIONS

Relations between adult males and females in a family usually set the tone for all other relationships within the family and children usually take the cue from these. Some participants were of the view that women were being treated better and that people were more aware of the negative consequences of abusing women. On the other hand there were those who felt that relationships between men and women were difficult and that some men treat women worse now than they did before.

“Women are still being mistreated physically.”

“There is still a great deal of physical abuse by men.”

The data do show that in several areas gender relations are not as harmonious as they could be. Some are characterized by marital problems including disagreements, and unwillingness to shoulder responsibility,

“My husband and I don’t agree on things.”

“Mothers go to the welfare department to collect money from fathers but fathers don’t pay the money so mothers have to call and cuss them.”

“Husbands only contributing minimal finances to the household.”

“The men we married are not shouldering their responsibilities of taking care of the home.”

These comments along with other information obtained in household interviews and in focus group discussions show that women are being burdened with much more responsibility for the care of families and homes than men are.

4.1.2 PARENT-CHILD RELATIONSHIPS

Relationships between parents and children are determined to a large extent on parents’ ability to provide for their material, psychological and emotional needs and demands of their children. However the data suggest that a significant number of parents are finding it difficult to do so. According to many of the participants there has been a drastic deterioration in parent-child relationships and many of these are characterized, among other things by lack of respect, indiscipline, lack of supervision and child neglect because parents are working two or more jobs, and the inability of parents to meet the needs and all of the demands of their children.

However parent-child relationships do not only depend on providing children with material things, it also depends on things like teaching them values, showing them good examples, and having good parenting skills. However some participants were of the view that many parents lacked these things and that this contributed to indiscipline and poor relationships.

“Parenting starts when the child is born.”

“Children are like sponges they soak up everything.”

“We create double standards and then expect them to grow up straight.”

“By the time the child is a teenager, he or she has learned all of our bad habits.”

Parent-child relationships were said to be excellent in North Hill and parents in some of the other areas who participated in PPA activities said that that they were able to provide adequately for their children and that they had a good relationship with them.

“My husband making enough money to provide for us so I can stay home with my children.”

However the data show that for many others this was not the case. Among the reasons given for poor parent-child relationships were lack of finance, limited time spent with children, children being left alone, lack of support from fathers, and disciplinary problems.

“Can’t afford to buy the books.”

“Parents get harassed into buying expensive things, name brand shoes.”

“Parents feel that they letting their children down.”

“Children upset when you can’t give what they ask for.”

“Parents work more than one job so they spend little time with their children.”

“I can’t be a proper parent I have to leave the children for long hours unattended to go to work.”

“I have one to help, I am mother, father, everything.”

“The children so rude.”

On the other hand it is important to be aware of and understand the children’s perspective. There is a great deal of animosity towards some parents because some children feel cheated and resentful when parents are unable to give them what they want or do not provide them with enough support.

“Parents should have money.”

“Parents should be more supportive of our education.”

Living in single-parent male- or female-headed families also affects the relationships that children have with their parents. Some single mothers were of the view that the absence of fathers in the home resulted in problems, especially with boy children. At the same time while some single male parents do take care of and support their children from various unions, a significant number do not. During the PPA a few young people commented on their relationships with their fathers and on the anger they felt at being ignored.

“We struggling with the children without the help of their fathers.”

“Fathers not getting along with their children.”

“I am angry with my father, he not supporting me.”

4.1.3 SIBLING RELATIONSHIPS

It was said that sibling rivalry was a feature of a few families in Island Harbour. This was characterized by rivalry between brothers and sisters, jealousy and envy, because of material gain.

4.1.4 INTER-GENERATIONAL RELATIONSHIPS

In the eyes of most of the participants there was a disconnect between the youth and older people and relationships between young and older people were not generally good. Several were of the view that the former had little if any respect for the latter. Many of the older people commented on the fact that their attempts to talk to or correct young people were met with hostility, resentment, and rudeness.

“Loss of respect for old people.”

“Children are now rude to the elderly.”

“Children nowadays have no respect for older people. I get the treatment from them so I know.”

At the same time while some older people were of the view that “everything was for the youth”, others believed that they had skills and valuable lessons that they could pass on to the youth.

Within multi-generational households, young and older members of families constantly have to interact with each other, and while some parents and grandparents saw this arrangement as necessary and beneficial to young people, some young people said that in such an environment they felt trapped. The result is sometimes strained relationships and displays of hostility by the young people towards the adults in the households.

4.1.5 RELATIONSHIPS AMONG NEIGHBOURS

In the Farrington/Sandy Hill area are a number of formal and informal groups. Young men hang out on street corners and informal barbecues bring residents together in a relaxed atmosphere. At the same time the formal church and youth groups also create opportunities for residents to interact in more structured settings.

In all of the areas there are a number of activities that bring people together and mechanisms that facilitate interaction and cooperation among neighbours and contributed to a sense of community spirit in some communities. Some of these activities are church-related but several are also for leisure activities and include sports, cultural activities and festivals in which males and females participate together.

Among these are religious holidays celebrated everywhere, Anguilla Day, Separation Day and Carnival, national events celebrated in all areas, birthdays celebrated in North Hill, and boat-racing which is popular in Sandy Ground and in South Hill/Blowing Point. In some areas, special events like Independence Day are celebrated by non-Anguillians.

In spite of this, in some areas it was reported that relationships between neighbours had worsened. Among the reasons given for this were more people were placing more emphasis on themselves and on material things, and are having less time to look out for each other. This, according to some, had contributed to poor community spirit.

“People don’t look out for one another anymore, they are all for themselves.”

“Neighbours are greedy.”

“Community spirit is non-existent.”

At the same time, in many of the areas in which there were significant numbers of immigrants, relationships were sometimes strained. A significant number of Anguillians felt resentful of immigrants and blamed them for many of the problems in their areas and in the country.

“Government allow the foreigners to come and pull down Anguilla.”

“They do not invest in the country they send their money out of the country.”

“Get rid of the forward Spanish.”

“Anguillians don’t treat people nice.”

4.2 SOCIAL PROBLEMS

A healthy and harmonious social environment is one in which there are few social problems and in which residents feel safe. However, many of those who participated in PPA activities were concerned about what they saw as the rapid deterioration of the social environment in which they live. In every area, residents commented on the existence of gangs and gang violence, on the increase in the use and trafficking of drugs and in crime, on the high levels of alcohol consumption among young as well as among older people. Among the problems that they identified were:

- Gangs
- Alcoholism
- Use and selling of drugs
- Crime
- Stealing
- Violence
- Prostitution
- Teenage pregnancy
- Incest
- Physical and sexual abuse of children
- Domestic violence
- Indiscipline and delinquency
- Dropouts

At the same time, they expressed concern about the increase in the number and types of problems that now plagued their areas.

“Activities involving gangs, crime, violence, and use of illegal substances are now prevalent.”

“Crime is on the rise, increase in burglaries, gang-related incidents and violence and abuse of alcohol and drugs.”

“There is an increase in crime among youth.”

Alcoholism, drugs and gangs are present in every area and residents see these as the most prevalent and serious social problems facing them. In George Hill/The Valley there are a number of gangs, including the Bloodz, violence and other gang-related activities. In North Side the increase in homemade bombs and of graffiti such as “Baghdad” on walls is evidence of the presence of gangs in the area.

“Increased alcoholism among youth.”

“Men are always drinking.”

“Alcoholism is evident, both young and elderly engage openly in this activity.”

“There is a big problem with gangs.”

“Gang markings are visible.”

“Drive-by shootings from the Eastern section of the island against the Western section.”

Teenage pregnancy, incest, molestation, and physical and sexual abuse of children were identified in several of the areas.

“Teenage pregnancy is being sported like a diamond ring.”

“Some girls end up pregnant and leave school without getting a proper education.”

“Some male teachers are involved with the girls.”

“Young girls going with older men.”

Women in the South Hill/Blowing Point area were extremely concerned about teenage pregnancy. In answer to the question “should a man be sent to prison when he gets a school girl pregnant” women between thirty and forty years old rejected the idea of abortion and were adamant that men who got school girls pregnant should be locked up.

“Abortion is like killing a person, if you take/kill the child she might just go right back to the man.”

“The man should get lock up because he gone spending his money on other things and we the parent bussing our ass to feed his child.”

“This is rape, lock him up, let him pay for it, get rid of him.”

On the other hand the younger women did not all agree with this suggestion and some even blamed their mothers.

“It don’t make sense locking up the father, he in gaol sitting down and she out there with no job.”

“Some mothers don’t show love to their children so as soon as a man say ‘I love you’, they just jump into things.”

“Some mothers get fed up and they will not give you money to buy food or things for the baby.”

As pointed out by one of the women, teenage pregnancy is statutory rape, it is a crime, and so is incest and sexual abuse of children, however there is little evidence that perpetrators of these crimes are arrested, charged, or sent to prison. The women’s suggestions that they should be locked up should therefore be taken seriously.

Whereas prostitution is generally regarded as an activity in which older males and females are engaged, in some of the areas there is a growing concern about the existence and increase of prostitution among young girls and boys.

“Prostitution among young girls in their late teens and early twenties.”

“There are pockets of prostitution among teenage girls and boys in the community.”

Another problem mentioned was the increase in vehicular accidents, and the absence of sidewalks and lack of attention to road safety. Residents in The Quarter/Stoney Ground felt that there was need for speed bumps and stiffer punishments for people who create accidents.

“The government will only do something when one of our children get knock down by a speeding car.”

Table 4.1 below shows that The Valley, George Hill, Long Ground and Little Harbour have the largest number of social problems, that South Hill/Blowing Point, North Hill/Sandy Ground, and East End/Island Harbour all have a significant number of social problems, but that North Side, The Quarter/Stoney Ground, and Farington/Sandy Hill have a smaller number of such problems. It also shows that alcoholism, drugs and crime are present in all of the areas.

TABLE 4.1: SOCIAL PROBLEMS

Problems	Area Two	Area Three	Area Four	Area Five	Area Six	Area Seven	Area Eight
Gangs	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Alcoholism	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Drugs	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Crime	x	x	x	-	x	x	x
Stealing	x	x	x	x	x	-	-
Violence	x	x	x	x	-	-	x
Prostitution	x	x	x	-	-	-	x
Teenage pregnancy		x		x			x
Incest	-	-	x	-	-	-	x
Child abuse	x	-	x	-	-	-	x
Domestic violence	x	-	x	-	-	-	-
Indiscipline & delinquency	x	-					
Drop outs			x	-			x

SECTION 5: THE POLITICAL DIMENSION

While in some areas local leaders do meet from time to time to discuss matters of concern to residents, there is little political activity except leading up to election time. Political parties are not organized at the constituency level, and voters do not generally hold politicians accountable. Moreover family connections, religious affiliation and friendship ties rather than issues influence how people vote.

“No political groups here and no political activity except leading up to elections.”

“We only see our representative when it is election time.”

“After election no political activity and no representation.”

Political activity is an important aspect of governance and governance is revealed in the role that government plays and in its impact on people’s lives. From the information provided it appears that several of the participants were disillusioned with the government’s inefficiency and ineffectiveness, and some commented on the difficulty in accessing leaders and on the unwillingness of politicians to cooperate.

“We are guided by a bunch of dummies.”

As a result they felt ignored, not listened to, and not consulted about things that were of concern to them.

“We do not have a voice.

“We need a voice and someone to listen to us.

“Government make decisions they think we need but they need to ask us.”

Many of the participants also raised the issue of discrimination and unfair treatment.

“Decisions are made for one set of people, the wealthy.”

“Fair opportunities for all.”

“Government don’t care about us.”

“No one looking after our interests.”

The issue of rights was also raised and discussed. Some participants felt that they were being deprived of their constitutional rights and some pointed out that in their view, locals were being denied their rights.

“Let us talk about our constitution”

“How will I get work if foreigners are taking our jobs.”

“Even taking advantage of your birthright is costly. Getting a passport is too expensive.”

From the information provided by several participants it appears that they were disillusioned with what they perceived as the government's inefficiency and ineffectiveness. Moreover several were of the view that the government was incapable of dealing with the problems facing the country that there was need for a change and that the present government should be removed.

"We are guided by a bunch of dummies."

"The problems are too far gone the government can't solve them."

"The government needs to take a serious review of the country and its people."

"Take out the government."

"The government needs to be changed."

SECTION 6: POVERTY AND WEALTH

6.1 TYPES AND LEVELS OF 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 areas. The majority of those who participated in the various PPA activities were initially were of the view that when compared to other countries, there was no poverty in Anguilla. However based on discussions on poverty and wealth in the community workshops and in the focus group discussions participants in every area did identify the existence of poverty and did acknowledge that there was some level of poverty not only in the areas in which they lived but in the country generally.

Participants in all of the areas identified some of the factors that contributed to poverty, but they focused mainly on economic factors, inability to meet basic needs, and housing as indicators of poverty.

- **Economic factors**

“A lot of persons need a job.”

“Not having enough money.”

“Cannot save any money”

“Can’t save any money.”

- **Inability to meet basic needs**

“When you can’t provide food.”

“When you can’t help yourself.”

- **Poor housing and poor living conditions**

“Having nowhere to live.”

“Some people are living in broken down homes

“Not every home has an inside bathroom and some people use the bushes as a toilet.”

“Poorer homes have galvanized roofs.”

“Houses in poor condition, some cement roofs are crumbling.”

Using these indicators participants agreed that a while only a small number of Anguillians could be considered rich, and a significant number were better off, and while no-one could be considered to be very poor, some people were poor and were struggling to survive.

“Anguilla has no poverty.”

“You can’t see the poverty, it covered down.”

“It have a lot of people here poor.”

“I know people who poor I am better off.”

“People here are better off.”

Participants’ perception of poverty was deprivation of the necessities of life – that is ‘when you don’t have anything;’ and the inability to meet basic needs and to enjoy an acceptable standard of living and quality of life. Through a variety of innovative interactive exercises they identified the existence of different types and levels of poverty, including destitution, hidden poverty, relative poverty, transient poverty and cyclical, long-term, intergenerational poverty. Residents in Island Harbour and East End identified cyclical, short-term and seasonal poverty where some households moved in and out of poverty on a regular basis as well as pockets of cyclical long-term multi-generational poverty spread over a longer period of time.

There are pockets of poverty and deprivation in Sandy Hill, and in Deep Waters and significant levels of poverty in Wattices where housing conditions are very poor and there are also pockets of poverty in Blowing Point/South Hill. As observations in The Quarter/Stoney Ground revealed, hidden poverty is not always easy to detect. In this area there several pockets of poverty many of which are hidden behind trees and bushes, and what makes it difficult to be aware of their existence is the fact that those who are living in these conditions do not always appear to be poor.

“Many of these persons live next to or behind average looking homes.”

“The community knows them and has built around them.”

The Wealth Ranking Matrix is a tool that uses four indicators – housing, food security, health and financial status – to measure poverty and wealth in a community. While many of the participants were of the view that the Wealth Ranking Matrix did not apply to Anguilla, it introduced them to food security and health as two other indicators of poverty or wealth. Using these two indicators along with the housing and economic indicators on the Matrix, participants were better able to assess the level of poverty and wealth in their areas.

In terms of food security, there was general agreement that while most people ate at least two or three meals a day, there were some others who did not always have enough food or were not eating nutritious meals.

“Don’t have enough to eat.”

“Some people skip meals

For example participants in Farrington/Sandy Hill were of the view that about half of the residents did not eat balanced meals and that a small number of children do go to school hungry. At the same time it was pointed out that some people who are better off or rich do not always eat nutritious meals or a balanced diet.

“A lot of rich people watching their money; they don’t eat.”

In terms of health, inability to meet health needs was identified as an indicator of poverty, and residents in most of the areas were of the view that while some health facilities were available, the high cost of health services and medication prevented several people from enjoying good health. This was especially true of elderly persons.

“Plenty people can’t afford health care.”

Information provided by participants in various PPA activities shows that there is individual as well as community poverty. Individual poverty is characterised by deprivation, unemployment or underemployment and lack of and/or insufficient financial resources and inability to meet basic needs. The data do show that while there are only a small number of individuals who are destitute, there are pockets of poverty in almost all of the areas. On the other hand community poverty is characterized by the absence of facilities and services, as well as difficulties people experience to access or afford them, and this can also contribute to individual poverty. Observation of the various areas as well as information provided by residents reveal that there is some level of community poverty in the country. At the same time, in some of the areas there is a limited number of facilities and affordable services and this contributes to community poverty as well as to some level of individual poverty.

“For those without transportation it is difficult to get to public health facilities.”

6.2 QUALITY OF LIFE AND SENSE OF WELL BEING

A good standard of living and 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, economic, 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, ratings given on the Wheel of Well Being and those given on the Quality of Life Index are similar and they provide concrete information and insights about what participants think about their quality of life and their sense of well being.

While the physical and material aspect of life was rated high by participants in several areas, there were some who felt that although tourism development had helped to improve the standard of living, several people were still finding it difficult to provide for the physical and material well being of their families. At the same time, participants in North Hill/Sandy Ground felt that a poor, unhygienic and unsafe physical environment was having a negative impact on the quality of their lives and on their physical well being. In addition several people regarded ownership of land as important to their physical and material well being and they mentioned the difficulties they experienced in acquiring land because of the high cost as well as the fact that much land is being sold to non-Anguillians.

“Can’t buy land, greedy people carrying up the prices.”

Residents in areas like The Valley/George Hill/Long Ground and Little Harbour also pointed to the existence of few facilities and the effect of this on the quality of their lives and sense of well being.

Economic well being is essential for people to be able to enjoy a good standard of living. On the whole participants gave high ratings to job opportunities, employment and wages and identified availability of credit as a resource that enabled them to enjoy a good standard of living. At the same time several people commented on low wages and on the fact that these were not always enough to allow them to cope with the high cost of living.

To a large extent the social aspect of life, including relationships, the absence of crime, and of other social problems determines the sense of well being that people can enjoy. While participants in a few the areas only identified a few social problems, several of them were concerned about the rapid deterioration of their social environment. They identified lack of guidance to children and young people and they gave average or low ratings to family life and acknowledged the existence of crime and violence; residents in Farrington/Sandy Hill and North Side, South Hill/Blowing Point, The Quarter/Stoney Ground, gave these high ratings.

Education and good health also contribute to the quality of life and allow individuals to experience a sense of well being. In most of the areas education was rated high because residents acknowledged that there had been an increase in the number of opportunities to pursue formal education, and consequently in the level of education of many people. However, participation in higher, technical and adult continuing education was rated low

or very low. At the same time in some areas health was rated low and residents expressed concerned about mental health and consumption of unhealthy food.

While the spiritual, psychological, and emotional dimensions of life are critical to a sense of well being, they are often not considered. Moral values, attitudes, Self-esteem and self-confidence, dependency and sense of security are all indicators of a sense of well being. Including them on the Wheel of Well Being allowed participants to reflect and share experiences of this aspect of life. Their ratings given to these were either low or very low.

Participants in some areas including North Hill/Sandy Ground expressed a great deal of anger at what they regarded as the erosion of moral values, negative attitudes, the sense of insecurity because of crime, and the drop in spirituality.

“Moral values are presently at the lowest.”

“People are no longer focusing on positive self development.”

“People don’t feel safe in the community anymore.”

“People seldom go to church and because of this the family and the community suffer.”

6.3 CONCERNS, PROBLEMS AND NEEDS

Residents in all of the areas identified a number of things about which they were concerned, problems that they were experiencing and things that in their view were needed to improve living conditions, quality of life and sense of well being.

In general there was a major concern about the high cost of living, including the cost of food and utility bills, inadequate wages and the absence of price control, so that even those who were employed were finding it difficult to sustain their livelihoods. As a result they recognized that while there was little abject poverty there was some evidence of poverty in their areas.

Health was also a major concern and while the existence of health services was widely recognized, many commented on the availability, affordability and quality of existing health services and the impact of this, especially on elderly and poorer persons.

Although participants did acknowledge that there had been an increase in educational opportunities, they were concerned about the high cost of text books and the regularity with which they were changed, about the lack of emphasis on technical and vocational training, and the limited number of opportunities to pursue higher education at home.

All of those who participated in the PPA activities were concerned about the deterioration in the social environment and about the large number of social problems facing their communities. This is reflected in the increase in anti-social behaviours, including risky sexual behaviours and their attendant ills, in crime, in drugs and other illegal activities. Consequently the safety and security of people in some areas are threatened.

Participants in all areas identified a number of things which, in their opinions, are needed to improve living conditions and the quality of their lives. Some of these are listed in the Table 6.1 below.

TABLE 6.1: NEEDS IDENTIFIED BY PARTICIPANTS

NEEDS	AREAS
Economic needs	
Job opportunities	Areas 5
Minimum wage	Area 2,
Lower cost of living	Areas 4, 6
Price control	Area 8
Lower cost of utility bills	
Infrastructure	
Low-income housing	Area 8
Lower house rent	Area 6
Public transport	Areas 3, 7
Standpipes & street lights	Area 3
More public toilets/maintain public toilets	Area 7
Improved water system	Area 2
Education	
Cheaper text books	Area 3
Keep same text books longer	Area 3
Vocational and technical skills training centre	Area 2
Cater for individuals with varying abilities	Area 5
Library and resource centre	Area 7, 8
Computer courses	Area 8
Financial help for poor families	Area 4
Education on healthy life styles	Area 2
Facilities and Services	
Improved health facilities and services	Area 8
Free health care & prescriptions for elderly	Area 6
Target the mentally challenged & drug addicts	Area 8
Put a health fund in place	Area 8
Community centre	Area 8
Recreational facilities	Areas 8, 3
Community police presence	Area 7
Encouragement & support for CBOs	Area 2

6.4 GROUPS

Poverty and deprivation do not mean the same thing to everyone, and different groups of people experience poverty and are affected by it in different ways. Within the PPA it was possible to capture the differences in perceptions and experience of poverty for each group, and to identify the specific concerns, needs and priorities of different groups especially those that are most vulnerable. To obtain the required information, focus group discussions were conducted separately with men, women, unemployed persons, elderly persons, and young people under the age of twenty-five; with persons with disabilities, immigrants from some of the English Speaking Countries in the Caribbean and with non-English Speaking immigrants, mostly from the Dominican Republic.

During the focus group discussions each group defined and articulated their experience of poverty and deprivation, shared information about the survival strategies they used 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 levels of education.

A total of six hundred and five (605) persons participated in focus group discussions. Of this number three hundred and ten (310) were men and two hundred and ninety-five (295) were women.

6.4.1 MEN

One hundred and thirty-five men participated in focus group discussions. The majority of them were between the ages of twenty and forty-five years of age; twenty-eight were married, thirty-seven were single, a few were divorced and a small number widowed. Thirty-four had a secondary education, a small number had either been to college, had some technical training, or had been to university. A significant number of them were construction workers, but some were also civil servants and businessmen, labourers, fishermen, farmers, and hotel workers.

6.4.1.1 Perception, Experience and Effect of Poverty

The men defined poverty in a number of ways, including not having anything, not being able to meet basic needs, not having a job and having to live below the standard set by the society. A few also believed that poverty results when people are no longer contributing to the society.

“Being brokes.”

“Not having anything at all.”

“Inability to meet basic needs.”

“Having no food to eat.”

“No flow of money.”

“No shelter, no food, no clothing, no job.”

“Can’t help yourself.”

“The standard of living here so high

“When one can no longer contribute to society there is more poverty.”

A significant number of the men said that they were not poor because they were able to meet their basic needs.

“Broke at the moment but not poor.”

“We are not poor but there are persons in the community who are poor.”

Some said that while they were neither rich nor poor they were struggling to survive.

“It’s a struggle to make money and I could easily end up poor.”

Those who said that they were poor felt that this was so because of their living conditions, and lack of regular employment, lack of education, and having to depend on others. At the same time some realised that if their circumstances were to change, they would be in danger of falling into poverty, and some accept the fact that they are poor.

“I am very poor, I don’t have a house, electricity or running water in the apartment I renting.”

“The pressure of bills knock me flat on my back.”

“We are more than poor, have to beg for money to get attention at the hospital at night.”

“I am living in poverty I have no money.”

“I do not have a regular job.”

“Being uneducated I cannot fill out a job application.”

“I live from hand to mouth.”

“I accept the fact that I am poor and live one day at a time.”

“I have to depend on others for assistance.”

“Making money is my priority, then I would not be poor.”

Some of the men also realised that if their circumstances were to change, they would be in danger of falling, or could fall into poverty.

“If we were to lose our jobs tomorrow we would consider ourselves poor.”

“I had an accident, I lost everything, my home, my business, my family.”

“I lost my boats and fish pots during the hurricane.”

On the other hand a few of the men believed that some individuals who are poor are to blame for their situation either because they are lazy, or because they depend on and blame others for their state.

“People who are poor are lazy. There are a lot of jobs out there for everyone.”

“People in Anguilla are poor by choice.”

All of the men were aware of the negative effects that poverty can have on people’s lives and while some were willing to share their experiences others were not. As one young businessman pointed out, because of either pride or shame and of the stigma attached to poverty, people may not be willing to reveal its negative impact.

“When you own a business you don’t want people to know how tough it is, so sometimes you live bigger than you can afford.”

In spite of this many of the men said that poverty affects them in several negative ways. It generated feelings of embarrassment, powerlessness, helplessness, of being trapped and of being vulnerable.

“I feel ashamed that I cannot give my family what they need.”

“I feel like a beggar.”

“When you can’t make it you feel like a dog.”

“I feel defenceless and powerless.”

Many said that they felt pressured, depressed, and the stressed because they could not adequately provide for their families and this had caused at least one man to suffer from stress-related mental illness. One man even said that the stress has affected his sex life.

“I am pressured and stressed out.”

“Because of the stress I can’t perform.”

On another level poverty determines whether they are able to afford needed health care. This was especially of concern for those men who worked in jobs in which they were prone to accidents and one man shared an experience of being hurt on the job, in a commercial accident, and of being charged \$5,000.00 by the hospital, a bill that he could not pay.

“I am afraid if I get sick it would be worse because I have no money to pay the doctor.”

“Health care is money, now we have to pay for it.”

“You are at risk when you cannot pay your health bill.”

“Some people who work in construction have had bad accidents.”

“I was hurt on the job and they charged me \$5000.00 instead of my employer, now I cannot attend the hospital, the bill was never paid.”

“We would have better peace of mind if health care was better.”

Some also felt vulnerable when they thought of unexpected emergencies and realised that they are at risk of becoming poorer and being unable to survive or sustain their livelihoods. They therefore do take risks in order to survive.

“We are at risk if sickness or a natural disaster happen. There will be no money to carry the family through hard times.”

“Involved in illegal activities in order to survive.”

6.4.1.2 Roles and Responsibilities

It is important to recognize that all of the men are well aware of and accept their role as breadwinner and their responsibility to provide for their families.

“Being the head of the home.”

“Being the main bread winner.”

“To provide food shelter, and money to support the family.”

“Work hard to feed my family and pay the bills.”

“Take the children to the clinic.”

“This is what I do, take care of the family.”

However many of them are often unable to shoulder their responsibilities as breadwinner and provider for their families, mainly because they are poor, and are either unemployed or underemployed, work for low wages or have little or no money.

“To carry your responsibilities we need more money more time and more support”

“I work two or three little jobs to provide for my wife and kids.”

“My salary is insufficient to undertake my responsibilities as I would like.”

“It makes you feel bad when you don’t have enough money.”

“I do not have a trade, and do not make much money and this puts me at risk of losing my family.”

“I have sick children but I do not have health insurance.”

“When you are unable to provide the basic needs for your family the security of your home is hampered.”

Poverty also robs some men of their manhood.

“You are only a true man when you can provide for your family.”

The men were of the view that in addition to being deprived of material things like proper houses, land, money, better jobs that paid more money, and health insurance, the men also felt that they were being deprived of several other important things, including their families. Several of the men admitted to having children from different women, they were adamant that they did take care of their children, and that they were committed to family life. However because of court rulings a few of them men had lost their families and their homes, and some felt that when women asserted their rights men were powerless to act.

“The court upheld the women and we lost our families.”

“We lost our homes in the divorce proceedings.”

“Dem women start of good till dem get their rights and then they gone and we can’t do nothing.”

“We want back our families.”

Poverty also affects men’s relationships with their families, their children and their spouses/partners in negative ways, and this can sometimes determine whether they can enter into relationships with members of the opposite sex.

“I have to work two jobs to provide for the family so can’t spend quality time with the children.”

“You can’t ask someone to be with you if you don’t have anything to offer.”

“I need money to find a good woman.”

Some of the men also felt that they were being deprived of their rights, that they were not being represented, that they had no voice, and that none listened to them.

“Nobody representing the area.”

“We have no voice.”

“No one listens to us.”

“We need a level playing field, equal opportunity for all.”

6.4.1.3 Coping and Survival Strategies

Access to and control over resources is essential for survival and the men identified some of those that they needed in order to survive. The majority of men saw money and education as the most important resources and job stability as also important. Food and land were accessible, but the high cost prevented many from eating healthy diets and while loans were available for purchasing land, it required collateral that they did not always have.

The men said that they used a number of strategies to cope and survive. Among these were working at multiple jobs for long hours, engaging in illegal activities, putting aside whatever little for a rainy day or taking loans from the bank. Some just tried to manage with whatever they had. However a few begged and several turned to alcohol.

While these strategies do not necessarily help them to move out of poverty, to some extent they enable them to play their roles and to shoulder their responsibilities as partners and fathers, and to meet some of their needs and those of their families.

6.4.1.4 Quality of Life and Sense of Well Being

While some of the men were satisfied with their lives, and some said that there was room for improvement, many said that they were not satisfied with their lives. Freedom, a job, money and family were regarded as important factors that contributed to a satisfying life. At the same time the men agreed that a good quality of life depends on being able to live well.

“I am satisfied my pay is good.”

“I am satisfied with how I am living now but there is still room for improvement.”

“I am very satisfied everything is alright with me.”

“Work is steady now but I doubt it will last.”

The men felt that good health, a job and money, and being debt-free were necessary for them to be able to have a family, and provide for them. In addition several felt that owning house and land with more living space, and owning a business were also important.

“Living well means being able to provide the basic things in life for one’s family.”

“To come home to a wife and children.”

“To be debt free.”

“Paying the bills and having money at the end of that.”

“The family is too cramped... we need more room to spread out.”

“To be able to put something aside in case of emergency.”

The men realised that if they were able to achieve their goals and aspirations they would have a sense of well being. For a significant number an important goal was to be able to provide for their families, for many others it was more money, a good relationship with their partner, and happiness, and for a few it was to ensure that their children got a good education.

“To have a good woman beside me and to be able to give her what she wants.”

“Just to be happy.”

“To ensure that my children get a proper education.”

“Education is key to enjoying a good quality of life.”

However several men said that they had not been able to achieve their goals because seasonal work that paid low wages that were insufficient for them to cope with the high cost of living much less achieve goals. A few men also blamed loss of confidence in the system for their inability to achieve their goals.

“The government is preventing people from achieving their goals.”

“No confidence in the system.”

6.4.1.5 Challenges, Concerns, Problems and Needs

The main challenge and problem that the men faced was having enough money to meet and provide the basic needs for their families; this was a matter of great concern for the majority. Over and over they identified the factors that contributed to this situation, seasonal work, low wages, high cost of living and no price control.

Several men were also concerned about continued economic development, about the country's economy, and about whether the economic situation would get any better. Some said that there is need for an economic policy.

"The economic crisis is everybody's business."

Many of them were also concerned about the way in which workers were being treated, and about the inefficiency and ineffectiveness of labour legislation, and its inability to protect workers.

"No minimum wage."

"Wages need to be set, insurance coverage on the job need to be put in place."

"Ensure that social security deductions are paid into the system."

Several men were also concerned about the education system, its academic curriculum, and the limited number of opportunities for technical and vocational training and for higher education on the island, the high cost of school books and the fact that the system was not adequately preparing students for the world of work.

"Schools not turning out people for the workforce."

"Sending children to university."

Health was another area of concern. Several of the men, especially the older men, commented over and over again about the high cost of medical care, the absence of health insurance and the difficulties of obtaining quality care at the hospital and health centres. Several men were also concerned about their rights, their lack of representation and of a voice, and their feelings of being ignored and not listened to, and about what they saw as injustice and unfair treatment.

"Nobody representing the area."

"You can't meet the officials to express your views."

"The government only come round to hear our complaints when it s election time."

"Government treats people as if they do not matter or they are not important."

"Some people are placed in better positions than others."

"We need fair opportunity for all."

A significant number of the men believed that the government was responsible for the many challenges and problems that they faced and some felt strongly that there was a need for a change of government.

“The government needs to be changed.”

6.4.2 WOMEN

Ninety-six women participated in focus group discussions. The majority were between the ages of twenty and forty-five and were married; several had secondary education, and while none had technical and vocational education a small number had university degrees. Nearly a quarter of them were employed in the tourism sector in hotels, several were public servants or worked in the private sector and a few were teachers. Fifteen were single parents.

6.4.2.1 Perception, Experience and Effect of Poverty

All of the women defined poverty as a state in which someone is unable to meet basic needs, to provide the necessities of life and to pay bills, and having to live in poor conditions. They identified the cause of this as lack of jobs and money to buy what they wanted and having to live from pay cheque to pay cheque.

“Can’t provide the necessities of life.”

“Lack of food.”

“Living in poor conditions.”

“Having to live in a house with a leaking roof.”

“Can’t afford to pay bills.”

“No jobs.”

“No money to buy what you want.”

“Living from pay cheque to pay cheque.”

“Poverty is dealing with hard times.”

Women in one of the focus group discussions also thought that poverty meant living below the country’s standard of living and being unable to take care of their families; and while some felt that compared to other countries there was no poverty in Anguilla, when they thought about their low salaries and the high cost of living they agreed that they could be considered to be poor.

At the same time several of the women who said that they were not poor, realised that there were others who were poorer than they were. Moreover, because they had education, good jobs and salaries, they were able to meet their basic needs and pay their bills.

“I do not consider myself poor, it have some people who poorer than me.”

“No, I can pay my bills every month.”

“We are not poor, we have a good education, good salaries and our jobs are secure.”

On the other hand, a significant number of the women did say that they were poor, not only because they had no jobs, or because they were working for low wages, or because they experienced difficulties in coping with the high cost of living, but because they realised that if conditions were to change they could become poor.

“When you can’t get what you need you are poor.”

“I am poor I do not have an income.”

“I am not working right now, I in between, things tight, prices high, current bill want to kill me.”

“It is even difficult to afford even the most basic things.”

“The prices of food are too high.”

“Many days I don’t cook. There is nothing in the fridge.”

“We are not able to cope.”

“Low income earners like us are not able to cope with the high cost of living.”

“If I were to consider that I have no health care then yes I am poor.”

“Just getting sick could tip the balance and I could end up in the poor house.”

The women shared several experiences that show the negative effects of poverty on all aspects of their lives. According to them it engendered a number of negative emotions.

“Being poor is frustrating.”

“It’s frustrating having to prepare meals every day with salaries so low and cost of living so high.”

I feel ashamed living with family and not able to contribute.”

“Depressed miserable and helpless.”

“I stressed, I don’t socialise as I accustom.”

“I feel defenceless and powerless.”

“I feel depressed, miserable and annoyed.”

It affected their health, including their mental health, and they talked about the difficulties they faced in paying for health care,

“Being poor is sending you out of your head.”

“High blood pressure, sugar, obesity, stress and nervous attacks.”

“Health care so expensive, sometimes we can’t pay for it.”

“I do more than one job to help with paying the bills, that helps but sometimes I so tired I can hardly walk.”

“We cannot take the number of test the doctor order.”

It threatens their self-esteem,

“Being poor threatens your self-esteem.”

While some of the women said that they had a good relationship with their partners, several others said that poverty had affected their relationships with their partners in negative ways. It sometimes led to arguments, conflicts, disagreements and quarrels.

“I have a great man for my husband, he works hard.”

“War between partners because the woman will be upset with the man when he can’t provide for her.”

This last comment raises the question of women’s dependency on men to provide for them, and their feelings of disappointment and anger when the man is unable or unwilling to do so.

Poverty also affects relationships with their children. On the one hand, children get angry and resent it when their parents are unable to give them what they want, on the other hand parents feel that they are not living up to their responsibility as parents when they can’t provide. The result is often strained relationships, and sometimes, to compensate, parents allow children to get away with behaviours that they would not otherwise condone.

“Parents get harassed to into buying expensive name brand, designer shoes because the other kids are wearing them.”

“Parents feel that they are letting their children down when they can’t keep up with the Joneses.”

“Children get upset when we tell them we can’t give them something they ask for.”

“Children today are out of hand.”

“We as women do everything for them while they look at TV, play X-box or listen to music all day long.”

“Hard life is affecting us as mothers to be proper parents.”

At the same time while parents were committed to providing for their children as best as they could, several were constrained by their lack of financial resources and this often prevented them from being able to provide their children with the things they needed for school. Like the men, over and over again women complained about the high cost of school books and about the regularity with which these are changed, about the pressure they faced to provide the books and about the disadvantage to which this put their children.

“Can’t provide adequately for the children.”

“The cost of school books is too high.”

“My girls are twins so sometimes I can get away with buying one book for the two of them.”

“I go out and get used books for them.”

“Many of our children go to school without books because we can’t afford them.”

A few of the women said that poverty also affected their relationships with persons who were better off than them.

“It hard to get along with people who know they better off than you.”

Poverty also causes some women to engage in risky sexual activities

“Some women go with men to get money to pay the rent.”

6.4.2.2 Roles and Responsibilities

As expected by the society, the women who participated in the focus group discussions identified their main roles and responsibilities as wives and mothers, caregivers and home managers. Some of them strongly believed that these responsibilities were given to them by God. But a few were also of the view that the responsibilities should be shared.

“It is our God given responsibility to look after our husbands, home and children.”

“No one person can carry the full responsibility in the home, it ought to be shared.”

“We give priority to the children.”

“My husband making enough money to provide for us so I can stay home with the children.”

The information provided by the women show the ways in which poverty had affected their ability to undertake their responsibilities and to perform their roles as effectively as they would like. For example a significant number of women are working in two or three jobs to

earn enough income to be able to provide for their children, and a few said that their husbands/partners also did not spend enough time at home with them and the children.

“We do not have ample time to spend with the family

“We have to leave our children unattended for long hours to go out to work.”

“We have to leave the children on their own to go out and make a living day and night.”

“We can’t afford to send them to further their education.”

“Parents need help in understanding how to be proper parents.”

Women who were single parents spoke about the challenges and difficulties that they face in order to provide for their children, sometimes without help from the children’s fathers.

“When you are a single parent you don’t have the second income from a partner.”

“As a single parent I can’t provide all of the things my family may want.”

“Struggling with the children without their father.”

“Children without fathers.”

“Mothers scrutinizing to send children to school when fathers refuse to help.”

In addition to their primary gender roles as wife, mother and caregiver in the home, women also play other roles in their communities. Some of the women who participated in the focus group discussions said that they sometimes acted as counsellors to teenage girls being molested by stepfathers, looked after young children left alone, advised parents, cared for special needs children, worked in the church, did fundraising and community work. It is however interesting to note that these activities are all an extension of their role as caregiver.

Several of the women said that they felt vulnerable and at risk. A few were of this view because, according to them, their husbands were not shouldering their responsibilities and taking care of the home, some others because of fear of being attacked, and a significant number because of concerns about their health.

From information provided it appears that some hotels do not provide transportation for workers who leave work late at night. This put workers, especially female workers at great risk and some of them said that they sometimes have to hitch a ride. This puts them at risk and makes them feel vulnerable.

“We are fearful of being attacked when we have to hitch a ride.

“We would never pick up a male hitchhiker.”

Several women, especially the older ones also felt vulnerable because they had no health insurance and with the high cost of medical care, they worried about whether they or their children became seriously ill.

“I don’t have insurance I just pray to stay healthy.”

6.4.2.3 Coping and Survival Strategies

In order to cope with the high cost of living and to maintain their families several women worked in more than one job. Some spent wisely and economized, some made sacrifices, some depended on remittances and on assistance from friends, family, from the Social Welfare Department, and from groups and organizations like the church, and others cut back on utilities. A few did some backyard gardening.

“I usually get help from friends and family.”

“I squeeze belly so I can get through.”

“Only buy the basics.”

“Cut back on utilities.”

“Live one day at a time.”

“Now I only buy what I need not what I want.”

“I buy the cheaper cuts of meat.”

“Some women go without food so that their families can have enough to eat.”

While some of the elder women had children, they were unwilling to depend on them, since they realised that the latter had their own families to take care of.

“They all have families of their own so I can’t expect too much from them.”

Some of the women buy food in bulk, others go across to St. Maarten where it is cheaper to shop.

“I go around the store looking for the cheapest prices.”

“I buy in bulk.”

“Food is cheaper to purchase there.”

Some women admitted that they do take risks in order to survive. They borrow from friends, take loans from the bank, and are always in debt.

“Some of us have to borrow the money to buy food and school books.”

“Going to the bank for a loan is a risk because you put yourself in debt.”

“Sometimes we have to take more than one loan to survive but we have to put the house up for collateral.”

“We give the loans priority because we don’t want the bank to repossess the house and the vehicle.”

While the strategies that the women used were effective and were helping them to survive, the majority were still experiencing difficulties in providing for their families and several were not optimistic that their situation would improve at any time soon. They cited the direction of the economy, inflation, the high cost of living, and their inability to save for their retirement and their future as reasons for their pessimism.

6.4.2.4 Quality of Life and Sense of Well Being

When one is living well it is often an indication that one is enjoying a good quality life and a sense of well being. Women who participated in the focus group discussion believed that living well meant that all of their needs were being met, that they had jobs that were paying well so that they were able to pay all of their bills, have some money left over and be able to take vacations with their families from time to time.

Some also felt that having love, attention, and security, spending time with their families, and going to church and helping others also contribute to a good quality of life and to a sense of well being. If they owned and lived in their own house they would have a sense of well being.

A few of the women said that they were satisfied with their lives because they had good relationships with their partners and were in a position to be able to meet all of their needs and those of their families.

However, a significant number were not satisfied with the quality of their lives because they were too busy working and did not have the necessary finances.

“We too busy working... we have to make ends meet!”

“You can’t experience any quality of life when there is no price control.”

Being able to achieve goals and aspirations also contribute to a sense of well being and all of the women did have goals, but mainly because of lack of financial resources, not all of them had been able to achieve them.

The data show that many of the women believed that their lack of education was responsible for their current situation and many believed that education was important and necessary to improve it. Some talked about the absence of programmes for dropouts, or for those who according to them had struggled with their books; all of those who had children were concerned about their education. It was therefore not surprising that they identified their own and their children's education as an important goal.

Several women not only said that their goal was to be able to continue their own education and to give their children a good education, but that they were willing to sacrifice to do so.

"I was a teenage mother and did not complete secondary school but I still have hope of completing my education."

"Now that my daughters are older I am doing evening courses at the UWI satellite College and working towards an Associate Degree."

"I would like to finish school successfully and get my degree."

"To get a college education to become independent and self-reliant."

"Sacrifice to ensure that the children get a good secondary and university education."

Other goals included job security, owning their own house and a piece of land, wanting to travel, and to repay loans.

Most of the women said that they had not been able to achieve their goals and that to do so they would need to have financial and other resources at their disposal. However they were all of the opinion that it was difficult to obtain the resources that they needed. All of them agreed that financial resources were the ones most urgently needed, but given unstable jobs, low wages and the demands of a high cost of living these were not easily obtained.

6.4.2.5 Challenges, Concerns, Problems and Needs

Like the men, a significant number of the women who participated faced many challenges and problems as they tried to provide for their families and sustain their livelihoods.

Their major challenges were insufficient money to cope with the high cost of living, especially the high cost of electricity, the difficulty in providing enough and the right kind of food for their children, and to be able to afford proper health care. These situations create a number of problems for which they are constantly seeking solutions and determining the strategies that they have to adopt in order to survive.

While these were of great concern to the women, there are also other things about which they are concerned. They were concerned about the anti-social behaviours and delinquency

being displayed by children, about the increase in the number and type of social problems – including criminal activity, gangs and gang violence in schools, drugs, and about the existence of pockets of prostitution. Moreover their concern was not only about the existence of these in their own communities but about their increase in the entire country.

Another area of concern expressed by the women was that of discrimination and unfair treatment, and of being denied rights; and while these were of concern to immigrant women, several Anguillians also mentioned them.

“Foreign people not treated good.”

“They make it difficult for us to bring your family; it cost \$900.00 for each child to stay and I have four children.”

“Even taking advantage of your birthright is costly. Getting something as simple as a passport is too expensive.”

“Decisions are made for one set of people, the wealthy.”

Some of the women also felt that the government did not care about them or their problems. The women identified a number of things that in their view were needed to allow them an acceptable living and a good quality of life, to achieve their dreams and goals, and to have a sense of well being. Among these were:

- Enough money
- More stable, permanent jobs
- Job security
- Better salaries and wages
- Lower cost of living
- Lower electricity bills
- Price control
- Proper and cheaper health services
- Parenting programmes
- An adult education centre in East End

6.4.2.6 Suggestions for Improving Living Conditions

Participants in every focus group made a number of suggestions for improving living conditions in their areas. Their suggestions included things to be done in relation to economic activities, to education, to health, to facilities and services, and to legislation. Most of their suggestions were aimed at and needed government intervention.

Economic

- More tourism development to supply jobs
- Increase wages
- Lower cost of living
- Price control
- Lower prices in shops
- Review billing system for utilities
- Lower gasoline prices

Education

- Have specialised education
- Help with text books
- Build technical school to teach trades
- Programmes in child care
- Programmes to prepare young people for entry into the job market
- Facilitators and tutors to teach at training centres

Health

- Better medical facilities
- Proper medical services
- Lower the cost of medication

Facilities and Services

- Public transport
- Improve the water system
- Recreational facilities in every community
- Community centres
- Provide low-income housing
- Make land available
- Speed bumps
- Improve the welfare system
- More government assistance for poor people
- Shelter for homeless people
- Elderly care
- Community services and programmes for youth

Legislation

- Establish a rental board
- Stronger punishment for crimes
- Review labour laws

6.4.3 YOUTH

One hundred and nineteen young people, forty four males and seventy-five females, participated in focus group discussions. The majority were between the ages of nineteen to twenty-five years of age, but they were also some between twenty and thirty-five and some children under twelve years of age. A significant number of them were students, but some had completed secondary school, and a small number had technical and vocational training and/or had attended university. Many of those who had left school were employed and few were unemployed. The majority lived with their families, some with both parents, some with a single parent, some in extended families and some in multi-generational families.

6.4.3.1 Perception, Experience and Effect of Poverty

The young people gave the following definitions of poverty:

“Living below the normal standards.”

“Poor living standard.”

“To have no money.”

“Not having the necessities of life, food, clothing and shelter.”

“Having nothing to eat.”

“Not able to afford school supplies.”

“Having nowhere to live.”

“Not having parents.”

“People who wear rags and live in shacks.”

“Children with big bellies with no clothes or shoes.”

The majority of the young people were of the view that there was no poverty in Anguilla and that they were neither rich nor poor. A few of the youth did say that poverty meant having to depend on your parents even when you were an adult. However because the majority of the young people were still living with their families they were not likely to experience poverty and deprivation, because most of their basic needs were being taken care of.

“There is no poverty in Anguilla. There is lots of work available.”

“I am not poor I have everything I want.”

“I can afford anything I want.”

“I am well off.”

“My parents are working we have lunch and other meals every day.”

“We live with both parents. They love us and will do anything for us.”

In addition the few young people who had higher obtained education said that this had enabled them to obtain good jobs and to afford the necessities of life so that they were not poor.

Some of the young participants however did acknowledge that they were many other young people living in poverty and some did agree that they were also poor. Some attributed their state to living in a single-parent household, and to parents not having enough money to pay the bills and to give them what they want, including school supplies and brand name clothes.

“There is no male in the house; my mother is the sole provider with four young children to care for.”

“Poverty affects us when we can’t pay the bills, our current often get cut.”

“Our parents do not have excess money so we can’t get the extra things we need.”

“Our parents have difficulty meeting ends.”

“Boy close the refrigerator door, save on the electricity, the current bill going up every month.”

“Whenever I ask for money they tell me that they only have enough money to keep food on the table and pay bills.”

Many of the students shared experiences of how their parents’ inability to meet their needs affected them. They felt ashamed, frustrated, angry, trapped, inferior, and powerless.

“Food prices in school are too high \$5.00 does not go far.”

“People laugh at you if you carry lunch, they call you poor.”

“Our parents cannot afford proper lunch or brand name clothing.”

“Can’t attend school gatherings.”

“Whenever I ask for money they tell me that they only have enough money to keep food on the table and pay bills.”

“Don’t feel equal to others in the community.”

“Feel cut off from those who are more fortunate.”

According to them these experiences not only make them vulnerable and put them at risk, but they also prevented them from continuing their studies and obtaining a proper education, and they cause the cycle of poverty to continue.

In addition to basic needs several of the young people also wanted things like things like a big house, luxurious cars, and the latest fashions, but some realised that the media had been responsible for this and in this way had contributed to poverty.

“TV is a means of influence and people want what they see on the TV.”

Poverty also affected some youth in other ways. For example some are affected by absence of parents who must work in more than one job, some have to remain at home to take care of younger siblings, and some become involved in sexual activity at an early age.

“The absence of parents is an opening for youth to go astray, and they may not go to school.”

“Loitering on the streets.”

“Parents working multiple jobs so we have to stay home after school and through the night to care of younger siblings.”

“Children liming in the park and having sex at school.”

“Some youth living in poverty that is why they use their body for what they want.”

“Young girls having sex with older men for money and gifts.”

“Some young girls get pregnant and leave school without getting a proper education.”

“If some girls return to school after having the baby, they leave after a month because of the added responsibilities and so the cycle of poverty continues.”

6.4.3.2 Coping and Survival Strategies

For the majority of young people survival is not a major concern since they depend on their parents and families for this. In addition students have access to a number of resources including libraries, scholarships, and church youth group sessions. At the same time a few of the students did have part-time jobs, and survival was a challenge for some of those who have left school. It was said that because parents were unable to meet children’s demands some of the latter do illegal things to get what they want, and some others who do not want to work also commit crimes or join gangs.

“Young boys who do not want to get a job do robberies.”

“Gangs start because there is nothing for young people to do.”

6.4.3.3 Quality of Life and Sense of Well Being

For many of the youth, to have a good life meant to have a balance between material things like good housing and things like family, a good education, good health, and God in your heart; living well meant being able to further their education, living without stress, and knowing that their mothers didn’t have to worry about being able to pay the bills.

“To be poor and hungry, one’s life cannot be stable, there’s lots of insecurities.”

“When money is not coming into the family it affects our well being.”

Some also felt that living in a world free of crime and violence would contribute to their sense of well being. However, several voiced their concern about the amount of violence in the country, gang violence and violence in their schools.

“Because of gang violence we can’t go to certain villages.”

“The west can’t come to The Valley and vice versa.”

“I am afraid to go to school, there is a lot of violence on the school grounds.”

“Some students carry scarves that represent various gangs and display them outside the school gates.”

“Gang violence in schools.”

“Gangs pressuring students to take sides.”

“Spending a lot of time trying to avoid bullying.”

“Absence of violence would mean a perfect form of well being.”

Most of the youth said that their basic needs were being met and that this had contributed to a good quality of life and a sense of well being. However they pointed out that different children had different strengths and all their needs should be catered for, but some of them believed that their physical, social and mental well being was not being catered for. A few were concerned about the mental health of some young people and felt that there was a need for a mental institution on the island.

“Young people need to be engaged in healthy activities in the community as well as in school.”

“We need places to go like youth centres and theatres.”

“More technical programmes.”

“A mental institution.”

The majority of young people were satisfied with their lives and had goals that they hoped to achieve. Some of the males hoped to become professional sportsmen, to develop specific skills like boat-building, but most of the females wanted to be millionaires, accountants, lawyers, judges, teachers or flight attendants. The majority also identified education and better education as an important goal; however, for some it would not be easy to achieve these goals.

“Studying hard to break the cycle of poverty.”

“Achieve a good education to get a higher paying job.”

“Poor people have it hard to support and develop themselves.”

6.4.3.4 Challenges, Concerns, Problems and Needs

The majority of young people were concerned about the amount of violence in the country, the increase in the use and selling of drugs, and the increase in crimes being committed by young people.

“Drugs are easily accessible on the school campus.”

“We know kids our age who use drugs.”

“Sports centres supervised by adults, where children can participate will reduce gang violence and other crimes.”

The negative behaviour of some young people and the absence of role models and mentors were also identified as matters of concern.

“Parenting programmes are needed.”

“The churches must play a more active role in working with the youth.”

“Mentors are an important missing element in the community.”

“They are not many positive role models.”

A few students were concerned about the fact that they were required to wear school uniforms, because they wanted to assert their individuality by wearing their own designer clothes.

“They want to make us all the same.”

“I feel like I have to wear a potato sack to school every day.”

“Skirts should be shorter and shoes more stylish.”

“I roll up the waistband of my skirt to make it shorter and I carry a pair of sexy sandals in my bag to wear when I am not on the school compound.”

“It’s not like America where you can wear your Fubu and Hillfiger kicks.”

Some of the youth felt that after leaving school they were not being properly prepared for the workplace and were concerned about the absence of trade schools and opportunities to obtain technical and vocational education and to gain skills. Some were also concerned about discrimination in the job market because according to them government was recruiting professionals from other Caribbean countries, however it was pointed out that the non-Anguillians were more skilled. At the same time some complained that employers wanted people with experience but that they had none.

“We need technical and trade schools.”

“Tertiary education and training centres should be put in place.”

“How are we to gain experience if someone does not hire us?”

The young people made several suggestions that in their view would improve living conditions and alleviate and reduce poverty. However while they did suggest other things their emphasis was on education.

- Place more emphasis on education
- Make education more affordable and accessible
- Better educational facilities
- More opportunities for training and acquisition of skills
- Establish a Technical College
- Make more scholarships available
- Employ mature people for certain positions like teaching
- More programmes for the youth
- Address the problem of violence
- Create more sports facilities and youth centres
- Establish a centre for delinquent children
- Welfare department should play an active role in communities to see first hand the living conditions of some families
- Build industries to create more job opportunities
- A major economic development for East end and Island Harbour

6.4.4 THE ELDERLY

One hundred and three elderly persons participated in focus group discussions. Fifty of them were males and fifty-three were females. The majority were over fifty-five years of age, and among them were those who were married, some who were divorcés and some who were widowed. While several of the participants were retired a significant number still worked either in paid jobs or on a voluntary basis. Among them were civil servants, teachers, security guards, hotel workers, carpenters, nurses and housewives. While some of them only had a primary education, some had secondary and post-secondary education, a few had university education and a few had some technical and vocational training.

6.4.4.1 Perception, Experience and Effect of Poverty

The participants engaged in a lively discussion on the meaning, experience and effect of poverty, and expressed strong views about its causes. According to them poverty was:

“Not having sufficient money to buy the necessary things of life.”

“Not able to live a life that is satisfactory.”

“Not having enough to eat.”

“Not having the basic necessities.”

“Can’t pay the bills.”

“Living in an old house.”

“Can’t pay doctor bills or buy medication.”

There was a discussion about how to define ‘needy’ given that some who say they are in need may own resources like land, and some are trying to keep up with the Joneses. It was therefore felt that it was not always easy to determine who was poor.

“We have those are in need and at the same time they have acres and acres of land.”

“People here are trying to keep up with the Joneses, it isn’t that they don’t have.”

“Nobody don’t know who going to sleep hungry.”

However a significant of the participants said that they were poor because they didn’t have and they were in need. Some were not employed and were unable to pay their bills, or to afford health care or medication.

“It has a lot of poor people here.”

“We don’t have.”

“We are in need.”

“I am not working so I can’t pay bills for water and health.”

“I can’t afford to pay the light bill so my lights go off at eight o’clock and if I need to I burn a kerosene lamp.”

“I cannot save any money.”

“Since the hurricane my house roof leaking and I can’t get it repaired.”

“I am a poor lady, my house need fixing.”

A few of the participants did say that they were not poor.

“I live within my means, I am on a budget and I am doing fairly good.”

“I am rich because the Lord provide for me every day.”

Some of the participants did receive a pension, but this was often too small to enable them to meet all of their needs.

“The little pension that the government gives does not allow you to afford the high cost of food.”

“I am a pensioner on a fixed income and it has to take care of everything.”

Poverty brought out feelings of inadequacy, worthlessness, embarrassment, and helplessness.

“I feel like a failure in life.”

“Being poor makes me feel like a child.”

“I feel like nothing because I don’t have anything.”

“People look at you and say ‘she again’.”

“They don’t understand, especially the young people.”

“Sometimes we feel helpless.”

“Being poor discourages me.”

Poverty made elderly persons feel vulnerable since they are not working and they sometimes have to depend on children and other family members. However they realise that their children might not always be able to help as they have their own families. They were therefore concerned that because they had adult children who may be working, they were not always eligible for assistance from the government.

“I am vulnerable because I am on a fixed income and any additional expense will affect me deeply.”

“I have to depend on the children or other family members to help me to buy food and pay the bills.”

“Sometimes we get help from the children.”

“I can only eat when the children give me.”

“You can’t depend on children for everything, they have their own needs.”

“Children have their own families so they can’t do much.”

Some also feel vulnerable, unsafe and at risk because of the increase in crime, and others because they were renting and could be asked to move.

“I used to walk but can’t do that anymore it not safe with the crime situation. I feel vulnerable because of that.”

“I was robbed and I no longer feel safe in my home.”

“We do not know when they will attack us or break into our house and rob us.”

“The landlord could ask me to move out.”

On the other hand, it was pointed out that some aging parents still have to support children and their families when the latter are in need, and that this resulted in an added burden which some were not always happy to shoulder.

“At this stage of my life I don’t want to have to do this.”

The most serious effect that poverty has on the elderly is on their health. This is so because many of them suffer from illness like diabetes, hypertension, and heart problems, but they cannot afford the high cost of medical care and of medication. As a result they often have to do without and so their health is threatened.

“As you get older health problems escalate.”

“When I feel sick I ’fraid to go to the doctor.”

“Medication is so expensive.”

“Sometimes we have to choose between buying the medication and food so our health suffers.”

“I worry about getting sick; I have no health insurance.”

“Medication is so high I can only afford to buy half at a time.”

“I am 66 years unemployed with hospital bill of EC\$2,100.00, I can’t pay that.”

“I have to cut the blood pressure tablets in half so they could last longer.”

“I am a diabetic and blind. I have no help to pay for my medication.”

Although new health plan is expected to be introduced shortly, the majority had not attended meetings that provided information on it but they felt that they would not be able to subscribe to it. Several of the (participants were of the view that there should be a health care plan specifically for the elderly).

While many of the elderly believed that they still had a lot to offer the society, they felt that they were being ignored, neglected, and abandoned and that their physical, social and mental needs were not being met.

“There is still a lot that we can offer.”

“We are not given opportunities to pass on valuable lessons to the younger generations.”

“We have become burdens to the society.”

“There is no one looking after our interests.”

“No transportation and no recreational facilities for the elderly.”

6.4.4.2 Coping and Survival Strategies

Many of the elderly, males as well as females, were struggling to survive and to help them to cope. They agreed that they tried to budget, to economize, to live within their means and to save.

“I cut my living according to the money.”

“Sometimes you push aside some little thing.”

“Save when the children give you.”

“Everybody got to pinch.”

“I constantly have to pinch to make ends meet.”

“Do not spend what you do not have.”

Some do get a pension and some assistance from the government, and others get help from family, friends and neighbours. However these were insufficient to enable them to enjoy a good quality of life, to improve their conditions, or to help them to move out of poverty.

6.4.4.3 Quality of Life and Sense of Well Being

For the elderly living well, enjoying a good quality of life and a sense of well being means good health, being able to enjoy retirement and not having to worry about the high cost of living or anything else, and feeling safe.

The majority said that they were not satisfied with the quality of their lives

“I can’t enjoy life, I pay too much for medication.”

“My life is not what it should be.”

The majority of the elderly who participated in the focus group discussions would like to be able to enjoy a better quality of life, but they do not have the financial resources and material resources to make this a reality. Many are living on very small incomes that are insufficient to allow them to cope with the high cost of food and utility bills. Nearly of them have health problems that they are unable to deal with adequately because they cannot afford the medication that they need. Some are living in conditions that are characterized by poor housing and lack of basic amenities, quite a few are living alone without anyone to care for them, and they feel lonely and abandoned. They pointed out the absence of facilities and activities that were needed to ensure that they receive the type and quality of care that they needed, that would bring them together as a group, and that would provide opportunities for them to interact and socialise with their peers.

“A meeting place for the elderly to socialise.”

Many of them feel that their interests are being ignored and that society’s focus is on the youth, but that they are at risk of being attacked by young men who are on drugs. They therefore do not feel safe.

“With the escalation of crime I do not feel safe.”

“We are in prison in our homes.”

“The prisons are full of drug offenders but they don’t receive no rehabilitation, so when they come out they pick up where they left off.”

In order for them to be able to enjoy a better quality of life and sense of well being, these factors that contribute to their sense of ill being must be addressed.

6.4.4.4 Challenges, Concerns, Problems and Needs

Elderly persons face several challenges and problems as they strive to survive in a society that is significantly different from the one in which they grew up, and they expressed concerns about a number of things.

Two major challenges that they face are having to live on insufficient money, and being able to maintain good health; and these challenges create a number of problems for them.

They are concerned about:

- The small amount given as pension
- The high cost of food
- The high cost of health care and medication

- The lack of transportation to get to the doctor
- The long waiting time to see a doctor
- The lack of respect shown by some nurses

In addition to being concerned about their own well being the elderly participants were also concerned about the anti-social behaviour being displayed by young people, the number of young people who are not working and are on drugs, and the increase in crime.

Among the things that they said they needed were:

- Privileges for seniors
- A better health care system
- Free health care for the elderly
- Homes for elderly persons who are living alone
- Centres and activities for the elderly
- More government assistance
- Increase in pensions and social welfare
- Price control

6.4.5 THE UNEMPLOYED

This focus group was intended to be for persons who were unemployed, and while some of those who participated were unemployed a significant number were employed in some sort of job. However because of seasonal employment and low wages they were underemployed and were the working poor. Moreover when compared with participation in the other focus group discussions, fewer persons, thirty-two males and thirty-two females, participated in these discussions.

6.4.5.1 Perception, Experience and Effect of Poverty

The participants all agreed that poverty was when one has nothing, is unable to afford food and shelter and cannot provide for oneself and family.

“Poverty is when you don’t have anything.”

“Not being able to afford flour pap, the cheapest thing in the shop.”

“Unable to provide for yourself.”

“Can’t provide food and shelter for my children and myself.”

“Can’t afford the necessities of life.”

“Not having enough money.”

“It is when I need certain important things and I can’t afford.”

“Poverty is unemployment.”

A few of the participants were of the view that even though times were rough there was no poverty in Anguilla, but some others disagreed and pointed out that there were children who don’t have clothes or shoes and people who were struggling to survive, but that sometimes the poverty is hidden. At the same time some recognized that poverty is relative.

“There is poverty but people are too proud to admit it.”

“Poverty is when I am struggling and others are getting through “

“I am not well off but there are others who are worse off and better off than me.”

Several of the participants admitted that they were poor and some believed that being unemployed caused them to be poor and as a result they have no money and are unable to meet basic needs, to support their families, to pay bills or to acquire assets.

“We are poor, yes.”

“Poverty is unemployment.”

“Being poor means having no money.”

“I am disabled and can’t work, I am a poor man.”

“I am poor but poverty is not a crime.”

“I am hungry I have no money for food.”

“I cannot afford a place of my own.”

“I can’t get employed and that makes me feel poor.”

“I am twenty years old and unemployed, my child crying with hunger and I can’t even do anything.”

“I have always been the provider but now that I am not working it feels strange.”

“I have no job, no money, no house and no land.”

Some of those who said that they were poor were also living in poor housing without some of the basic amenities like running water, electricity, proper sanitation or furniture.

“Furniture is scarce, I can’t even afford a bed.”

“We have no running water or electricity.”

“Water, you just can’t do without.”

Those participants who were unemployed hoped to obtain jobs but they identified some of the difficulties in obtaining employment, including not having a good education, jobs being given to outsiders, and having been in prison.

“I hope to get a job soon.”

“The money we working for not enough, we need good paying jobs.”

“We don’t get enough hours.”

“I apply for a job at Cuisinart but did not get a response.”

“I cannot get a job because I did not finish secondary school.”

“We can’t read or write.”

“They bring in Chinese workers and they lay us off.”

“Because I was in prison no one will give me a job.”

On the other hand it was pointed out that even people who are working are sometimes in need. Participants said that unemployment and poverty puts people in situations where they have to depend on others for money and for basic things like food, and that it has a negative effect on them.

“I don’t have any of my own money, I have to depend on my husband when I need something.”

“Totally dependent on the man for a dollar.”

“You poor when you can’t afford food and have to depend on welfare.”

“Poverty affect me real bad.”

“We have needs that cannot be met.”

Many of the participants shared experiences of how being poor makes them feel. They said that they felt small, ashamed, stressed out, frustrated and disgusted, helpless and hopeless.

“Unemployment hard to with it make you feel like you worthless, like you can’t do better.”

“I worry a lot about money so I don’t get enough sleep.”

“I am ashamed to walk the street because I do not have what my neighbours have.”

Poverty also eroded their self-esteem, made them feel worthless, robbed them of enthusiasm and prevented them from getting ahead. Several of the men said that because they were unable to provide for their families they felt despair and anger and less than a man.

“Being poor makes me cry at nights, I can’t believe what I have to go through.”

“People not working a few months and they label you.”

“People throw words in your face. They don’t know the problems you have.”

“Everyone knows that I credit food and have to beg my boyfriend for money to pay.”

“People look down on people who are unemployed.”

“It’s not what people say, it is how they say it.”

“They make you feel like nothing.”

“I feel worthless.”

“I feel less than a human.”

“It is frustrating me.”

“I have reached the point where I can’t get excited about anything.”

“In five years time I will find myself down the drain.”

“I can’t help with the bills, I feel like I let down my family.”

Poverty has had a serious effect on the health of some participants. A significant number said that they suffered from headaches, stress, depression, and high blood pressure, but they could not afford medical treatment and medication. Some admitted to taking drugs and alcohol to ‘numb their feelings’ they realised that these also affected their health. At the same time a small number admitted that in order to survive they had been involved in prostitution said that they had contracted sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) because they could not afford protection during sex.

6.4.5.2 Survival and Coping Strategies

Some people were of the view that it did not make sense to complain and that it was better to accept your situation.

“It don’t make sense to complain, rather do what little you can and leave the rest till you can do better.”

“Well, do not spend what you do not have.”

“Believe in God and pray.”

However the majority did employ strategies that allowed them to cope and survive. Some depended on family and friends, some played the lottery, some do odd jobs, and a few depend on remittances from abroad.

Some agreed that they take risks in order to obtain things that they need. Some took loans from the bank, some borrowed from family or friends, some become engaged in illegal activities, including selling drugs, and some women engage in prostitution.

6.4.5.3 Quality of Life and Sense of Well Being

For many of the participants having a good life meant having enough money to buy all that they needed, having a good job or any kind of work at all, being able to pay off all of their debts, to own a house and land and to be able to enjoy the luxuries of life, be free from the stigma of poverty, and gaining respect from people.

“Having enough money to buy all that I need would be living well.”

“I always worrying about what tomorrow will bring so living well would be great that would mean I get to sleep at night.”

However while participants recognized that ownership of material things was necessary to have a good quality of life and sense of well being, they were also aware that other things were also important.

“The quality of life should not be based on material things.”

The majority wanted a good job so that they could improve their standard of living. However while some realised that they did not have the type or level of education needed to get a good job, they recognized the importance of education for helping them to get a job and to achieve their goals. As a result many of them not only dreamt of being able to finish their education, but they wanted their children to get a good education.

“I dreamt of becoming a nurse but had to drop out of school and never made it to secondary school, so I don’t have the basic education.”

“If I can finish my education it would improve the quality of my life because I would be able to get a job.”

The majority of participants were not satisfied with their lives because they could meet their basic needs they were unable to provide for their families, to own a house and land or to enjoy the luxuries of life. They were therefore worried about the possibility of what would happen to them in the future and to whom they would turn for help.

6.4.5.4 Challenges, Concerns, Problems and Needs

The major challenge for participants who are unemployed or underemployed is how to meet their needs, provide for their families, cope with the high cost of living and live from day to day with little or no money. This created many problems for them as they struggle to

meet their needs and sustain their livelihoods. Their most urgent need is therefore for jobs, not only for any kind of job, but for well paid jobs.

They were also concerned about other things including the inefficiency of the social welfare system, the high cost of health care and medication, lack of standards, the increase in crime, and the lack of activities for young people.

6.4.5.5 Suggestions for Alleviating and Reducing Poverty

Participants gave a number of suggestions for improving their living conditions and for alleviating and reducing poverty.

- Better preparation of people for the job market.
- Government assistance for unemployed persons
- Increase wages
- Increase in pensions
- Reduce the cost of food
- Review billing systems for health, water and electricity
- Improve the health care system
- Free health care for the elderly and the unemployed
- Establish a trade school for those who are good with their hands
- Recreation facilities for youth

6.4.6 IMMIGRANTS

One focus group discussion was conducted with immigrants from the English Speaking Caribbean and another with immigrants from the Spanish-speaking Caribbean, mainly from the Dominican Republic. The focus of the discussions was on their experiences as immigrants living and working in Anguilla, the standard of living they enjoy and the challenges they face as immigrants.

Ten persons – seven females and three males participated in the first discussion and fifty-two persons – thirty-one males and twenty-one females participated in the second. The majority were males employed in the construction sector, several were technicians and small numbers were employed in the private sector or were government employees. There were also a few domestic workers, a lawyer,

6.4.6.1 Experience as Immigrants

The majority of the participants had come to Anguilla to take advantage of job opportunities and to fulfill the country's need for workers. However, a small number were in Anguilla because they are married to Anguillians, and some of the Spanish speakers had come to Anguilla to be reunited with their spouses who are employed there, to find their families, to re-establish family ties and to seek their inheritance.

"We are not here as parasites as a lot of people think."

"We have the same surnames but they treat us like dirt, like beggars."

"The locals and we are no different... we are from the same families."

"Even though we are from the same blood lines, we are disliked, laughed at and cursed."

Participants spoke about positive as well of negative experiences, but the latter far out did the former. The majority of the immigrants felt that they were treated differently from the locals as well as from white people, but all agreed that the Spanish speakers were treated worst of all. Some people commented on the change in attitudes that had taken place towards them.

"At first the experience was good but it change."

"People were more warm and welcoming but not now they are more hostile."

"Anguillians are not friendly."

"We are treated differently."

"They feel they have the upper hand on foreigners."

"We receive poor treatment from businesses."

They shared experiences of being ridiculed, treated unfairly, and of being discriminated against.

"We are not treated well here."

"They laugh at us and call us names."

"We receive poor treatment from businesses."

"The cost of housing is high, the apartments are not up to standard and the landlords don't care."

"We suffer just to pay rent."

"The rents are increasing monthly and there is nothing we can say."

"We are discriminated against. Domestic servants are underpaid."

“We have no protection on the job.”

“The labour office don’t defend us at all.”

“Ill-treated by employers”

“In construction they reduce our time of work so every time we go to cash our cheques we get less.”

“If we do not feel well and we go to the hospital money is taken from our pay. This is so inhumane.”

“Some of us lost money in ASTROM and when we tried to have a meeting with the C.M. we were not accepted.”

Spanish-speaking participants were especially concerned about discrimination and of what they saw as violation of their human rights. They talked about the fact that their children who were born in Anguilla on leaving school had to pay, that children are not given papers that would allow them to travel, and they said that there were no reasons for some of the deportations. They saw these as barriers and obstacles that must be overcome, but according to them they had no voice, and their efforts to speak to persons in authority had been unsuccessful.

“It is a violation of human rights when a child is not given papers to travel.”

“There are barriers we must get through.”

When we try to speak to people in authority they run us around. Come later, come tomorrow, come next week and so on so on.”

“This is not right we are people too.’

Participants admitted that being an immigrant had affected them in negative ways. It had affected their self-esteem, relationships with Anguillian neighbours, and with their families.

“If we are not strong we will think of ourselves as dirt as others think of us.”

“You feel rejected.”

“We do not live around Anguillians.”

“We can’t visit the family because of the high air fares.”

“There are restrictions... we cannot bring our families with us.”

Several said that they had responsibilities to their families in the islands from which they came, that some of the latter believed that they were working for large sums of money and that while this was not always so they tried to meet those commitments.

“We have commitments back home.”

“Some of us have left our families and we need to support them financially.”

“People back home think you are making the world of money and they expect a lot from you, but this is not always true.”

“My children are living with my mother and sister and I send money for food and for school.”

“My parents are back home and I send money for them.”

6.4.6.2 Perception, Experience and Effect of Poverty

The participants all agreed that poverty meant lacking the basics – food, clothing and shelter, getting small wages that are insufficient to allow you to eat properly and to pay bills, having to live below an accepted standard, and not being able to enjoy the lifestyle you want. Some of the participants also felt that poverty prevented them from accomplishing their plans, and that their living conditions made them feel less than human.

While many of the participants did not consider themselves poor, some admitted that they found it difficult to survive and a few said that they were poor.

“Yes we are poor we have to budget every cent.”

“Our experience of poverty makes us feel incapable.”

However many of them felt vulnerable, especially in terms of their jobs, and a few admitted that at times they had to take risks.

“We can only work for the person who take out work permits.”

“We must get work permits but we can’t change our employers if they treat us bad.”

“Some of us take the chance to do some work on the side.”

“Our pay cannot cover our expenses.”

“We are vulnerable, we are scorned so we have to support each other.”

6.4.6.3 Quality of Life and Sense of Well Being

For some of the participants living well and enjoying a good quality of life depended on being able to meet your needs, having money, not having to worry about anything, living well with neighbours and work colleagues, having a balanced work and family life. But many did not have these things and while they were managing they were not satisfied with their lives.

On the other hand, for a significant number, living well meant having rights and privileges, proper living and working conditions and being accepted by others for what you are. These were of the view that they could not be satisfied with the quality of their lives and that they could not enjoy a sense of well being because they did not have these things.

“All we ask is to look at us and accept us like normal people.”

“Unity, fairness and respect would make life better.”

Achievement of goals and aspirations also contribute to a good quality life and a sense of well being. Among the goals identified were to further education, and to remain in Anguilla permanently. However one participant’s goal was to...

“Catch the first flight out when I am ready.”

However many of the immigrants said that it had not been possible to achieve their goals and aspirations.

“If you are not from Anguilla you must remain at the bottom of the ladder.”

“You are not able to achieve your aspirations.”

“Our goals are retarded because of the way we are treated here.”

6.4.6.4 Challenges, Concerns, Problems and Needs

The major challenges that immigrants face are the immigration policy, the cost of work permits, discrimination, especially in the workplace, unfair treatment by some authorities and the low wages paid to those at the lower end of the scale. At the same time, there was a concern about the violence in school and the fact that foreign children were being blamed for this and that if the latter got in trouble they were sent off the island along with their parents.

They were also concerned about being treated as second rate and that their problems, queries and issues were not regarded or dealt with urgently. Some were concerned about the high cost of food and rent, and about how quickly some things become law.

Their greatest needs were to be accepted to have status and to be treated fairly.

6.4.6.5 Suggestions for Improvement

The participants suggested things that would improve their situation and status in the country, and that would result in greater acceptance, respect, and recognition of the valuable contributions that they were making to the country.

Their suggestions

- To be given status on the island
- To be seen as partners in helping to build the country

- Persons in the island to accept immigrants and to recognize their contributions
- A change in attitude towards immigrants
- Create a Consulate to represent the Spanish immigrants
- Price control
- Lower house rent

6.4.7 PERSONS WITH DISABILITIES

Twenty-six persons, an equal number of males and females, participated in the focus group discussion. They ranged in ages from thirty to seventy-five years of age. They came from eleven villages and some were accompanied by family members, caregivers or helpers. There was also the parent of a three-year-old child who suffered from epilepsy. The majority of the participants were physically disabled and a few were mentally challenged. Some had been born with their disabilities, some had acquired theirs as children, and others as adults. Some disabilities had resulted from accidents and some from stress. Table 6.2 below shows some of the disabilities of some of the participants and that more of these persons had physical rather than mental disabilities.

TABLE: 6.2: PERSONS WITH DISABILITIES

Sex	Age	Type of Disability
Male	58	Physical, sight impaired, partially blind
Male	Over 40	Physical, got in a road accident at age twenty-five and uses a wheelchair
Male	Over 40	Physical, lost an arm in a road accident twenty-two years ago
Male	50	Physical, was born blind
Male	Over 40	Physical, lost both legs following an attempted robbery at his gas station
Male	Over 70	Physical, lost his sight nine years ago
Male	Over 30	Physical, walks on his knees, but was not born with this condition, at three years old complained that his feet were hurting and ended up with this condition
Female	Over 30	Physical, developed polio from the age of three
Female	Over 60	Physical, developed polio from the age of thirteen. Was raped at seventeen years of age. She had also lost her speech, but she has learnt to talk and walk again.
Female	Over 50	Physical, has one leg, the other was injured by a fish hook and was amputated.
Female	Over 60	Suffers from arthritis
Two females, sisters	Over 65	Physical, born deaf and dumb
Female	Over 60	Physical, blind in one eye
Female	Over 50	Physical, operations on spinal cord
Male	Over 50	Mentally challenged
Male	Over 40	Has a nervous breakdown for the past eighteen years
Female	Over 40	Mentally challenged

While the participants agreed that having a disability had affected every area of their lives, some said that they had accepted their condition but some others had not.

“It has affected me financially, socially and emotionally.”

“My living standard has dropped. I am not living how I used to.”

“Sometimes you feel that you have no friends.”

“The loss of my leg has turned my life, I cannot do certain things.”

“At first I used to feel unhappy because I could not do things for myself, but since I accepted my condition I feel happy.”

“I have no problem, I have accepted my condition.”

“My experience has taught me how to live again.”

“I thought it was all over but I met those who worse than me.”

Having a disability has made many of the participants dependent on others for their survival. Some participants had families and children and while some were able to work, because of their disabilities, instead of being able to provide for their families many often had to depend on them for their survival.

“My family is messed up, I can’t contribute.”

“I have three school children and I have to depend on my wife.”

“My children supply my needs.”

“I live with my family and depend on them.”

“Can’t depend on children they have their own bills.”

Having to depend on others made them feel frustrated and depressed, some said that it meant that they had no choice, and a few felt that life was not worth living.

“It makes me feel bad.”

“You have no choice.”

“Sometimes you feel that life is not worth living.”

The majority are unable to work so they have no regular income and many were dependent on the government for assistance. Some did receive small pensions or assistance from the Welfare Department but they complained that the amounts received were insufficient to meet their needs. Some were also concerned about the criteria that government used to give assistance and felt that they were not always fair.

“I worked for the government for thirty-one years and I get a small pension.”

“Government gives me some assistance.”

“I get \$100.00 per month but medication cost \$400.00

“Government cutting back on giving assistance to some people.”

“Sometimes government say you have family, or they say you should have saved when you were working, so they don't give you anything.”

“Government used to give me \$200.00 a month, but they stopped it because they say my family could afford.”

Several of the participants who had physical disabilities were adamant that their brains were not affected and that they had ideas and skills. Their comments are evidence that having a disability does not mean that they have no ability.

“We are not helpless.”

“My foot amputee but my brain and hands not amputee.”

“I had polio and I lost my speech and had to learn how to talk and walk again, it was plenty work.”

“I have many ideas, I do a little sewing and knitting.”

“I am good at the computer.”

“I can bathe and feed myself, pick out CDs and play them.”

“For ten years I checking cars at the Public Works Department.”

“I am employed at a Utility Company for the last thirty-two years.”

Several of the participants commented on the absence of facilities for people with disabilities. They identified lack of recognition, absence of a special vehicle and of ramps, special lines and privileges in banks, free medication and assistance with access to medical attention overseas.

“Government does not know it has handicapped people.”

“Business people don't think about the disabled.”

“Government should have a vehicle for persons with disabilities.”

“Albert Lake is the only business place that makes provision for handicapped people. They have a wheelchair facility.”

“A special line should be available at banks for people with disabilities.”

“Banks could make certain privileges available.”

Participants were of the view that individuals as well as government and other organizations persons take advantage of persons with disabilities and they shared experiences that highlighted some of these.

“People with disabilities are treated differently.”

“Because of my handicap my children’s father treated me badly.”

“I was raped at seventeen and then I got four children with no fathers to support them.”

“A lot of advantages are taken of disabled people.”

“Relatives and other people take everything from you and put you in the Old People’s home.”

“Sometimes they chuck up a ramp, don’t build it with an elevation and then it is too steep.”

6.4.7.1 Challenges, Concerns, Problems, and Needs

Persons with disabilities face many challenges and are faced with many problems as they attempt to operate in society. Several of the participants who had physical disabilities had a problem with mobility and were unable to access existing facilities and obtain services that they needed.

Several had financial problems, some had health problems, and some were not getting the care that was needed. While many were being cared for by family members, sometimes caregivers had to leave them alone and unsupervised in order to go to work. Moreover it appeared that none of the caregivers had been trained to deal with any of the disabilities represented in the group.

They were concerned about the fact that they were not recognized, about lack of social security and most of all they felt that they had no voice and that no one was interested in them or in their concerns.

They identified a number of things that they needed including:

- A centre for disabled people that would bring them out of the house, where they could socialise, share thoughts and ideas and learn to do a lot of things.
- An association would be more effective than having one person’s voice. It is better to act as a group. The association would be powerful, it would represent them and ensure that their voices are heard and listened to.
- A special vehicle for people with disabilities
- Ramps for wheelchairs
- A special line and concessions at banks for PWDs

- More financial assistance from the government
- Free medical care and medication
- A system to provide government assistance with medical care overseas

6.4.7.2 Strategies for Obtaining What Was Needed

The participants agreed that while government and NGOs could and should provide them with some assistance they also had an obligation to work for them.

“Always remember to help yourself.”

“You have to use your mouth and eyes to get help from government.”

Participants agreed on the following strategies that they would adopt and on actions that they would take to achieve what they wanted.

- Form an association right away
- Lobby, agitate and harass government for a centre
- Think about ways of getting a centre. Explore existing buildings like the Soroptimist’s building instead of trying to buy land and build one.
- In collaboration with another group organize a concert with/for people with disabilities to raise funds
- Form a Steering Committee to plan

SECTION 7: THE HOUSEHOLDS

It is within households that individuals feel the effects of poverty and deprivation most keenly. It is therefore important to obtain information from household heads about living conditions and the experiences of household members in different types of households. A set of specific criteria was used by the Field Research Facilitators to identify different types of households that were experiencing different levels of wealth and poverty. Information was collected from thirty-six households, of which thirteen were multi-generational, ten were single-parent female-headed, five were nuclear, five single-person elderly, two single-parent male-headed and one extended.

Interviews with the heads of these households yielded information about various aspects of their lives, including the physical living conditions, assets and resources to which household members had access, the economy of the household, the level of poverty or wealth that household members enjoyed, and the contributing factors, as well as about the strategies that they used to survive and sustain their livelihoods. During the interviews information was also obtained about the interviewees' perceptions of poverty and the factors that contribute to them having to live in poverty, the effect of poverty on their ability to provide for their families, and the ways in which poverty affected their relationships and prevented them from achieving their goals and aspirations. In addition information on intra-household dynamics provided insights into the type and quality of relationships between family members, including gender relations, parent-child relations and relations between young and older family members.

7.1 THE INTERVIEWEES

Of the thirty-six interviewees, seven were male and twenty-nine female. The small number of males interviewed was a result of their absence in single-parent female-headed households and in some of the multigenerational households. Because of this and because males and females perceive and experience poverty differently, and because its impact on them is different, the information provided by the female heads of households may not necessarily reflect the views of males who live in the households studied or of males who are heads of poor households.

7.2 HOUSEHOLD CHARACTERISTICS

Several of the households that were studied displayed characteristics that contribute to their members having either to live in poverty and deprivation and were used as indicators to determine the type, level and severity that household members endured. Among these were: the type and size of house, the composition of the household including the number of

adults and children in the house, mating patterns and fertility, intra-household dynamics and relationships, assets and resources to which household members have access, and the economy of the household. These characteristics not only help to determine the type, level and severity of household members, but also their standard of living, the quality of their lives and their sense of well being.

7.2.1 HOUSING CONDITIONS

The majority of houses were built of wood and thirteen were built of wood. However only eleven of the houses were said to be strong, four had weak structures, eleven, were leaking and a few had rotting floors. Some of those with concrete roofs were in bad condition with cement falling off and wrought iron sticking out. Apart from leaking these also created the possibility of inhabitants being injured by falling cement. Because of poor and/or inadequate housing, some of the interviewees were not happy with the houses in which they lived.

“We don’t have enough room.”

“The house very bad, it want fixing.”

“The children need somewhere to rest their head comfortable.”

“If I could finish the house...”

On the whole houses were fairly large and while seven had only two rooms, twenty-two had between five and eight rooms. Fourteen of the houses had three or more bedrooms, but eleven had only one bedroom and ten only two. Most of the houses were well served with amenities. The majority, thirty-four, of houses had a kitchen inside, thirty had an inside bathroom and twenty-seven had an inside toilet. Consequently only small numbers had no bath (3), no toilet (3), and five had pit latrines. Twenty-eight houses had access to pipe-borne water. Of these, seventeen depended on cisterns or tanks, and fourteen had pipes inside. Thirty of the houses had electricity and the same number had cell phones.

Electrical appliances are now seen as necessities and most householders expect to and do own several of these. Thirty of the households had a radio and a TV and a gas stove, either standing (30) or tabletop (5). Twenty-nine had a fridge, twenty-four a washing machine, and twenty-one a microwave. Ten had a VCR, six a computer, and five a stereo set. Thirty-three used gas for cooking, but when gas ran out a few turned to wood (8), or charcoal (10).

7.2.2 TYPE AND COMPOSITION OF HOUSEHOLDS

One hundred and sixty-three persons lived in the thirty-six households. Of these one hundred and thirteen were adults, and fifty were children. Fifty-one of the adults were males and sixty-two were females, and thirty-one of the children were males and nineteen were females. The multi-generational households had the largest number of persons – sixty adults and seventeen children; the single-parent female-headed households had forty-nine persons, thirty adults and nineteen children; and the nuclear households had twenty persons, ten adults and the same number of children. The other households had between one and five persons.

Sixteen of the children were under five years of age, nineteen were between six and twelve years and fifteen were between thirteen and seventeen years old. Seven of the children were in nursery school, fifteen in primary school, thirteen in secondary school, and one was in a technical and vocational training programme. Although most of the children went to school every day, four often missed school because they either had no food, lunch money, or no money for transportation or school books.

There were eight persons (Table 7.1) with disabilities in eight of the households, six of them were adults and two were children, and they were being cared by family members. While a few did receive some assistance from government in the form of a disability allowance and a health card, some heads of households indicated that in order to adequately provide the necessary care, they needed some/some additional assistance.

TABLE 7.1: PERSONS WITH DISABILITIES

Type of Disability	Sex	Age	Type of Household	Area
Physical, can't walk	Female	83	Multi-generational	North Side
Speech impaired	Female	63	Multi-generational	Farrington
Sight impaired	Male	12	Multi-generational	Quarter
Speech and sight impaired	Female	66	Single person elderly	Island Harbour
Speech impaired & fits	Female	47	Single parent female	North Hill
Edward Syndrome	Female	5	Single-parent female-headed	North Side
Sight impaired, stroke	Male	76	Single person elderly	East End
Bad back	Male	56	Multi-generational	North Hill

7.3 MARITAL STATUS, MATING PATTERNS AND FERTILITY

While twenty of the interviewees were not in a relationship, of the sixteen who were in a relationship, eight were married, one was in a common-law relationship, and seven in visiting relationships. Eleven of the sixteen said that their relationships were good, one that it was “up and down”, three said that they and their partners quarrelled, and one said that it was not good because her husband drinks a lot.

Four of the interviewees had only one child, three had three children and three had four children. However the data show that they were high levels of fertility among the majority of the female interviewees, two of whom had eleven children, three had ten children, and three had eight children. Six had seven and six had six children. While eleven women had had their children from the same man, eleven had had children from two men. One woman had nine children from five different men, one had eight children from three men, and another five children from three men.

Serial mating was therefore a common feature in the lives of several women and this not only sometimes resulted in large numbers of children, but revealed levels of high fertility often beginning with pregnancies in their early teens. The data show that although four of the interviewees had their first child in their twenties, fourteen had their first child in their teens, and while twelve of these were in their late teens when they had their first child, one had had their first child at thirteen, one at fourteen, and two at sixteen. Data from the SLC show that there are significant differences between the mating and fertility patterns among the poor and the non-poor, and that poor women tend to have their first child at an earlier age and to have a larger number of children than their non-poor counterparts.

Teenage pregnancy was also identified as a social problem by residents in several areas and some who participated in focus group discussions strongly felt that men who impregnate teenage girls under the age of consent should be arrested and convicted. Teenage pregnancy and large numbers of children not only have an adverse effect on women’s health, and limit their ability to continue or further their education and to participate actively in the labour market, but according to some of the women, large numbers of children can contribute to poverty.

7.4 HOUSEHOLD HEADSHIP

Several factors determine who is the head of a household. Among these are ownership of the house, being the male husband or partner, absence of an adult male, being the eldest in the family, living alone, and being the one who takes responsibility for the family.

“Is her house.”

“He name man.”

“He is the father.”

“He is the man he build the house.”

“He provides.”

“She is the oldest and is her house.”

“I pay the bills.”

“Is me alone live here.”

“I am the only adult, I am mother and father.”

Sixteen female interviewees were heads of their households. Five women were heads in the thirteen multi-generational households, and four were heads in the nuclear households and all of those in the single-parent female-headed households were heads.

In a few of the households there was joint headship including husband and wife or mother and daughter.

“When he out I take over and vice versa.”

While interviewees agreed that the head of the household had a responsibility to provide for their families, some of those who were heads said that they were poor and that they were often unable to provide for their families as they would like.

In several households responsibility for the welfare of the family falls to the females and they are not only expected by the society and by their families to perform this gender role, but they generally accepted it. Their responsibilities include ensuring that household members have their basic needs, money management, home maintenance and child care.

“I pay the bills.”

“I have to economise on the bills.”

“I make sure that everybody have food and clothes.”

“I cook wash, try to keep the place clean.”

“I make sure the children say their prayers.”

“I check that everybody is OK.”

“I take care of everything.”

At the same time in some multi-generational households in which they may be several adult males and females, each might take responsibility for their children.

“Everybody does do their own thing.”

“Each person decide for themselves.”

“Each adult see about their own family.”

7.5 POWER, AUTHORITY AND DECISION MAKING

Gender socialization, societal structures and societal institutions have contributed to the popular belief that power and authority resides in males who by right should have more of it than females. Power and authority are usually exhibited by exerting control over others and over available resources, and heads of households are usually the ones who have the power and authority in their homes. They often make decisions about whose voice is to be heard, whose decisions are to be followed and about what is to be done in the house and by whom. They usually also decide and how money and other resources are to be used for what and by whom.

The data show that in three of the nuclear households power and authority resided in the husband, and that this was also the case in some situations in which women are in visiting relationships.

“He provides.”

“Whatever I say is the law.”

“Everything I say they have to do.”

“Men tend to feel that they have the upper hand.”

“My boyfriend don’t like me to say anything, he vex about everything.”

In these cases women were powerless, had little if any authority and a minimal role in making decisions. They therefore have little control over their lives and when compared to their partners are at a disadvantage.

At the same time in female-headed households and in multi-generational households in which females are the heads it is the females who have the power and authority. However while in most of the households children have the least amount of power, in a small number of households children appear to have more power than their mothers.

“I have no power, the children do as they like.”

7.6 INTRA-HOUSEHOLD DYNAMICS

In order to survive, people who live in the same households depend on each other for their survival and it is therefore vital that they develop harmonious relationships and get along well with each other. 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 several of those who participated in the PPA activities were of the view that poverty can and does have adverse effects of the relationships between members of a household.

7.6.1 GENDER RELATIONSHIPS

Twenty of the respondents said that they were not in a relationship with a member of the opposite sex. Of the sixteen who said that they were, eight were married, seven were in a common-law relationship and one was in a visiting relationship. Relationships varied in length from a few months to several years. Eleven of the sixteen said that their relationship was good, three said that it was up and down with some quarrelling at times and one said that it was not good because her husband drinks a lot.

“It good so far.”

“I in a visiting relationship but new so...”

“It OK, sometimes we quarrel.”

“Up and down normal disagreements.”

“My husband does drink.”

7.6.2 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 fulfill 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.

Some mothers have to get to work early and have to leave home before their children leave for school, others work shift and get home late. On the whole children are supervised by mothers, grandmothers and elder siblings and are not left unsupervised for long periods, and did not create problems for their parents.

“They are good children.”

“I can control them.”

“I talk to them from young and explain life to them.”

However, some said that they had problems most of which were behavioural and included disobedience, lying, indiscipline, rudeness and unwillingness to help with household chores, stealing, and missing school for several days. Several also admitted that they found it difficult to manage even their young children.

“My three-year-old daughter difficult to manage.”

“He won’t listen to me.”

“They don’t respect me, they rude.”

“They disgusting, they harass me.”

“She is a troublemaker”

“My seventeen-year-old granddaughter like to walk about.”

“The boy a little wayward.”

“She steals and don’t own up.”

“My son on drugs he curse and threaten me.”

“My son gives a lot of trouble, he steals, lies and misses school for days at a time.”

When asked how they discipline their children a few said that they had great difficulty disciplining their children, and one interviewee was so concerned about her young son’s behaviour that she has asked an Education Officer and the Police for help. Several interviewees said that they used corporal punishment, sometimes daily and even on children as young as three years of age. One parent said...

“I can’t control or discipline them.”

“Licks every day.”

“I does beat them”

“Give them lashes.”

At the same time several of the interviewees also said that they talk to their children, scold them and deprive them of privileges. .

“I deprive them of things.”

“I ground them but it is not always effective.”

“I warn them about keeping bad company.”

“I does scold them.”

Poor parent-child relationships are not only the result of indiscipline and unacceptable behaviour, it can also result from parents’ inability to provide their children with basic and other needs. The data show that this is so in some of the households and that while some

children do understand the challenges that their parents face, there is animosity towards parents because several young people resent and blame their parents for their experience of need and want.

“Parents should have money.”

“The children get upset when we can’t give them things they ask for.”

7.6.3 INTER-GENERATIONAL RELATIONSHIPS

These relationships exist mainly between grandparents and grandchildren in the multi-generational households. Comments made by the interviewees show that in some of the latter relationships are said to be good; in some they could be better, and in several they were not good.

“Good.”

“Sometimes good sometimes bad.”

They ain’t too bad.”

“They don’t respect me.”

“They don’t care about me.

“If they don’t respect me I will throw them out.”

7.7 GENDER DIVISION OF LABOUR WITHIN THE HOUSEHOLD

Except in the single-person elderly households, the housework is organized along gender lines with female adults and children being expected to and performing all of the household chores. In a few cases adult males may help sometimes and while some interviewees believed that men are generally lazy, males generally believe that housework is women’s responsibility.

“Men are lazy.”

“He will help sometimes.”

“My husband helps.”

“He does nothing”

“Not me I do work outside.”

At the same time while in some of the households both male and female children are being encouraged, taught and expected to do some of the household chores, in others this is not being done with male children, and these tasks are undertaken by the girls. In some other households neither boys nor girls do any of the household chores. These childrearing practices reinforce gender socialization and perpetuate the beliefs and attitudes of males and females to housework. As the data show in most of the households studied this has resulted in the adult females undertaking responsibility for and doing practically all of the household chores.

7.8 EDUCATION OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS

The level of education of the household head is an important indicator of the ability of household members to sustain their livelihoods, but the data show that while one head had some technical and vocational education, and thirteen of the heads had some level of secondary education, twenty-two the majority, only had a primary education. Moreover twenty of the latter, sixteen females and four males had dropped out before completing primary school. This has serious implications for their ability to secure jobs for which education qualifications are required.

Of the twenty heads who had dropped out before completing school, six of the females had dropped out because of pregnancy, six because their parents were very poor and could not afford to keep them in school, another to help care for siblings, one because she was sickly, and another because, according to her, she couldn't learn. Four of the males had also dropped out, one because his parents had died, one to help at home, and one had run away. The data show however that everyone, including all heads of households recognize the importance of education as a strategy for improving living conditions and moving out of poverty. In the majority of households either children or grandchildren had the highest levels of education, and many of the respondents said that they were committed to ensuring that their children got a better and higher level of education than they had.

Within the thirty-six households from which information was obtained, there were forty-two children in school, twenty-three boys and thirteen girls. The majority, fifteen, were in primary school, thirteen were in secondary school, seven in nursery school and one in a technical and vocational training programme. Most of them attended school every day but a few sometimes missed school because their parent(s) were not always able to provide them with food, lunch money, school books and materials or transportation.

Failure to acquire formal education, especially at the primary level can result in illiteracy and functional illiteracy. However, while in the thirty-six households it was said that there were only nine persons, seven males and two females who had difficulties reading and/or writing, a few other women admitted that not being able to read and write had prevented them from doing some things that they would have liked to do.

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 only three of the household heads were participating in any such programmes. Some of the thirty respondents who were not participating in any adult education programmes 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 work shift."

"I have no money and don't know of any free classes."

"I too old."

"Learning is over."

"Lack of transport."

From these responses it is clear that much more must be done to stress the importance of adult and continuing education, to implement a wide variety of adult education programmes, to make these available and accessible and to motivate residents in the areas studied, as well as in other areas, to participate in adult education programmes.

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 eleven 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. However seven boys and five girls were members of sports clubs and were involved in school sports, athletics, and football.

7.9 HEALTH

Good nutrition and healthy diets contribute to good health but in some of the households food was scarce. The heads of such households cited the high cost of food items and indicated that they could not afford to buy either enough or the right kinds of food. Children as well as adults in these households were therefore underfed and/or were eating mainly carbohydrates, minimum amounts of protein and few vegetables. Information provided by household heads show that six of the interviewees said that they never ate a balanced meal and seven said that they only did so sometimes or occasionally. However eleven did eat a balanced meal every day and nine did so two or three times per week.

In twenty-one (58.33%) of the households babies had been breastfed for periods ranging from three months to two years but in a few, this had not been the case. The following reasons were given for this.

“I had nothing to eat so no milk came.”

“I have HIV/AIDS and was advised by the doctor not to breast feed.”

The children refused the breast.”

Seventeen, nearly half of those interviewed said that they used contraceptives, but a few of these only used them once in a while. From information received it appears that several had had their tubes tied. Five interviewees said that they did not use any contraceptives, and while a few of these were menopausal, most of the others said that some contraceptives did not agree with them and one was concerned about whether a husband would want children; another said that her boyfriend does not want to use any.

“They make me put on weight.”

“If I get a good husband and he want children I would be able to give him.”

“My boyfriend don’t want to use any.”

These last two comments suggests that some women may not be in a position to negotiate safe sex, or to have control over their bodies.

Most children appeared to be healthy and suffered only from colds, and the majority have been vaccinated. However fourteen suffered either from allergies, sinusitis and/or asthma, and a small number from rashes.

The data show that older males and females were suffering from a variety of diseases and illnesses. They also show that more females than males were victims of these diseases and illnesses and they suggest that the males are in better health than the females. Twenty-six male and female adults in the thirty-six households studied were suffering from lifestyle diseases, diabetes and hypertension, and the data show that these diseases are more prevalent among the females, (21) than among the males (5). Eight females and three adult males also had arthritis. Three females had cataracts, two were obese, two had heart problems, two had had strokes, two had poor circulation, two had high cholesterol and one had fibroids. A few also suffered from anxiety and depression. One adult male had HIV/AIDS, and one suffered from depression.

The data also show that females were more likely to suffer from stress, anxiety and depression than males and some women said that this had resulted from the burden of having the sole responsibility for providing for their families, especially for children. The number of health problems that females in the households studied are facing has serious implications for their ability to function effectively, to sustain their livelihoods and maintain their households. Some of the illnesses from which they suffer might limit their ability to obtain a job, or to work on a steady or regular basis and to earn incomes sufficient to meet

their own basic needs or those of their families. At the same time, since many of these females are also solely responsible for the care of their children, grandchildren, and other family members, it also has implications for maintaining the health of their families.

While most of the heads of households who are better off can afford and do go to private doctors on the island, and sometimes even to St. Maarten for medical treatment, the heads of households who are poorer depend on the public health services for their health care. Twenty-one (58.33%) of those interviewed, go to either a health clinic or the hospital for medical treatment and receive their medication from the hospital. However while this service is available several complained about long waits at the hospital, about the high cost of health care and the fact that medical care at the hospital is not always free, and about the high cost and sometimes scarcity or absence of medication.

Absence of, and the high cost of vital medication is of great concern especially for those suffering from lifestyle and other serious diseases and several said that they often have to do without, and this further endangers their health and puts them at risk.

“Put it on hold till I get money”

“Do without it.”

“Forget it.”

“Buy alternatives I think will work.”

“Use local remedies.”

“I always try to have the money.”

“Ask my mother.”

In addition, few if any, had health insurance and because of their inability to afford quality health care and medication they said that being poor had contributed to their poor health.

“Not able to pay for health care on the island.”

“Can’t pay the medical bills.”

“You have to pay first before they treat you.”

“Unaffordable health care and medicines.”

“Our health is affected.”

“It difficult to access health care in cases of emergency.”

“We need more resources in health and medical care.”

7.10 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 is an important and valuable asset and the data show that two-thirds (66.66%) of the interviewees owned the house in which they lived and seventeen owned the land on which their house was built. Nine were renting the house in which they lived and eight were living on family land. Three respondents were living in government or other housing free of cost.

The issue of land ownership and of access to affordable land and housing was raised by residents in all of the communities and there is evidence of the high price of land and of housing as well as the poor conditions of some rented apartments. Some people were therefore of the view that the high cost of land and of house rent has prevented some people from owning property.

“A house of my own so I don’t have to go from house to house.”

“I want a comfortable house to live.”

“Can’t pay the rent, it high.”

Most households do have some furniture, and the data show that it was mostly women, twenty-nine of those interviewed, who owned the furniture in the house. Women also owned some jewellery, and a small number owned animals. A small number of better-off women as well as men also owned vehicles.

While members of a household may not always realise it, social capital is also an important asset of every household that in the absence of other tangible assets, household members, especially those in poor or impoverished households, use to sustain their livelihoods. 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 while members of households did not realise that they had skills, many did.

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.

The data show that skills were by and large gender-specific and that males and females had skills that related to or that had resulted from their involvement in work that their society deemed appropriate for males and females. Consequently males in some of the households had skills in various aspects of construction; a few had skills in mechanics and some had skills in fishing on which they depended for an income. Females had skills in housekeeping, craft, knitting and sewing, hair braiding, and a few were waitresses. The data also show, however, that a small number of females had acquired skills in computing, three had acquired skills in architecture, bartending, and upholstering.

Access to financial resources is critical for sustaining livelihoods. In the thirty-six households studied, twenty-two persons, thirteen females and nine males obtained incomes from a salary or from wages; and fourteen, twelve females and two males received other sources of income including remittances, odd jobs and money from adult children. It therefore appears that more women than men in these households are in receipt of some level of income. Consequently, while twenty-one of these households may be considered poor, the data show that they do have access to some financial resources. The data also show that while this is so, given the high cost of living, their income is often insufficient to meet all of their needs. The majority of interviewees depended on and used their financial resources to buy food, pay bills and educate their children.

At the same time the data also show that a significant number of persons in the households studied are committed to saving, as forty-two persons – thirty women and eleven men had savings accounts. Insurance and investments are other strategies for ensuring access to financial resources and a small number of the interviewees did use them. Seven had life insurance, six had health insurance and five had shares.

Credit is another vehicle through which financial resources can be obtained and this is particularly useful in times of need or crisis. Previously, credit was widely available, but several persons pointed out that because of the worldwide recession and the downturn in the national economy, access to credit was not as easy as before and that many people were experiencing difficulty in repaying loans.

Many of the poorer heads of households, including single mothers, elderly persons and persons with disabilities, who were either unemployed or unable to work, depended on assistance from government for financial and other resources. In sixteen of the households studied there were persons who were in receipt of some level of social assistance, including

pensions, disability allowance, and assistance with school meals, school books and uniforms.

Some single mothers depended on child support from their children's fathers, but in many cases this was either not forthcoming, was irregular and/or was insufficient. Some elderly persons and Persons with Disabilities depended on government assistance for pensions, social security benefits, and disability allowance, but the amounts received were also insufficient to meet their needs. It is the poorer households therefore, that were suffering from acute income poverty because of limited financial resources.

Community facilities and services are resources to which household members can have access, but such access can be limited by several factors including distance, lack of information on what services are available, the type, number, cost, and quality of the services being provided and poor attitudes of providers. These factors also determine whether the services will be used and how satisfied users will be with them.

Residents in some of the communities said that they were not aware of services that were available or of how to access them, others commented on the amount of red tape involved in accessing services. A significant number voiced their dissatisfaction with the quality of the health and welfare services, and specifically mentioned the long waiting hours and the poor attitudes of some of those who are providing these services.

7.11 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. They also are determined by whether members of the households are employed or not, on the type of jobs they do, and on the amounts they earn. The incomes of the households studied vary, but many of the household heads have little if any disposable income, and this is particularly true of the poorer household heads. This, added to the high cost of living makes it difficult for them to sustain their livelihoods.

"Cost of living too high."

"Things too expensive."

"High prices and bills."

"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."

In the thirty-six households studies fifty-five persons were employed. Of these twenty-nine were males and twenty-six were females. More males were therefore employed than females. However more females (18) than males (11) were employed full-time and more males (9) worked part-time than females (3). A few people were also employed on a seasonal basis. At the same time it was felt that there were fewer job opportunities and that this had resulted in part because of the global depression.

The data also show that there are gender differences in terms of economic activity as well as in sources of income. While the data do show that there were a significant number of persons were employed, further analysis confirms that there were a number of persons who, although they were employed, were working for low wages that were insufficient to meet their basic needs. Moreover, several of these “working poor” admitted to working two or even three jobs in order to survive.

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. The males were generally employed in construction and fishing, but a few worked in the hotel industry and several did odd jobs. Several of the females worked in the hotel industry or did domestic work, some were vendors and a few were in the public service. Forty-five persons, twenty-seven females and eighteen males, were unemployed, so unemployment was higher among females than males.

High levels of unemployment among women have serious implications, especially for those who are heads of their households and who have sole responsibility for meeting the basic needs of their families and for sustaining their livelihoods.

While twenty-four of the households do receive some income from paid employment, fifteen depended on social assistance or welfare for their income and eleven depended on remittances. A few households also depended on help from children, but some single female parents could not depend on financial assistance from their children’s fathers.

“The children help out sometimes.”

“I beg the children for money.”

“My daughter gives me \$500.00 per month.”

“No support from the children father.”

Household incomes varied widely both in terms of amount and of regularity. Better-off households had the largest incomes, ten households had incomes of over \$1,000.00 per month, six had incomes between \$400.00 and \$600.00 per month, and seven had incomes of less than \$300.00 per month. A few of the single-parent female-headed households had no regular source of income, and in some multi-generational households even though there might have been more than one adult employed, money was not generally pooled, and each adult might manage and spend their own money. There was some evidence that some people do depend on illegal activities, including crime, drugs and prostitution, for an income, however it was difficult to establish the number of persons or households in which this was the case.

All of the heads of the poorer households admitted that their incomes were insufficient to meet their basic needs and those of their families, and that they found it difficult to manage and sometimes have to do without. What little money they have is spent first on food and then on the bills and rent.

"It hard as I alone working."

"It difficult."

"I borrow."

"I cut and contrive."

"Have to make it do."

"Friends help me out."

"I barely scrape through."

7.12 HOUSEHOLD POVERTY

It is in households that poverty and its impact are most keenly felt, and while, because of the stigma attached to being poor, many people are unwilling to define themselves as poor, the data do show that twenty-one (58.33%) of the households studied were either very poor or poor, and fifteen (41.66%) were better off or well-off. During the community workshops participants had an opportunity to estimate the number of poor households in their communities, and in the interviews heads of households were asked whether they considered themselves to be poor or not. While it was important to obtain the views of residents and household members on this, widely accepted objective indicators were also used to determine the types and levels of poverty being experienced by various types of households.

The conditions in which people were living were examined and indicators used to assess these conditions included 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 the Table 7.2 below, only seven of the households (19.44%) were very poor, fourteen (38.88%) were poor, thirteen (36.1%) were better off and two were rich. Nearly sixty percent (58.33%) were very poor or poor, but nearly forty percent were better off. The multi-generational households were the poorest followed by the single-parent female-headed households.

TABLE 7.2: TYPE OF HOUSEHOLD AND LEVEL OF POVERTY

Households	Very Poor	Poor	Better off	Rich	Total
Nuclear	1	-	4		5
Single-parent female-headed	3	5	-	2	10
Single parent male headed	-	1	1	-	2
Extended	-	-	1	-	1
Multi-generational	1	6	6		13
Single person elderly	2	2	1		5
TOTAL	7	14	13	2	36

While objective indicators like poor, housing, unemployment and lack of financial resources, inability to meet basic needs of food, and clothing, and poor health, were used to identify levels of poverty, residents in all of the communities were well aware of and identified the factors that in their view were responsible for some households being poor, or better off, or rich. As was to be expected living conditions in the better off households were better, houses were in better condition and had more and better amenities, more household members were employed and working for better wages than their counterparts in poor households, and they have more assets and access to resources including to financial resources.

Many of the heads of the poorer households were not happy about the conditions in which they were living, but they were unable to improve them and some had even come to accept them.

“My conditions very low no one can come here.”

“It disgraceful and embarrassing.”

“I don’t like how I living but I can’t do any better.”

“The house too small.”

“The apartment need repairs.”

“No proper bathroom or toilet.”

“Sometimes I don’t have water.”

“I would like better conditions.”

“Uncomfortable but better can’t be done.”

7.12.1 PERCEPTION, EXPERIENCE, EFFECT AND IMPACT OF POVERTY

While all of the interviewees understood what poverty was, it was the heads of the poorer households who shared their experience of poverty, of its effect and its impact on their lives and that of their families.

Some interviewees defined poverty as deprivation, being deprived of basic needs and of having nothing at all, others said that it meant having no job or no money and being unable to support your family, and others that it was dependency, being unable to help yourself and having to depend on others. A few said that it was the opposite of wealth.

“Always in need of everything.”

“Don’t have anything at all.”

“No place to lay your head, no food, no clothes to put on.”

“Hunger, can’t get food to eat.”

“When you living on the street.”

“Can’t support your family.”

“Struggling to survive.”

“Can’t help yourself.”

“Having to beg always.”

“Have to depend on people.”

“I depend on Social security.”

“If I didn’t have the children I would be in the poor house.”

“No money to spend, no wealth.”

While only fourteen, less than forty percent (38.88%) of the interviewees said that they were poor, some were aware that poverty could be relative – and in their view they were not as poor when compared to others.

“I am very poor.”

“I don’t always have money to shop but I not poor, poor.”

“There are people poorer than me.”

“I don’t have to beg.”

“I can survive.”

“At least I can get something to eat and drink.”

However those who did consider themselves to be poor admitted that some of the factors mentioned above had contributed to their poverty. At the same time they identified additional factors including lack of education, inability to get a job, absence of goals, and growing up in a poor family.

“Not being able to finish school and get a good job.”

“I did not set goals as I wanted.”

“It is a generation curse.”

Ten of the interviewees said that they had come from a poor family and eight of these lived in multi-generational households. Among the factors that contributed to their families being poor, were absence of a father, single mothers with large numbers of children and who faced challenges in providing for their families, mothers being abused by partners, and lack of money.

“I raise up poor.”

“I grow up in a poor family.”

“I come from a poor generation, poverty come down on them.”

“Father went away, we lived in an old house in a cane field.”

“My mother had nineteen children.”

“Mother struggle hard in life with no help from my father.”

“We had it rough; father didn’t treat my mother good.”

“Mother was abused by her husband.”

“She worked hard but couldn’t make it.”

Chronic, intergenerational poverty over a number of generations perpetuates and reinforce the cycle of poverty from which successive generations often find it hard to break. However one interviewee who had come from one such family explained how she was able to break

the cycle and improve her condition. According to her; ambition, skills, and a good husband had made a difference.

“I was from a poor family, but I had ambition and some skills, and I have a good husband so I not poor now.”

The interviewees identified three major related problems that in their view were serious and that contributed to and kept them in poverty. These were: lack of employment, resulting in no money, or insufficient money, and hunger because of their inability to buy enough food. They also identified inadequate housing as a serious problem.

Four interviewees felt that there was little possibility of improving their conditions and moving out of poverty. One believed that things could only get worse, another had accepted that poverty was her lot, another failing to seriously considering her goals would prevent her from succeeding, and a fourth that family responsibilities would be the reason.

“Things will go from bad to worse.”

“I will always be poor it is my nature from the day I born.”

“If I not serious about goals and things that I want.”

“My mother and my children.”

While a great deal of importance and interest given to economic and material poverty less attention is often paid to its psychological and emotional effects. Several of the interviewees admitted that they had low self-esteem and lacked self-confidence, that they felt bad, and lonely, and that they were stressed.

“I feel like nobody.”

“I feel bad, bad, bad.”

“Bad, my situation bad.”

“I feel bad and I hate to say I am poor.”

“I am stressed.”

“I am depressed and worried.”

“I am sick and lonely, I don't have anybody.”

“No one to care.”

“I don't feel special.”

Some of these negative feelings have resulted from the way in which people who are poor are treated by some of those who are not. According to them, some people treat them

differently because they are poor. They look down on them, scorn them, reject them, and make them feel unwelcome.

“People treat us different because we are poor.”

“They reject you.”

“They see you as nobody.”

“They watch you with scorn.”

“Some people pull you down.”

“No social life.”

“I don’t feel welcome at the Welfare Department.”

These emotional experiences not only erode self-esteem but also rob individuals of the motivation to take action that might improve their situation.

The interviewees also admitted that being poor and living in poverty had not only affected their ability to provide for their families, but that it had had adverse effects on their relationships with their partners, their children.

“I can’t provide and it worries me.”

“I try to give them what they want but I can’t afford the computer.”

“My children were brought up to make do with what they have.”

“When they ask for something and I don’t have it...”

“My boyfriend tell me that I must help myself.”

“My partner not affectionate.”

Poverty has also affected their health and this was especially so for elderly persons and those who suffered from lifestyle diseases.

“The amount of tablets I have to take, I can’t afford, cause the medication too expensive.”

“I don’t have the money to see a proper doctor or to buy the medication.”

“I have low blood pressure and anemia.”

Poverty has also prevented some of the interviewees from getting some of the things that they would like.

“I would like a room of my own to be able to say... ‘this is Christine room’.”

“I build a house, can’t travel or go anywhere.”

“I would like to visit my daughter overseas and to send her money sometimes.”

“I want a nice house with bath and toilet.”

Twenty-one of the interviewees believed that the conditions under which they were living could improve but that this would depend on:

- Economic factors including improvement in the economy, more job opportunities, obtaining a well paid job, and ability to earn a steady income

“If the economy improve.”

“When I get a job.”

- Access to land and better housing

“If I could finish the house.”

“If I could get a piece of land.”

- When I won’t have responsibility for the children

When the children grow up.”

“When they leave school.”

- A small number were hoping for help from God

“By God’s help.”

“I talk to God.”

“By the grace of God.”

In the meantime, in order to survive, the interviewees were using a variety of strategies. Several said that they budgeted, spent wisely, prioritized, bought what they could afford, only bought what was necessary, made do with what they had, or remained without. A few begged, borrowed or depended on relative and friends.

7.13 STANDARD OF LIVING, QUALITY OF LIFE, AND SENSE OF WELL BEING

The standard of living that people enjoy often determines the quality of their lives and their sense of well being. In every country there is an acceptable standard of living to which citizens aspire, but there is often a gap between these expectations and aspirations that indicates a sense of “ill-being.” Moreover there are always those who have been unable to attain the expected standard of living and to enjoy a good quality of life and a sense of well being; some of the heads of poorer households in describing their lives of poverty were clearly experiencing a state of ill being.

Quality of life and a sense of well being reflect the richness or otherwise of people’s lived experience. They provide insights into how people feel about how satisfied they are with their lives, and about how their lives are progressing. Positive feelings; good relationships, high self-esteem, a sense of purpose and opportunities to realise potential and to achieve goals, autonomy and self reliance, involvement in societal processes and a sense of fulfillment are also factors that contribute to a good quality of life and a sense of well being.

While the physical and material conditions in which people live can be used as an indicator of their standard of living, lack of basic needs and of material possessions, as well as of non-material things also contribute. Interviewees as well as residents who participated in the community workshops did identify a number of material things that were essential, but they also acknowledged that these alone would not necessarily guarantee a good quality of life or a sense of well being. Consequently while they identified basic needs, food, shelter and clothes; as well as jobs and money, they also stressed the importance of intangibles like faith in God, love, high self-esteem and belief in self, good relationships, good health and absence of stress, independence, contentment and happiness, that contribute to and facilitate spiritual, psychological and emotional well being.

“Belief in God.”

“Happiness.”

“I feel good about myself.”

“A sense of accomplishment.”

“I love my hair and toes.”

“I have a good relationship with my children.”

“I don’t envy anyone.”

“I am a friendly person.”

“My personality, I am a happy person.”

“Independence.”

“Good health important.”

“The living environment.”

“A job and a roof over my head.”

“Education.”

Poverty is also one of the factors that prevent people from enjoying a good standard of living, a good quality of life and a sense of well being. Consequently while the majority, twenty-five, of interviewees said that they were satisfied with their standard of living and the quality of their lives and that they enjoyed a sense of well being, eight of the household heads who were interviewed said that they were not satisfied.

“Ain’t got no milk only some flour and corn beef.”

“Can’t get water and food.”

“Have to take care of the children on my own.”

“Life hard like a rock.”

“Can’t do anything about my life.”

“I can’t get any help.”

“I have no choice.”

“I not satisfied.”

Ability to achieve goals also contributes to a sense of well being, but while several of the interviewees did have dreams and goals, these had not yet been achieved.

“I want to go back to school to become an interior decorator.”

“I want to own a restaurant.”

“I want to see my children succeed and have an easy life.”

“I want to own a piece of land and my own home.”

“I want to be independent.”

“To get a good job.”

“I want to travel.”

“To be away from this kind of life.”

While they dreamed of these things, some had been unable able to achieve them because of poverty and lack of resources, or of opportunity, or because of poor health or family responsibilities.

“I can’t do it, I have no money.”

“I get money piece by piece.”

“I too poor.”

“I have poor health.”

“My family situation prevents me.”

“Taking care of the children and the home.”

7.14 POVERTY ALLEVIATION INITIATIVES

Data from the various PPA activities show that government as well as civil society organizations have taken several initiatives to improve living conditions and to alleviate and reduce poverty, and there is also some evidence that their interventions have contributed to improvements of living conditions in some of the areas and to alleviating poverty in some households.

Among the government initiatives identified were education and health programmes, including free medication for some people, social assistance through the Welfare Department, some infrastructural projects including plans to deal with flooding in the Valley, promotion and development of small business and loans for home construction. However while most of the respondents were of the view that government’s education and health initiatives had been successful in improving life in their area, the promotion and development of small businesses had also helped.

“Improvement in our education and health systems.”

“The Anguilla Development Board gives people loans to build and open a small business and this is good.”

At the same time the data also show that some persons felt that nothing was being done in their communities, and some were either unaware of or felt that they had not benefitted from government’s initiatives. Some others said that they were unaware of what was being done and this could have resulted from insufficient information being given to residents about various programmes or about their expected outcomes. Other persons said that some programmes were national in scope and that their communities did not benefit and some believed that favouritism and political affiliation often influenced decisions about which community, households and/or individuals would benefit from various government initiatives. In addition, a few of the elderly interviewees complained about the number of questions they were required to answer before they could qualify for any assistance. Seven heads of household said that they did not know of any government initiatives and eleven said that they had not benefited from any of government programmes or projects.

“Nobody doing anything here.”

“The road want fixing but no help.”

“I don’t know of any.”

“The government don’t give me nothing.”

“When government want to get elected they come to your house but once they get in they don’t come back to ask anything thing.”

“This community is opposition so we don’t get nothing.”

“You have to fill out forms to get help from government but they ask too many questions.”

These statements suggest that it is important for government to inform the population about areas in which it intends to implement programmes or projects, and about the details and expected outcomes of their planned initiatives. In addition, it is important that initiatives be well targeted so that they can respond to and meet the needs of the poor and very poor and of those who are most in need. At the same time it is important to help residents to understand that individuals and households can and do benefit from initiatives intended to benefit an entire community.

On another level, the data show that according to respondents, civil society organizations, NGOs and CBOs, had a more positive impact on life in their areas and that more people had benefited from their initiatives. Several of these organizations had implemented programmes and projects from which individuals, households and entire areas had benefited. The data also show that respondents believed that many of their programmes had not only helped to improve the lives of young people and elderly persons, but had generally helped to improve living conditions and to address some of the problems that individuals and households were facing. They singled out disaster relief campaigns, clean up campaigns, education and youth programmes, programmes to assist persons with disabilities, and counselling programmes for abused women.

7.15 HOUSEHOLD NEEDS

Information provided by heads of household provides concrete and reliable data that highlight the challenges and problems that they and their families face in their attempts to meet their basic needs and to sustain their livelihoods. The interviewees identified things that they and their households needed to be able to improve their living conditions, to obtain their basic needs and eventually to move out of poverty.

The three most urgent needs were money, jobs and food. Seventeen of the interviewees said that money was their most urgent need if they were to feed their families. Nine said that food was an urgent need and eight said that they needed a job urgently. Eight also identified adequate and/or improved housing as an urgent need and other data also show that the type, size and poor quality of housing were also problems being faced by some people. Education and more opportunities for adult and continuing education as well as for higher education on island were also regarded as important needs.

SECTION 8: 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 a society in which significant numbers of persons are better off. The data also draw attention to the negative outcomes and impact that poverty has on individuals, groups, households and communities.

At the same time analysis of the data also show that while some initiatives have been taken to improve living conditions, there are a number of issues that must be addressed to ensure that such initiatives can actually improve living conditions and contribute to poverty alleviation and reduction.

8.1 POVERTY

While several of the persons who participated in PPA activities may not be considered to be very poor or poor, the data do show that in the areas, groups and households studied there are different levels of poverty. There is relative poverty and while there was only a small number of persons who were destitute and experiencing severe poverty, some people were finding it difficult to meet their basic needs and to sustain their livelihoods. The data suggest that this was particularly so in multi-generational and single-parent female-headed households. Individuals in these households were well aware of and understood that poverty 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.

The dimension of poverty with which most people were concerned is the economic dimension and most people saw this as the fundamental cause of their poverty. According to them, lack of money and of the opportunity to gain an income from a well paid job prevents them from meeting even their basic needs and is the most important factor that contributes to their poverty.

At the same time through their experience of poverty they have become aware of and gained an understanding of the social, psychological and emotional dimensions of poverty. They have realised that poverty has contributed to some of the social problems that plague their communities, has diminished their self-esteem, increased their dependency on others,

has made them harbour feelings of powerlessness, and has limited their ability to improve their situation or to move out of poverty.

Any attempts to improve living conditions or to address the issue of poverty and to alleviate it must therefore be based on an understanding of how each of its dimensions impacts on the lives of the poor and on the impoverished conditions in which they live. Consequently while initiatives must provide opportunities for people to acquire financial and material resources, they must also pay attention to all of its other dimensions, including the social, psychological and emotional dimensions. This will entail providing opportunities and implementing programmes that focus on self-development and that will empower and motivate poor individuals by helping them to acquire the knowledge, skills and self-confidence that will enable them to become self-reliant.

8.1.1 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, growing up and/or being part of a poor family, and lack of marketable skills.

Ownership of assets, including property, and access to financial and other resources enables individuals and households to maintain a good standard of living and increases their ability to effectively respond to shocks and crises, including those like the depression and the current downturn in the national economy. However while a significant number of household heads did own the homes in which they lived and some furniture, the data show that some persons are living in inadequate housing and that, because of the high cost of land and house rent, some others were unable to afford to own or to rent suitable accommodation. While many heads of households said that money was the most important asset, the data show that for most of them, money is scarce, that access to credit and loans is now more difficult and that because of this many they are unable to acquire several other important resources that they need, including food. These situations suggest that some poor households may be experiencing greater levels of poverty and that some households that were not poor may now be at risk of becoming poor.

Food is an essential resource but a significant number of heads of households and some of those who participated in focus group discussions indicated that because of lack of money they are unable to provide enough 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 especially for the health of children and elderly persons.

Many residents living in the areas 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 of the areas said that they assist each other and share some of their resources like foodstuffs. While residents did not always realise or regard social capital as an asset, the way in which they have used their creativity and their skills has helped them to survive and to sustain their livelihoods.

Low levels of education also contribute to poverty, and the data show that several heads of households only had primary education. At the same time, while a few of the household heads had been to secondary school, some of them had not completed their secondary education or received any certificates. However, few if any of those who participated in the PPA activities were participating 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.

8.1.2 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 individuals, groups and communities. However even when such facilities and services exist, the extent to which residents can access and use them depends on several factors including numbers, types and conditions of the facilities, hours and time of delivery, cost and quality of the service and attitude of providers.

The data show that schools and health centres, community centres and recreational facilities are available in several of the areas studied, but in a few cases residents had to travel to other areas to obtain some of the services on which they depend.

A significant number of persons who participated in PPA activities were unable to afford private health care and had no health insurance, so they depended on the services provided by in the hospital and in health clinics. While several said that the services provided were either good or OK, several others commented on the high cost of health care and some others, especially the elderly, complained about poor service, poor attitudes of health professionals, and unavailability of vital medication. Consequently although public health

services are provided either at free of charge or at very low cost, some poor individuals are unable even to pay the nominal fee. It is therefore important to provide some level of free health care, to improve the quality of care being provided, and to make medication available free of cost, especially to the very poor and the elderly. It is hoped that the proposed National Health Fund would address some of these issues.

There is concern about the number of unemployed young people and their involvement in crime and other illegal activities; there is a belief that recreational facilities would provide opportunities for young people to be involved in wholesome activities. The data show that there are recreational facilities in six of the seven areas studied and community and resource centres in some others. These facilities are places where residents can meet to socialise and engage in a variety of activities including sports and educational programmes. They provide opportunities for students to increase the knowledge and skills they need to enhance their school work and improve their performance. There can also provide resources and opportunities for adults to continue their education. Given the low levels of education of many of the residents and heads of households, it is important that some provision be made to provide adult education programmes and facilitate greater involvement of residents in educational activities and programmes.

One facility on which several people, especially, single mothers, elderly persons and persons with disability, depend is the government's Welfare Department. However information provided by respondents provided evidence that many persons were very dissatisfied with the amount of assistance that they received as well as with the poor quality of the services provided. Respondents shared several humiliating encounters with some members of staff. Some said that they had been insulted and ridiculed. Some were of the view that their requests for help had not been taken seriously, and some others said that they got no cooperation in getting help to maintain their children. According to them many of these experiences resulted from poor, negative attitudes of some members of the staff.

The data show that 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 there was some evidence that the facilities and services being provided were of poor quality and that they might not be meeting the specific needs of some households and groups. It might therefore be important and useful to do an assessment of existing facilities and services and to get residents' views about their experiences, needs and expectations, as well as their ideas about ways in which facilities and services could be improved so that they would be more useful and effective.

8.2 VULNERABLE GROUPS

Analysis of information obtained during all PPA activities indicates that some groups in poor communities are more vulnerable than others. The data provides evidence that children, female single parents, the elderly, and people with disabilities are the most vulnerable.

8.2.1 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, some heads of household identified delinquency and indiscipline as problems.

Teenage pregnancy was identified as a serious problem in three areas and by several women in focus group discussions. Moreover, information provided by some of the respondents suggests that some teenage mothers were under the age of consent, and that there was a phenomenon of older men having sex with young girls. Having sex with girls under the age of consent is statutory rape and is regarded as a crime, but although 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, several women were of the view that the perpetrators of this crime should be brought to justice.

The data show that nearly forty percent (38.88%) of the female heads of households had had their first child during their teens, and that some of them had had to leave school as a result. It is well recognized that teenage pregnancies and premature motherhood is not only injurious to the health of young girls, but that it can and prevent them from pursuing and/or completing their formal education. At the same time, information provided by some interviewees also suggests that in teenage pregnancy can result from poverty as well as contribute to and perpetuate chronic and intergenerational poverty. For example several poor heads of household were themselves teenage mothers, and several mothers who participated in focus group discussions consistently lamented the fact that they were 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.

8.2.2 WOMEN WHO ARE SOLELY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE WELFARE OF THEIR FAMILIES

Through gender socialization women are taught and a significant number therefore believe that a relationship with and dependency on a man is essential for their survival. However

the data show that several 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, and that they are either unemployed, employed part-time or in seasonal jobs for low wages. However because they are solely responsible for providing for their families and for maintaining their homes, many of them are sometimes forced to engage in activities like serial mating, that put them at risk and contribute to their exploitation and abuse.

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, but while information obtained during PPA activities shows 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 clothes, enough food, or the nutritious meals that their children need.

While it is necessary to provide some assistance to these women in the short term, 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.

8.2.3 THE ELDERLY

Poverty has several negative effects on elderly persons, many of whom are too old to be employed or to be engaged in productive work in order to sustain their livelihoods. Several therefore have to depend on their children, on other relatives, or on assistance from the government. Some elderly persons do 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 they are unable to afford private health care or to purchase medication from private pharmacies. They therefore depend on public health clinics, but according to them while some health care services and medication are free others are not. In addition, 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. Information provided by some elderly persons suggests that there is a need for there more services that cater to their needs. Among these are centres where they could meet and socialise with their peers and engage in activities in which they are interested.

8.2.4 PEOPLE WITH DISABILITIES

During the PPA twenty-six persons with disabilities participated in a focus group discussion. Their discussion highlighted several issues about which they were concerned. While some of these persons were working several others were not or could not, and so they depended on the heads of their households and/or on other family members for their survival. Household heads or other household members are responsible for providing care for those who have a disability, but since some of these household heads were unable to meet basic needs they were not in a position to provide those household members who have a disability with either the type or quality of care they need.

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 for those who may also be poor or very poor. Persons who participated in the group discussions agreed that it was important for them to form an association to look after their interests.

It is therefore important for government as well as the relevant NGOs to get to know the number of persons who have disabilities, as well as the number and type of their disabilities. They must gather information to acquaint themselves about the conditions in which such persons are living, they must listen to them and acknowledge their needs. Such information will help them to implement programmes and activities that will ensure that persons with disabilities receive the care and attention they need, and that that can be well equipped to participate in and benefit from all societal processes.

8.2.5 IMMIGRANTS

The population, and consequently the human resource base of Anguilla is comprised of a significant number of English- and Spanish-speaking immigrants many of whom migrated to the country in search of better employment opportunities and a better way of life. However because of prevailing attitudes towards them and because of some of their negative experiences they can be considered to be “vulnerable.”

During their focus group discussions many immigrants shared experiences of discrimination, exploitation, hostility, resentment, disrespect, insults, and ridicule, as well as violation of their human rights. They identified several situations that put them at risk and make them vulnerable. They talked about health risks, ill treatment, safety and security risks, risks of losing their jobs, and of being deported.

Their experiences highlight several issues that need to be addressed. In the first place Anguillians need to recognize and accept that because of their small population they do not have the “human capacity” to achieve their national developmental goals and that they therefore need immigrants. Moreover as some of the immigrants pointed out they do not see themselves as parasites but as people who are making important contributions to the development of the country. If this can be accepted then there is a possibility that some of the negative attitudes, hostility and resentment might be eliminated.

On another level from information obtained during the PPA it is clear that some of the laws and policies that apply to immigrants either need to be revisited, reviewed and possibly revised, and/or that some new laws and policies need to be put in place. Labour legislation, immigration and other policies like the granting of work permits, and laws that ensure that the rights of immigrants are protected would be important to ensure that immigrants are treated fairly. In addition systems and procedures should be put in place so that immigrants could have a vehicle through which to raise their concerns without fear of being victimized.

8.3 POVERTY ALLEVIATION

There is some evidence that government and some civil society organizations have implemented several programmes, projects, and activities designed to alleviate poverty. 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. This 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 poor individuals, of vulnerable groups and of poor communities. 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 these activities.

8.4 SOME KEY ISSUES THAT NEED TO BE ADDRESSED

8.4.1 ECONOMIC ISSUES

The economies of poor households 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 in some poor households no adult is employed and that in others those household members that are employed were underemployed and were working for low wages. At the same time several respondents said that to make ends meet they were working at more than one job.

While 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 showed low levels of education of household heads, the majority of whom had 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 were 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 even in the underground economy. However while activities in the informal sector and in the underground economy do 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 their poor households out of poverty.

There is also a link between household income and the level of deprivation experienced by household members, and between 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 lack of or of scarce financial resources the development and welfare of children in poor households is 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 some are 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 and this appears to be an outcome of the recession and the current downturn in the national economy.

In the absence of regular wages some poor individuals and households depend on remittances from relatives and friends at home and abroad. However the small amounts previously received on an irregular basis, and the expected decline in these as a result of the recession, are challenges faced by some who depend on them. At the same time while some elderly persons receive and depend on government assistance through pensions or social welfare, the amounts are small, often insufficient to meet needs, sustain livelihoods, or 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 in PPA activities on 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 increase job opportunities and to create more jobs, and to equip poor individuals with marketable skills so that they can be better able to make use of such job opportunities that may exist.

8.4.2 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.

8.4.2.1 Family Life

Several people pointed to what they called the breakdown in family life. 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 in some cases even by violence. Information obtained during PPA activities shows this to be the case in several households. According to respondents some of 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. Some people were of the that break down in morals and that the behaviour of some parents and other adults had contributed to the existence of delinquent children, and of young people who show little if any respect for older persons.

8.4.2.2 Social Problems

Residents in all of the communities identified a number of social problems that needed to be dealt with because they were affecting people and preventing them from having a sense of well being and a good quality of life. Chief among these is the existence of gangs and related incidences of violence, and the use and abuse of alcohol and other illegal drugs. Alcoholism, gangs and gang violence were identified as problems in all seven of the areas studied, drugs were a problem in five, and criminal activity, mainly theft, was a problem in six. Serious attempts should therefore be made to find solutions to these problems. Other problems identified included teenage pregnancies, domestic violence, prostitution, and incest. Respondents were not only concerned about the negative effects that these problems were having on the lives of individuals, households and their communities, but they believed that some of them had contributed to, as well as resulted from poverty.

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 nor does it facilitate harmonious relationships built on trust and mutual respect, and it does not provide people with a sense of well being. However while residents in all of the communities identified and were concerned about the social problems that exist in their communities, there was little evidence to show that government or civil society organizations were implementing the number and kind of programmes that would prevent or provide remedies for some of these problems.

There is some evidence that a great deal of attention is usually placed on the economic dimension of poverty, but the data clearly suggest that much more attention needs to be placed on the social environment in which people live and to the social problems that impact on their lives. Greater efforts must therefore be made to understand the links between poverty and the existence of social problems as well as to understand the ways in which social problems not only contribute to, but perpetuate poverty. With this understanding Government agencies and NGOs would be better able to develop initiatives and to design programmes that would offer solutions to social problems and at the same time reduce poverty.

8.4.3 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 and even those who had have very little formal education wanted to ensure that their children and grandchildren received a good education so that they would not have to be condemned to living in poverty, and could have a better and easier life.

Respondents were also aware that over the years more educational opportunities had increased, and that education at all levels was 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.

A few parents and grandparents admitted that their children often missed school because they are unable to provide them with the amount of food and with nutritious meals, 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. Parents as well as some young people therefore identified the need for opportunities to pursue tertiary education on island and for more technical and vocational education programmes.

Failure of children and young people 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 can condemn 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 achieved, they must also be well equipped to be able to do so.

Participation in adult education programmes can help people to develop themselves, to have high self-esteem and to gain self-confidence. It can help them to change negative attitudes and to acquire more positive ones about themselves and about other people, it can increase their ability to critically assess their situation, and through participation in adult education programmes they can become motivated to take action to change and improve 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 a few people admitted to being functionally illiterate. Among the reasons for not participating are lack of knowledge of programmes, absence of programmes in their communities, no one to take care of children, no time, and lack of money to pay fees for some programmes.

In order to change these situations, serious steps must be taken to develop national adult education programmes and to adopt strategies that will motivate, encourage, and facilitate active participation of the majority, if not all adults in adult and continuing education programmes.

8.4.4 HEALTH

Good health is essential if people are to enjoy a sense of well being, but the data show that several people in the communities studied, especially the elderly, suffer from life style diseases. Many also said that their inability to eat the 'right kind' of food on a regular basis had contributed to their poor health, and several are often unable to afford good health care and medication.

The majority of those who were interviewed and who participated in focus group discussions used the public health service to deal with their illnesses. However, some shared experiences 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, they could not afford to go to private doctors, or to buy medication when it was not available from the hospital or clinic. As a result sometimes they did without 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 and that the cost of health care and medications be made less costly. However it was hoped there were high hopes that the proposed National Health Fund would address these issues.

8.4.5 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 helpless and powerless. 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 and engenders feelings of worthlessness and undermines their self-esteem and self-confidence. During the PPA several persons said that they felt like nobody, like non-persons, of no value and that their self-esteem was 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 any attempts to survive or to improve their conditions would be futile. Some people, especially immigrants, also shared experiences of being discriminated against and exploited.

Analysis of the data draws attention to the many ways in which poverty, and being regarded as 'an outsider,' can affect people's emotional and psychological well being and it highlights the need for more serious attention to be paid to this dimension of poverty and to this aspect of people's lives. The data suggest that several people have been damaged psychologically and emotionally. However while such persons would need some professional help, it would also be important to remove some of the factors that are responsible for creating negative emotional and psychological states.

8.4.6 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 males and of females.

Separate focus discussions with men and with 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 information that they provided clearly showed the links between gender and poverty and that although there are similarities in how poor men and poor women experience poverty and in how they cope with it, there are also significant differences. For example the data show that poor men experience several negative effects of poverty and that poverty prevents them from performing the role of bread winner and provider that society expects of them.

Poverty determines whether and how males and females can perform their gender roles and responsibilities. The data show that both unemployed males and unemployed 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 by society or as they would like. Males referred to their roles as breadwinner and provider, and females accepted their role as nurturer and caregiver and placed emphasis on child care and home management.

At the same time while many 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 emasculated 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 as well as their traditional female roles with any degree of success.

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This additional role of provider added to their responsibility for child care and maintenance of the home puts a heavy burden on women and has serious implications for their ability to obtain and balance child care and work. It also has adverse effects on their health.

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 some heads of households said that they had no partner, marriage, visiting, and common-law relationships existed 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 a few women showed that in some relationships women are abused and subjected 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 and strongly believed that male perpetrators of this crime should be brought to justice. This phenomenon raises several serious issues including carnal knowledge of minors and statutory rape, and serious steps must be taken to enforce existing laws and to introduce policies and programmes that help to increase awareness about the dangers of teenage pregnancies as well as provide more support for teenage mothers.

Information provided by women also insights into unequal distribution of power and authority within households. In some of the latter power and authority is firmly vested in the man and the woman has no authority, no say and no input into decisions that affect their lives and are virtually powerless.

Within households too the division of labour is along gender lines and in many of the households studied adult females are responsible for child care and for managing and maintaining the home and they, along with female children are expected to 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

sweeping the yard and females do “female” chores like cleaning the house, washing and cooking.

Analysis of the data provide concrete evidence that the labour market is segmented along gender lines because the males who are employed in construction, and fishing are doing jobs that are usually regarded as ‘men’s work’, and that pay higher wages than jobs which are regarded as ‘women’s work’ and that pay less. However even for some poor men with low levels of education obtaining such jobs is not always easy or permanent. On the other hand, some females are working as domestics, as vendors or are braiding hair, low-skilled and low-paying income earning activities. For poor females, especially those who are heads of households earnings from such activities are insufficient to provide even basic needs of their families.

It is in the coping strategies that the difference between poor men and poor women is evident. While males and females employ different coping and survival strategies the data suggest that women tended to use strategies mainly to make money and that while some men also did so, others also used strategies, including drinking alcohol to help them “forget” their problems. At the same time men as well as women are sometimes obliged to become involved in activities that are illegal and that put them at risk. For instance more men than women, especially young men, turn to drugs, gambling and other illegal and criminal activities. On the other hand some women admitted that in order to get money to feed their children and provide for their families women turn to serial mating, transactional sex, and prostitution.

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 qualitative 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 of poor females, pro-poor policies and programmes must take gender differences into consideration and be based on gender-specific data.

8.5 RECOMMENDATIONS

Participants in all of the PPA activities made suggestions and recommendations that in their view would help to reduce poverty and improve living conditions in the country. Analysis of the data has also highlighted steps that need to be taken to achieve these objectives. The following recommendations have therefore been informed by participants' views and by analysis of the data obtained. They are not presented in any order of priority.

- Upgrade roads
- Introduce laws to control high cost of land and of housing
- Establish a rental board
- Provide low-income housing
- Provide more job opportunities and more jobs
- Revise the minimum wage
- Establish a price control board and control food prices
- Lower utility bills
- Train people in how to prepare for entry into the labour market
- Introduce unemployment benefits
- Make education, especially tertiary education more affordable and accessible
- Build a technical college to provide more technical and vocational training programmes
- Provide after-school programmes for youth
- Develop and implement a national adult and continuing education programme
- Implement parenting programmes
- Implement an environmental education programme
- Improve the quality of health care and make it more affordable
- Provide elderly persons with free medication and medical tests
- Reinforce existing laws or introduce new laws to bring men who impregnate under-age teenage girls to justice and to ensure that they are punished
- Improve the services provided by the Social Welfare Department
- The Welfare Department should visit communities to see firsthand the living conditions and needs of residents
- Increase the amounts, including pensions, provided by the Welfare Department

- Provide privileges for the elderly, including free health care
- Provide recreational facilities in communities in which they are none
- Take steps to deal with gangs
- Adopt strategies and implement programmes to deal prevent and to deal with violence, especially in schools
- Undertake legislative reform
- Review laws and policies that govern immigration and the granting of work permits to immigrants
- Carefully examine practices that discriminate against immigrants
- Review existing labour legislation and make changes as necessary

PART II: 'THINGS ROUGH'



SECTION 9: ANGUILLA - IN-DEPTH HOUSEHOLD INTERVIEWS

Anguilla's history has been marked by harsh living conditions and high levels of scarcity. Its small size, shallow soil, spasmodic rainfall patterns and lack of natural resource endowment have meant that it is perhaps the only Caribbean country to have experienced episodes of deaths from famine in its history. To the British it was of so little value that they entertained serious considerations and indeed attempted to depopulate it by sending its inhabitants to British Guiana, the Leeward and Windward Islands and Trinidad and Tobago.¹

With the end of slavery its sugar industry collapsed, due to the poor condition of its soil and the loss of economies associated with slave labour. The historical political economy that subsequently emerged was marked by the presence of an independent small cultivator subsistence economy that strove valiantly to feed itself and to escape from the suppression and neglect associated with political association with St. Kitts and Nevis. By the time of the last decade of the 19th century the island was in the throes of a severe drought and associated famine that led to an almost total dependence on the Crown for the survival of many, including its children.

Over the period of the late 19th and early 20th centuries migration became a significant part of its socioeconomic landscape. For the first six months of every year in the last decade of the 19th century, the young men of Anguilla ventured to the Dominican Republic to cut cane. Paid by the ton, Petty indicates, some would return with princely sums of US\$10 and \$15. These were good monies in those days and must have gone some way in softening the Spartan-like existence endured by its people. In the absence of the men-folk the women pursued activities such as farming of domestic crops, animal rearing and the cultivation and processing of craft material. Movement was first to the Dominican Republic for the cutting of cane. When this activity waned in the early 20th century, there was a switch to the Dutch Islands (Curacao and Aruba in particular) where employment was sought in the newly emerging mineral industry. Later, of course, came the movement to the United Kingdom.

This description underscores the fact that the history of the country up until the late 20th century has been what one colonial official described as, at the best of times, 'hand to mouth.' The arduousness of an existence marked by poor resource endowment and small size was exacerbated throughout its history by devastation wrought by periodic extended drought and a number of hurricanes. The one natural resource that served the country economically was salt, which was something of a staple export of the country. Still, this was

¹ Petty, Colville, L. Bless our Forebears: Pub. C. Petty, 2008.

never enough to bring any meaningful mitigation to the problem of sparseness and scarcity that has dominated the island's history. Not surprisingly, health and education services were weakly developed in the historical period. Another fundamental requirement of human existence, housing is also described in terms that point to its minimalist nature. Historically, therefore, the people of Anguilla are no strangers to extreme physical hardship. This has made them into a hardy, resilient people.

In some interesting sociological ways this history has ill-fitted Anguillians for the changes in fortune that were to come upon them in the late 20th and early 21st centuries. Anguilla's incorporation into the global tourism market has transformed its economy and society. Whereas 82% unemployment obtained among the total population in 1974, by 2006 this figure moved to nil. The country has had to resort to the importation of labour to satisfy the needs of the construction industry that has grown up to service the tourism sector. One expects that some measure of social differentiation has accompanied these changes.

The fortunes of the country have improved markedly over these years. By 2006 the country's GDP had increased by 15% over the previous year from EC\$354M to EC\$425M. This gave the country a per capita income of EC\$29,835. This kind of transformation of an economy and society that for most of its history was barely able to feed itself is always attended by social dislocation and tension. In sociological terms this dramatic kind of change is invariably associated with anomie or a mismatch of values and the social situations to which they are supposed to apply.

One area in which this invariably manifests itself is in the lives of those who do not have the capabilities or entitlements to ensure an adequate share in the new-found wealth. This is reflected in the life narratives of the less fortunate in the society. Their struggles to survive in the new environment tell of the efforts of households with inherited social and economic deficits interfacing with the labour market and the agencies of government in their attempts to meet their basic needs and make their way in life. Their stories seem to tell of a people with a heightened sense of social status attempting to cope with an economic environment made precarious for the very poor by its domination by foreign social and economic interests.

The price structure is one that is informed by the earnings of people operating at the upper end of the income spectrum. It is true that some amount of market differentiation will obtain. There are, however, some markets in which everyone, rich and poor, has to participate. One such is the market for baby products, food, disposable diapers, etcetera. Here, as in poorer societies, there is no disaggregation of the product to suit the pockets of poor people. It is not possible, to buy one disposable diaper. If you want a couple of disposable diapers you have to buy the entire pack at a cost that is prohibitive to most poor

mothers. An almost constant refrain from the poor households interviewed was, “things rough.” These are obviously persons who have been ‘left behind’ in an economy that by all standard macroeconomic measures is booming. Whilst the nature of this component of the survey does not allow for any definitive statements as to how widespread these sentiments about living in this society are, it is important that their existence be noted.

The second major theme that seemed to infuse the interviews was a demand for treatment from the official agencies that was in accord with the respondents own sense of dignity. The perception on the part of these persons of treatment without due regard to their status as human beings on the part of the agencies, with whom they have no choice but to interact, is of immense sociological interest. This is so because this is a society in which just one hundred years ago, virtually the entire population was the recipient of what could be termed “poor relief” provided by the government to prevent starvation. Petty reports levels of starvation that were so great in the first years of the last decade of the 19th century that 3500 of a total population of 3699 had to receive assistance from central government in St. Kitts to ward off starvation.²

Economic and social advances have, it would seem, been attended by a deep sense of insecurity on the part of those who have made it up from the bottom of the social hierarchy, judging from their reported attitude towards the less fortunate in the society who have to rely on social services. Perhaps the relationship between the new administrative elite and the poor in a society historically accustomed to everyone being affected by deprivation is one area in which anomie manifests itself. Discrimination and prejudice on the part of the non-poor towards the poor replays itself throughout the interviews.

As one astute respondent put it, in response to the attitude of social superiority being displayed by the officials of the government agency that she has to deal with,

“...all of them (government agency staff) come up inna match box house themselves. A lot of people in Anguilla them was poor before them get what them got to get...So nobody try and call me down, them got to check themselves first. Everybody in Anguilla was poor. Everybody, all around people was poor. Some people still come up a little better than others, but most of the time everybody around the Caribbean was poor. Ain't it true?”

² Petty, 2008, p.54

9.1 CASE STUDY 1: MAUREEN – 46 YEAR OLD SINGLE MOTHER OF SEVEN CHILDREN

“*Things rough*” is the retort from Maureen when asked how are things in Anguilla. It is one to which she will return many times during the course of our conversation. She continues,

“cost of living is very high. The little bit of money you working for it ain’t nothing. It ain’t nothing for right now the money cut back. I spend about EC\$100 everyday (on food). You know how much kids I got, 7 kids that is number one. That daughter (pregnant young woman just walked past place of interview) she does not live with me. Not all (my children) live with me, four (live with me) and my last child is just 4 years. So you understand what kind of living this is. And my brother live in the other part (of the house). I have a brother got a foot, come down to here cut off. Sugar! I have diabetes too. I suffer with diabetes.”

The conversation moves on to diet and diabetes and the need to eat wholesomely and avoid snacks. Maureen responds,

“you need money to buy fruit, if you don’t have it you got to eat what you got. You got to eat what you have (cheap, packaged snacks) you can’t just stay... I hungry right now because I ain’t eat nothing from the morning.”

A child appears with some fruit (mango). Maureen explains that this is one of her brother’s children and that the fruit is what he has picked from a tree. She explains that her four children and her nephew live with her (in her part of the house.) In addition her brother occupies another part of the house. The house has two bedrooms and the living room has been converted to a bed room as well.

“This is supposed to be a sitting room for me to sit down and eat my food in. I have no kitchen. That is my brother’s kitchen.”

However, she also uses it to cook her food.

“I’ve been asking the government to help me for so long. I have blocks (and steel) (I need cement) and sand. So long! They say they doing this and they doing that and I ain’t see them doing nothing up to now. Three years, four years now maybe more than that. I ask Welfare, then them send me down to Public Works. Went to Public Works; a man to come here... nothing else, nothing else, dem forget you. Dem just want to know you business and when dem done, dem put you in a drawer and forget you. If you is not a person of a certain (socioeconomic) standard, they does forget you. You asking them for help all the time. Yeah, Welfare now telling me ahmm... Welfare telling me dem don’t have no money, dem this, dem dat. There is no difference (in the way they treat you).

Since Greene gone there is a lot of confusion, because he wanted to tell you to come off of welfare to come do this, come do dat. A big man like that want to tell you to come off of welfare. I have Sugar, I have Pressure, I suffering with fibroids. Ok. That is three things I suffering with. But I don't let it bother me. I don't let it keep me down cause I got to keep going. Right now I don't have no-one to give me a dollar. Right now the children don't got nothing in the fridge to eat! You understand? \$150 or \$200 EC dollars, when you go in the shop that can't buy nothing! That can't buy nothing. My last child it cost me \$28 for a can of baby food! I buy four of them per week. Because when he is 3 years I don't have no food for myself. If I don't eat he have to eat, cause he have to survive. I can't have he here sit down, join me with hungry, You understand? And with Welfare, when I tell them they ask me about father. Welfare don't help me to find his father. He father (youngest child) in Dominica. They had he here lock up. If Welfare did interested enough they would a get he out, yes?

The next girl her father gone. Dem do nothing. Tuesday I hear he is (at a particular place) Wednesday they do nutten, Thursday he gone. So who is to blame? Welfare. You understand? Because if you was interested you would work with me. You understand? You didn't send me out there to get my children, but the problem exist because I get them, but you (Welfare) is the one to help me. But you ain't doing that. Welfare don't care or else people wouldn't be suffering like this. You think is one time I ask them to help me with this (her house). I can't bring no friend by me. There is no privacy."

Maureen continues her lamentation,

"my oldest child is 22 years (male). But he don't live with me. I can't force him to give me anything. He is a mason. She (the pregnant young woman) ain't working. She is 20...21. The next boy...he in prison. He is a security (guard). He is 20. He in prison, though. (Maureen's nephew enters the room). He trouble something he ain't put down. If something is here and I want it I have to ask you for it. That ain't mines. So he get punish for thieving. The next one (a girl) is 18? 17? No 17 years."

What is she doing?

"Nothing, walking down on the street! Nothing. Me? me concern bout myself. Dem is my children. If they come here and they ask for piece of food they going get it. They is my children, but I can't tell them (how) to live their life. They life their life. I try my best, but I can't tell them how to live their life. They got to live their life how they want to live it. They live it. You understand? But if they come here I can't run them, them is mine."

There is another child, a girl, who Maureen says

"making 12 years this month. Another boy also, but he ain't here right now."

Then there is the 4 year old youngster.

"If he had been here he would have been asking you all kinds of questions."

Maureen explains that the house in which they now live belonged to her mother.

“She died, about 4 moths, right now about 4 months.”

Maureen’s brother enters the room. He appears to be a man in his early 50s. He says that he is ‘cool’ and then mentions that he has lost his foot to diabetes. He is a very sick man. He continues,

“I on dialysis too. People worry about dead! If you don’t dead you can’t raise again. You gotta go home (die). If this was your home you wouldn’t go over there. This is only a place where they brought us for a while. We got to go home”. (You got) “...Diabetes, you got accident ...something have to carry you over. We only come here one way, but is many ways to go. People would never understand it.”

One wonders whether he understands that the chances of dying from one of these ‘silent killers’ varies with socioeconomic status. The level of awareness of these illnesses, that can be controlled if caught early, is positively related to socioeconomic status. The higher up the socioeconomic ladder you go the more aware you are of these diseases through higher levels of education and a corresponding greater awareness of human physiology. More importantly, higher socioeconomic status means access to the type of medical care that is more likely to detect these illnesses as well as to properly treat them. Socioeconomic differentiation and its impact on health status are not foreign to the understanding of these individuals, though. Maureen has just provided an outline of the relationship between diet and diabetes. Her fatalism, though, is replaced in her brother by a philosophical turn of mind about life and the unequal distribution of resources in society. He continues,

“A lot of them try to be greedy. If they have something they say I could a give him this or give him that, but then is too late. If your brother come by you and ask you for something, don’t tell him to go away and come back tomorrow. If he want to read don’t care how dunce he be if he really want to read you going read. We watch our brothers and sister suffer too much and we could do better. We don’t need a lot of money to survive. Greed, greed is the problem. It’s been a long time now and a going rest meself.

You know, messengers only come to give the message and then go. He always tell us is we make the world so hard. It is we. If you take life as it should go a man will give you something. You sell weed to those who can afford, but weed is suppose to be a humble something. That’s the only thing that could help us. If you come home one evening from work, hard work and you smoke a spliff you lie down and relax, you see so much things come before you and you say ‘oh look at that’. But dem fools who smoke it around by the ...drinking beers etcetera, they dealing with a bad habit because the rum does mess up the weed. And then the Devil comes to you. Smoking herb don’t kill nobody.”

The discussion shifts to the unavailability of fruits in Anguilla. Brother speaks,

“If you check from Columbus days and so, people wasn’t even suppose to live here. He (Columbus) was passing on the outskirts of St. Maarten. He was going to Santo Domingo... and he say when he look over here he see a island like a snake. The island was just long. He called this Snake Island. He didn’t come on this. They pass over there. This is a rock, you know? When you tell people ask and you tell them Anguilla they say Angola? They know nothing about it. So the British was... but you see Christopher Columbus had done drawn a map for them.”

The conversation draws to a close. Brother leaves by with the admonition of a man who has come to terms with his mortality and the perils of dying.

“Remember there is a man bigger than me and you... you hear people talk about fire. It’s your body, your soul that’s going to be tormented for all those years. When it come to your soul is inside you tormented because you still alive. It’s not your flesh. I go tell people you going never see the Father until you come to be in the spirit form because the Father is of the spirit form is not the flesh. He said no one has ever seen me. He was telling Moses how could you be alive and see me?”

The conversation with Maureen resumes. She reports that she was born in 1963. The lack of capabilities and inability to access resources that now dictate her life were inherited. She has never been able to overcome these deficits. Her parents, she recalls, used to.

“wok hard, at mining salt...used to work in the salt pond, mother used to work in the old hospital cleaning.”

She attended school in Anguilla at the primary level. She says that the experience of going to the school was ‘good’, but she was not able to go every day.

“Me mother try, but it ain’t everyday you have it.”

She says she could not afford to send her and siblings to school every day.

“It was 10 of us. I left school when I reach 18. I got one brother in St. Maarten. Ten of us meh mother have...”

Maureen explains that her mother had four children with her father... She says,

“ah small little house I born in up there. When I get big I come down here. Meh mother bought this land.”

Maureen explains that when she left school at 18,

“at that time there was nothing else to do except go with my mother. There was nutton to do. I used to go with my mother, where she go, what work she do. Until I get my own. I get my own in St. Maarten. I reach there because I reach the age to go there. My mother had sent me there first to stay with some people.”

The theorists tell us that intergenerational poverty is sustained by social and economic exclusion. Maureen continues,

“the people them I didn’t like much. Too much ahhm like slavery.”

She explains that her mother sent her to these people because she would not have had anywhere else to stay in St. Maarten.

“She send me over there to stay with the people...”

The intention was to get work, but in the meantime she had to work with the people with whom she was staying, *“but”* she repeats,

“it was like slavery. They have me there washing a bath pan of clothes in the sun and they have a (washing) machine, all them kinds of thing dey. That’s why I call it slavery. Like they have me sleeping on a cot and dem got bed.”

She explains that they were business people,

“but they die out right now. They from here (Anguilla). Is just like ahhm...businesspeople like say you have... but they used to want people like maid. I didn’t like working with them. I end up leave there...the man try something with me he had a child with my mother (and) he say come let we do it. All the maid that come in that yard he breed. So I say no! He say he going put me out he house. He put me out he house and I go and stay with some other people. And then I come Anguilla and tell my mother I leave them place. When I tell my mother the reason why, my mother went to the woman (wife). The woman say I telling lie on her husband. So I get a place with a friend of mine.”

Maureen’s situation is made more difficult by the family formation choices that she makes.

“I met my children father over there, but I had to leave he too cause he is a drug addict... start with cocaine so I had to leave he.”

Of her children she says,

“two belongs to one man. About five of them different father. You make kids like you say you go by this man thinking this man going help you. By the time you look, you wind up get pregnant and still no help. That is why I have to sit down and tell people my story of life, you know ‘cause I know my story. How I make my kids. It’s not a easy thing to go through.”

In St. Maarten she says she did the same thing as she is doing now,

“maid, cleaning. I like it, cleaning. Nobody can take that from me. Is something my mother bring me up doing, cleaning.”

She laments the fact that her present living conditions are so cramped that she has no space to keep her own place clean. She expresses regret at having returned to Anguilla. She regrets having done so

“because even though I born here.... it’s worse here, it’s really rough here.”

In all she spent 10 years in St. Maarten.

“I spent seven years in St. Kitts too. “About four years now I’m back home... because my ole man had died.”

Maureen identifies the problem with Anguilla as its highly monetized economy and compares it to St. Kitts where some goods and services that one needs to live do not have to be purchased. She cites the example of breadfruit as something that people in St. Kitts will simply give you as opposed to in Anguilla where it has to be purchased. Furthermore, in St. Kitts shopkeepers cater for the low income person by selling single items from things that come in packs. Maureen remarks,

“In St. Kitts you can get one pamper to buy, in Anguilla you have to buy the whole pack. In St. Kitts you could survive. They sell to you how you could live. In Anguilla you have to buy a pack of pampers. In Anguilla a pack of pampers...I don’t buy pampers no more... cost you sixty, seventy, eighty dollars. So it’s not easy to live through. I sorry for my (pregnant) daughter; I sorry for she, cause making children at this time, in this year (she already has 3 children) it rough, very rough. I fear for them making children how they going go through. I fear for them. I don’t know what they seeing. I don’t know what they thinking, but it ain’t easy, it ain’t easy at all. Is not a easy life. Look, from (when) my children born and I seeing hell, picture it for them.”

Maureen laments the cost of medical care for children and goes on to add,

“we scarcely got good doctors here... I don't know what to say (repeats).

She goes on, however, to say that her own medical costs are met 100% by the Welfare system.

“It's no easy thing going through, you know?”

The medical card that she has from Welfare exempts her from paying for any medical care she might receive in Anguilla. However she complains of the fact that exemption from costs only apply to the public hospital. If the hospital does not have the drugs that the doctor prescribed, then you have to go back to Welfare to obtain a letter for some other (private) facility where the drugs are available. There is no good service at the hospital she says.

“You have certain days when the machine works and certain days when it don't work. I not calling down the hospital, I not calling it down because if it wasn't for them I wouldn't be here, but I am just saying the services could be better. It could be better. The service need to improve in a lot of things. They need to have their own machines because if you borrow people things it going to mash up. Dialysis only have three chairs, it must be have four chairs now. At least seven places they should have.

Now listen to this it have a good doctor in St. Maarten but you have to pay \$300 on a boat (to go and come). Then you still got to find doctor fee and medication. If you no have no money to buy medication you have to come back in Anguilla. If you go doctor in St. Maarten and you don't get the medication you could come back here and get it and maybe you still don't get the medication you suppose to get. Then you still got to go back to St. Maarten to get it. You have the French pharmacy here (better supply of drugs) so instead of going St. Maarten you could get it here. But it not easy. It not easy in Anguilla.”

Maureen says she is sick with both diabetes and high blood pressure, as is her brother. It's a family affliction although it was old age that killed her mother.

“My mother work hard.”

She goes on to describe how difficult it was physically to care for her mother. Her sister, she says, died leaving her as the only girl child alive. Her two sisters died and that left only brothers. She returns to the refrain,

“It ain't easy, it ain't easy living here. It ain't easy. It not easy living in Anguilla.”

She elaborates pointing to the importance of social standing among a people lacking in economic wherewithal.

“...Is how the people living. Some people can’t get up in the morning and put on a pot. Because there is nothing to put in that pot. Some people you smell them cooking. What you think them cooking. I went by a lady last week and I smell this food and I say but (friend) you cooking nice food, man! If you see she open the pot. You know what the woman have in the pot. Onion and garlic browning. Her neighbours around done cook and she want people to look and say she cooking too. So onion and garlic she have in her pot.

The woman have nothing in her house. You understand? So when people talk, we have nothing in Anguilla.”

Poignantly, she qualifies her statement at once providing insight into the limitations of the GDP as a measure of economic well being.

“We have, we have, but it go to foreigner. If you give me today you ain’t gonna give me tomorrow, yeah. If you say I going give she today, if she come back ...I give she yesterday. She come today again. She must be working. What she doing with her money? The cost of living. Money ain’t all. The cost of living. Money ain’t nothing. Money don’t value nothing no more. People say money don’t value nothing no more. Very hard. It hard, hard, hard, hard life.”

In illustration she says,

“and I going tell you I don’t have nothing here to eat, nothing. Nothing.”

Maureen explains,

“I work every day, I get pay month end. I got a friend who comes here. He gives me something, but I don’t have to tell you that. That is my business. When he work he give me a little change. But that is my personal business, I don’t have to tell nobody that. That is my business, understand? But I just showing you how I living. My monthly income is EC\$900. I get \$800-\$900, but the money right now can’t reach...”

Maureen says of this amount she spends \$300 on food. She says though, that she buys her food on a daily basis because she cannot buy for an extended period since she has nowhere to lock up the food. Every day she says she spends \$100 on food. This means that her monthly income of \$900 is being supplemented from other sources. One is her male friend.

Maureen says she has three children attending school. School is closed right now but she says it costs her \$150 to send them to summer school. During the term she has to give her daughter \$20 everyday for food etc. Her other two children eat lunch at school, but she still has to provide breakfast for them. Again, the refrain,

“it rough, it rough.”

Her big children she says,

“don’t give me nutten. I don’t worry you know cause they no worth nutten.”

The conversation turns to life in other parts of the Caribbean and Maureen says she has a friend in Trinidad who sends her \$100 occasionally. She continues,

“that’s why I could never let go my friends because that is how I make it.” Welfare (Dept) she says gives her \$1000,

“but by the time I go buy school books that \$1000 is nutten. One school skirt is EC\$60. One shirt is US\$30 You don’t have to buy that every month. You buy and keep washing them. For my daughter (I have to buy) four shirts. ...she could have three skirts and you don’t have to wash them every day, dark colour, but the shirts I have to change her shirts every day cause is white. You have to buy five of that or four of that because you don’t want your child...”

Again, the preoccupation with social status,

“let me tell you something don’t care how poor you are I don’t want to see nobody children look better than my child, nobody children... with children they say I want this and I want that...I can go anyhow but my child got to go dress present. That’s the way I treat my children ...the man (Welfare) I don’t like he, I tell you the truth, I don’t like he...ok even though you promise me and it don’t come through and (if) they make me feel like I is somebody, you know? Make me feel like...you tearing me apart, you putting me down... no! I am a human being just like everybody else! He make me feel no way (like nobody).”

I have piece of ground up there which is I say I would go into agriculture, farm to put my best in it to see what I could get from there. I help myself because the point is Anguilla not getting no easier... Is a little piece (Ministry of) Agriculture give me. Is four rows.”

Maureen says she plans to plant some cabbage and corn.

“A partner going give me the seeds and someone will give me the water too. The water will be free. “

Maureen goes on to lament the physical condition of her house and the absence of proper facilities. She speaks of the lack of privacy,

“when you bathing, you naked, people seeing your skin, all them kind a thing dey.”

There is no bathroom, but a pit latrine outside. There is piped water into the yard.

“I pay nothing for water. The last light bill I pay is \$349” (bill comes once per month).

Maureen goes on to tell how she rationalises the strictures and limitations imposed on her by material deprivation.

“You can’t see no future because life is still hard. You can’t say you seeing a future right now. You don’t know what tomorrow brings. You can’t look behind the clouds and see tomorrow. I gotta build a life...I don’t know what the future will be. I could sit down and tell you that the future gold and it is not gold. I might not live to see the future. Maybe the cost of living will be better than this. Cause I don’t like how I living. You think I please to see how I living here? No. But I got to live here because I ain’t running to go and pay no house rent. But I still don’t like it. It bothers me. It bothers me a lot.

Sometimes when I sit down here and look on the life I cry. Living this kinda life still, you know?...It’s just that I can’t do better than this because I don’t have the money to do better. If I had the money. Look, look, look here this want to paint, (pointing to the faded wall of the room we are in) you can feel it? No, I don’t feel good.”

Asked if there are times when she has no food to give her family, Maureen replies,

“yes, you have a lot of times like that. Lots of time. Nuff times of that.”

I remark that the children still look well fed. She replies,

“that’s because I does feed them, but the point is... If I were to start my life all over again I don’t think I would have all the children I have. I could make it with me (if I did not have all these children)...and if their father was giving me at all. If the three children father was giving me more...the father ain’t giving me none so I have to go Welfare.”

She says she is not in contact with

“none of the fathers, none.”

None of the fathers are in Anguilla.

“All of them father is from away”

This means that she either got her children overseas or the fathers were people passing through the country

“Not all of them were passing through some of them were living here but they wutless. Dem wutless... they wutless they don’t want to support their children that’s all.

Maureen reports that she has good relations with the people of the community in which she lives.

9.1.1 THE DAUGHTER

One of the transmission mechanisms for poverty across the generations is teenage pregnancy among girls from dysfunctional families. This prevents them from proper preparation for the labour market through the completion of their education. It also limits their attempts at further training and education subsequent to the pregnancy as well as their freedom to participate in the labour market due to child care responsibilities. As in all of the interviews, there is reference to the sociology of Anguillian society and the discrimination experienced by the poor at the hands of the non-poor that serves to keep them in their circumstances of deprivation.

Mary reports that she is 21 and was born in the St. Maarten. She grew up in Anguilla attending primary and then comprehensive school. She says going to school in Anguilla was “not really” a good experience for her. The teachers she says were the problem.

“Other children get pregnant and go back to school, but when I get pregnant and ask to go back to school they say no.

She was sixteen when she first got pregnant.

“They didn’t give me no specific reason.”

Maureen supports her story and says it happens all the time and is

“still happening. You go to other high school and children get pregnant and up to now they still going to school. They going school in uniform too.

She suggests that it is the pregnant girls from well-to-do families that get the chance to return to school.

Mary left school at 16 and had her first child and never returned. After this she “worked a few places (such as at) hotels (as a) waitress. Currently, she is not working due to her pregnancy. She will not be able to return to the job she had after the pregnancy since she had just started and she had not completed her three month probation when she got pregnant.

“Maybe if I go back and speak to the lady I could get through.”

In what appears to be a repeat of her mother’s reproductive behaviour, the current pregnancy is Mary’s third child. This child is not for the person (s) who fathered her other children. Furthermore, she and the father are not living together now. She is “not really”

getting support for her other children. The first child, Maureen tells us, lives with her (the child's) father's mother in Anguilla. The second child lives with her but gets no support from her father,

"because he is in jail."

*The child's father, "he does give me money, but the way he feel like. I went to the Welfare about and they were **supposed** to call me about it and they ain't call me back till now."*

So why do you have children for men who won't support them? Her answer does not address the question. The literature on the subject suggests that precocious sexual activity on the part of young girls is strongly associated with the absence of a father in the home. The research on this type of family formation pattern suggests that the primary labour market to which these men would belong favours men relative to women. This places males in a position to make offers (albeit) ones that they will usually be unable to sustain, to women unfavourably placed in the labour market. These are psychological, economic and societal issues that shape Mary's actions, but of which she has limited awareness. She answers,

"I don't know, at first this one (the first child) the grandmother was saying it wasn't the boy own maybe because it was young. This one now he did say the same thing but he had another relationship, the woman that he did dey with. He was giving me money, but when he feel like giving me money. I ask them to talk to him (since)... he give me what he want. At the end of the day ... they tell me they can't do that (force him to pay her on a regular basis) the child ain't born. I got to wait till the child born."

Mary says she has no doubt about the paternity of her child. When asked if she intends to have any more children, Mary replies,

"No!"

She says she plans to use contraceptives to ensure that she does not get pregnant again. I continue to probe. Did you want to have three children?

"No!"

So why didn't you use contraceptives?

"I was, but it used to mess me up so I had to stop using it. The injection used to make me bleed a lot. I have two boys (and this one is) a boy. It kind a rough now so (as far as the future is concerned) I can't really see."

When she started working as a waitress,

“it didn’t have no training, but it was easy for me, I know how to do it. When I started, I start with no experience, but I pick up.”

9.1.2 STRATEGIZING

Mary says that for the future she wants to pick up classes in (at first) English and Math. She was not able to do any exams while in school and has found that the lack of certification has held her back. There are adult classes not far from here.

“You can go by the road, catch a lift in the car.”

Since the first child lives with her grandmother when Mary is working there is no problem. By the time she starts working again she expects the second child would have started school. She is not sure what she will do with the baby. She says she was thinking of going back to work when the child reaches two months.

“I don’t know yet” is her response to the question.

What are you going to do with the two-month old baby? Maureen suggests that she might have to get a night job. Maureen says,

“you see, I go work at 3 o clock. See, I am home all day.”

Right now Mary lives in a house on the same piece of land as Maureen’s with a cousin. Do you think you will get married one day and settle down with a... (laughter from mother and daughter).

“Maybe, I don’t know. Maybe.”

Mary’s concluding remarks are,

“we need help, a lot of help...a lot of help.”

Mary says she has no regrets about having grown up in Anguilla and would not have wanted to grow up anywhere else. Do you like the place?

“Yeah...everything...the people”

Any plans for travel, “yes” You were born in St. Maarten that means you can live there. Would you want to.

“Not really, it’s too small. It’s too claustrophobic (too many people living in a small area) Going anywhere else to live, it would be England. You have to know somebody. You have to have some kind a family to work around with until you get you own flat.”

9.1.3 THE MIGRATION OPTION

Maureen points to her twelve-year-old daughter and says

“she just come from England. Send her up with some cousins of mines. She was going school there.”

Maureen explains that when she went there she was 11 years old. She says she sent her there

“because is help I want. I need help. I sent her there to get help.”

She was there for 8 months. The child says the experience was good, but remarks that the school was

“different. The teachers, you don’t get beating.”

How do you feel about coming home now?

“Happy”

Maureen explains that had she gotten good treatment she would have been there now.” The child explains that her cousins used to

“beat me up.”

Maureen says,

“I was happy when she was there because I was thinking she would get a better education. I would still try to send her back up there if I could get somebody who would really, really interested. Because right now she got to go ...she missed school for 8 months and now they is asking for her papers...they does be saying that she miss subjects.

But when she go to England she wasn’t expecting to come back here ...but she had want to come back home. But they still got to take her in school. They still got to take her. I say I have to get her register. I have to get my child register. They can’t tell me no, she born here. They saying she miss some subjects. I ask them up there to send her papers down to prove that she was going school up there.

They don't send them down so I got to wait now... I calling tell them to send her papers down because we need the papers ...every disappointment is for a good."

Yet she says she is looking for her daughter to get a good education and if she could find someone to send her to she would do so. The local school, Maureen complains has too much fighting. They got a lot of violence and some children here they like gossip. If you want to learn your lesson some of them go by your class calling you, they does troubling you and all them kinda thing there. I know if she go England she get a good education. I know that. I looking for the best for her. I looking for the best I would like the best."

9.1.4 INTERFACING WITH GOVERNMENT AGENCIES

The interviews seem to indicate that interface with the agencies of the state is a major source of dissatisfaction for the socioeconomically disadvantaged in Anguilla. These agencies present the face of the Government to the people, although one respondent makes a distinction between the employees of the agencies and the spirit that informs Government's policy towards the poor. The relationship described by all of the respondents suggests that they are very unhappy with the relationship they have with the social agencies.

This issue emerges again in the third case study.

Mary says she thinks the Welfare Department should help more with child support. She feels that once you have reported that the child is not getting support from the father then they should assist. Instead she says,

"they still want to tell you that the child has a father and stuff like that."

Medical care for the baby she explains is free. She says if she carries her child's father to them he will have to pay \$400 per month and that is the money from which she will be able to access medical care for herself. If the baby's father can't be found then according to Maureen the mother gets no support from Welfare. Mary continues.

"I don't think \$400 is enough for a woman with a young baby and then if the child gets sick... some young babies get sick and you have to carry them to St. Maarten."

Maureen says,

"you supposed to get \$600 from Social Security and then when it comes down you get \$200-300. And when you go out to work ...when you come out of hospital you suppose to get a \$600."

Mary says she does not know anything about that and she has never received any such money. Maureen insists that it is available since she got it when she had one of her children. She advises her to call Social Security. There is no free public health care system in the country. Beyond the newborn baby any medical care received has to be paid for with the exception of persons who have been given an exemption card like the one that Maureen has. Some elderly persons are given cards. Mary says,

“every time I go doctor I gotta find \$60 by the clinic. You still gotta pay for the medication.”

Maureen points out that some cards give a 50% exemption others are 100%. The card does not apply to members of her family. Private doctors charge varying prices. One doctor she names charges US\$80. One pants for a two year old girl is US\$15. Mary says she still loves her children

it's just that it's hard sometimes. “

9.2 CASE STUDY 2: ANGELA, MOTHER OF FIVE CHILDREN WITH TWO MEN

Problems in the interface of government agencies with poor households are also one of the themes that emerge from this case study. In this case, some measure of miscommunication between the household and the agency also seems evident.

Angela's story though is important for other reasons. It tells of the inheritance of their poverty by households faced with serious challenges in the present. In this case though, this household has gone some way in breaking the cycle through the education of its young members, although one remains in a position of vulnerability. The contrast between this household and the previous case study is noteworthy. Factors of class obviously account for some of the difference between the two households. The family of the father of two of the children has better social standing than is the case of the first family examined.

Still, having a sense of the causal factors allows for policy interventions on the part of the State that could very well compensate for some of greater social disadvantage attending the circumstances of the family in the first case study. The targeting of youngsters in households with the features exhibited by Mary's for counselling, even while they are very young, and the provision of material support based on a means test could go a long way in breaking the cycle. In addition, where they have succumbed to the social and psychological pressures that lead to early pregnancy and school dropout, every effort should be made to ensure their re-entry into the educational system. It is nothing less than shortsighted to deny a poor girl reentry into school after pregnancy. Notwithstanding the fact that Mary's situation arose because of incorrect personal decisions that she made, it is Anguillian society

for generations to come that will have to find the resources to contain the fallout that might result from it.

Angela lives on the outskirts of town in a building that used to house a dwelling and a shop. The dwelling was given to her to live in by a friend who understood that she was having difficulty finding somewhere to live subsequent to the ending of the relationship she had with the father of her first set of children. The building is sturdy looking concrete structure, but on closer examination evinces signs of disrepair. The interview is conducted in Angela's sitting room and takes place in the morning.

The theme of economic hardship so evident in the first case study emerges again immediately the conversation with Angela begins. In response to a question on the nature of life in Anguilla at the present time, Angela says,

“To tell you the truth, things are hard and people trying their best to make the best of what they have and it is not easy. Sometimes you just have to trust God and ask him to give you hope. Sometimes you hope that one day you will wake up and everything will be a lot different and changed.

Right now we going through a lot of economic stress and downfalls where we not seeing any way out of where we are, you know? Things are really rough.”

In spite of the traditional political divide between St. Kitts and Anguilla, well-established social networks and interconnections exist between the two places and the surrounding islands. Angela says she lived a few years of her life in Tortola.

“When I was younger I lived a few years of my life in St. Kitts with my mother. Most of my adult life was in between, back and forth and then as I grow up here I live here most of my life.”

She continues,

“I was really born on the sea between St. Kitts and Anguilla. My mom went into labour between St. John's, St. Kitts and Anguilla.”

Her nationality she proudly proclaims is British,

“but I have two different kinds of passport.”

Her mom, she says,

“...well my grandmother, my aunt, my dad and lots of stuff (family in Anguilla) marry to an Anguillian man. So she brought us back and forth because they used to run this boat. My dad used to be on this boat. So we always back and forth on the sea. Yeah, basically. And then afterwards she brought us down and we stayed here. My grandmother she raised us. My mother died when I was about 11 years old.”

“When I was younger I went to school here. And I tell you, we were back and forth. So I went to St. Kitts school also and then I came back here and I finish up school here. I went to high school in St. Kitts also, then back and forth. When my mother died they ship us back and forth. It was like...you know? And then my grandmother decide to just let us be stable... She took care of us from there up until...”

When asked about her father she replies,

“well he somewhere about.”

She says, *“well no, not really,”* when asked about her father’s involvement in her upbringing. She continues,

“he was working in the boat and some little things happen all over and then he went with them guys (He was a boatman, a fisherman)

yeah all them kinda stuff. Anguillian basically. Most Anguillians go that way. Even the young guys today they are basically boat guys, you know? Fishing...drop out of school, some of them and they go straight at sea. Some sibling of theirs is like that eh? And they pick up with them... their uncle, their big brother...yeah. Anguillians are really fishing people...yeah, yeah. Everybody know everybody so is mostly everybody family.”

Angela’s experiences evince all of the features associated with intergenerational poverty. Born to parents that seemed to face serious economic challenges Angela was eventually raised by her father’s mother after the premature death of her own mother. Her education was spasmodic, being disrupted by her mother’s death and the inability of her grandmother to send her to school on a daily basis due to the economic hardships that she faced. Angela tells us that she went to,

“Basseterre High School in St. Kitts...Primary School and for about two years my grandmother could not take care of us to support us. We had to stay home with her. That is basically what used to happen back in those days. Sometimes if you can’t keep up with it (the expenses of school) you just stop. Lunch money, clothes to wear, uniform, very hard. I remember one time she make a skirt on my back while I was going to school. She sewed it and when she was not finished she just put about 12 pins in it and say go to school. Then she say she can’t keep up with it (school expenses) anymore, you know? It was hard and she was a strong woman.”

Angela says at the time she was 13-14 years old.

“you have to go to high school here when you is twelve. But I don’t know... it’s so funny (peculiar). I was going to high school in St. Kitts and then we came down here (Anguilla) and they told us we have to start back at primary school because the level they were not able to ... they were lower than here. So we had to go back to primary school in class 6, sit it all over again. Yeah, they had 5th, 6th and 7th standard. Well, they only have 6th now, but in (my time) had up to 7th standard and then you go to high school.”

Angela says she went up to,

“...level 3 in high school and then my mother died. It was hard, man.” She makes reference to the experience of living with her grandmother afterwards. *“It was her alone and then she had her own children and us to deal with. My moms had 6 children. So my grandmother had 10. Two for St. Kitts (Kittitian men) and the others from here... One brother I have, five sisters.”*

After her mother died, Angela explains,

“we were staying in St. Kitts with my aunt for a while, but she died now too. Both my aunts died up there. Then they took us down here. They said send for the children because they living up there and they ain’t treating them good; they hungry and deprived and things like that.”

Angela tells of her lifelong experience of deprivation.

“Most of my life growing up it seems I have been deprived. All of my life growing up I have been deprived. Today you got something tomorrow you have to do without.”

Angela continues,

“My mom she used to like clean and so. Basically, clean people’s house, wash and yeah that sort of thing. I seen her one time I remember in a white uniform probably like she was something like a maid. I was very young then, you know, but I remember she going out every day. She would ask us if the skirt too short or something.”

Angela says her mom died when she was

“30 something years old. 37 or 38 yeah (from) high blood pressure which I have too. All my sisters have it...my other two sisters, they have it terrible. Sometimes it put me in hospital for a hour or two. Sometimes I go down there to relax.”

There is an apparent tradition of her family, Angela left school at an early age. She left school early to take up a domestic position in a home. She says,

“ (I left school) maybe about 15. What happen is that I was living with my grandmother and these people came up there. This high sophisticated man came up there one day to my grandma. You could see he look rich and stuff. I was 14 going on 15 so. He telling my grandmother that someone was telling him that she have this young girl here and he would like somebody to be a big sister for his children and he would like to adopt me and ...yeah that what he said and my grandmother would not let me go”

Angela goes on to explain that her grandmother took her to church with her every Sunday and would have missed her for this reason.

“In the end, to cut a long story short, she eventually let me go with him, but ask him to make sure I come back to see her every weekend to go to church Sunday.”

Angela explains that the gentleman was living in Anguilla and that he was a doctor. She goes on to explain that

“he went away on a Father’s Day trip with his wife and they never saw them again. Fifteen years ago. It was really traumatic, you know?”

“She (grandmother) tell the lady to make sure I come back every Saturday night to go to church Sunday. And that was going on for years. All at 17, 18 years I still going to her. Even though I was like a big sister to the kids, she (the lady of the house) still had me doing a maid work. Although they sent me off to typing school, which I did well. I had my own room. They are society people, so they always have guests coming from overseas staying there and I was always the one setting table, cleaning all the silvers, polishing the floors and all those kinds of jobs. And then afterwards the lady had become kind of loudmouthed to me and kinda like using me, you know? ...Instead of I being their big sister I became like their mom. She throw everything on me for me to do, so they (the children) eventually start to love me. Yeah, we had a nice relationship. Even now as they are older we kinda close especially the eldest girl”

9.2.1 ESTABLISHING HER OWN FAMILY

Angela goes on to relate her experiences in young adulthood and how she came to start her own family.

“So then after I was there living with them... I went to Tortola to visit my sister. My sister living down there. I stayed down there for a few years with her. Then I left (when I was) in my early 20s and came back up (to Anguilla). This man living in (district named) ...I fall in love with him and we make a little relationship there. I was in Anguilla and then I went off back to Tortola. I came back (Anguilla) and came together and I get first girl. Stay here, had her went back when she was about 3 months.

Because (by now) I was working in a store down there (Tortola). And then back and forth. Back here stay a while again and get pregnant with a boy. Didn’t went back then though. Years after went back and then finally I stayed here altogether with him.”

The father of Angela's children was a tradesman. His family appears to have been one of some substance. The life chances of her children, therefore, immediately improve. There is now likelihood that the cycle will be broken. Angela continues,

"It was a better life altogether for me because he move in with his dad. He was like one of those big men in Anguilla so it was better for me. He had a big house. Children was well taken care of. Nice life and everything and love dad, grandfather, out of this world. And we had a good life there with him and then things started to change."

Angela's escape from want and deprivation is relatively short-lived. This is due to a life event that takes place in the family,

"the grandfather died. The mother for him now wanted me not to live in the house. So there we got to move up and down."

Again, the preoccupation with social status emerges.

"She start saying all kinda things like she don't want me there because I black and all kinda things. It was a whole long history. Oh and then the other daughter she did not come brown (skin colour) and they was saying it wasn't his, you know? All kinda confusion start... She has three red (skin colour) ones and one black one too. So I saying if my little black one didn't belong to (your son) then what of your one?"

She (daughter whose paternity was disputed) is now in university...Have two scholarships and this other one here (daughter who was at home at the time of interview) she did a major in (a technical discipline) and she was on the Dean's List in the USA... and they did so well and they try to motivate themselves. They went to school here. They went to primary school. They went to high school and then from there... After this one got Grand Scholar in CXC. She was able to get a scholarship and go off to university of her choice.

She choose Norway. She got a scholarship from Norway and is at university doing pretty well. And this one in California (the one currently at home), she on the Faculty List and majoring in a technical discipline."

9.2.2 LIFE AND ITS UNPREDICTABILITY

Angela says that this daughter has met a major setback. She explains,

"she came down for holidays and now she can't go back because government is saying things are gone bad and they have no money and can't renew her scholarship. They say they have no money,.... She don't know where to try and things so bad with us" (the family).

“The third one (daughter) she is just 12. She is for another man that I met.” The first father she explains started to neglect his children through heavy involvement in smoking and drinking.

“He is a big tradesman, huge. One of the top. Yes, they couldn’t touch him. He was recommended all over the world. Big society people come around and leave jobs with him. He gone somewhere in St. Thomas, New York or somewhere like that. All about. He was in rehab and stuff.”

According to Angela her first daughter is 23. The second is 20

“...and I have a boy, you know? I have a boy between the two (girls). He turn out like his dad. He is a Rasta... and his grandfather was a ...and he took that too, smoking and stuff. Right now he is not doing very well because Anguilla does not have any jobs...but he can do some of everything.

Angela’s daughters seem to be caught between the socially leveling and progressive influence that education has had on their lives and their mother’s social origins. Angela continues,

“So basically...the girls when they go off to school they on their own, but if they come back they are here, you know? And they feel a little degraded having to come to a place like this (her house in a state of disrepair). That is most embarrassing for they young and they have friends, but they can’t invite their friends here. (The house although in a state of disrepair in places is not broken down or in extreme dilapidation).

I don’t try to go along with them and make them know I feel the same way. I mean, they deserve a better life right now. The second girl want me to go out and rent a place, but I don’t want to go no where far from the last girl (lives with her father’s family)

I want to know I am near because me and she is very close. I have never been anywhere far from her in my life...She wants to know when she wants me she can walk to me... the girl’s father is into construction...but right now he has nothing to do. So he is there just killing fowls and that’s the little money he makes now, not that he won’t get something later on.”

This comment carries the conversation to the presence of a sizable number of foreigners doing construction work in the country. Angela says that right now the government is under fire for the presence of these workers at a time when Anguillians want employment and can’t get it. As she puts it,

“Anguillians can’t get no work (because of these people) Asians, Guyanese, Indians, all kind. They say that when they were giving the jobs Anguillians did not want it because of the money they was paying them and now they can’t get them back out.”

The conversation returns to Angela’s house. She says,

“...let me tell you something. This whole place was a business place. It belonged to a lady that was very close to me. And after things was getting hard for me with the same father of these children, she tell me, ‘ I ain’t got the best place, but stay until you can find somewhere nicer to live...I was here twice. The first time I came here the children was very young and we stayed here for 3 years. But we stayed here for nearly... must be 6 years now. If you count them altogether is nearly 10 because I came here and then I went somewhere else and they brunt me around and brunt me around; I was tired and fed up. So I decided no care how it is, I going stay here. Something better (will come).”

Angela has appealed to the Governor for help. He in turn referred her to the Welfare Department. Again the lack of clarity as to the role of this department emerges, with the Governor seeming to expect one outcome and the Department seeming to produce another

“So I went to the Governor and said Governor please come help me with the situation living because the whole house going break down on us...something going to happen. He wrote back to tell the Welfare to assist me. They gave me some little chairs and a bed. That is not what I looking at. Because the rain came through here and it wet up...and it rotten out. So I have to get rid of that. I was talking about finding house, a little piece of land to build something on. That is what we looking at mostly. Some people was telling me they was looking from outside and how the house look bad. If the house fall down on me they would put you someplace else to stay, but nothing came out of that ... I even call the (another official) ...she tell me she going to help, but I ain’t see nothing yet, so...”

9.2.3 HEALTH AND EMPLOYMENT

Angela’s already weak position on the labour market was made worse by an accident she had that has affected her health and therefore her ability to work. Angela had been a store clerk most of her working life. As she puts it,

“basically stores. I have worked in stores a couple years well. I did some work there. I am basically now doing a little baby-sitting job, which is the only thing my mind could rest on because I had an accident some 7 years ago and I got a bad lick in the back of my head. So I had to go to doctor several times a week because my face was swollen big...which it still...see here. I got a lick in here. A hole was in my face. I went and I had different kinds of scans, all kinds of therapy sessions and stuff.

The doctor say I am not capable of working no longer...because of my nerves. One minute I am good, the next talking pure stupidity. I am not capable of doing no job for no one at no establishment. If ah doing a job and ah feel like a can’t do no more ah stop, take a couple of hours off. It can’t be no long-

term thing. So is mainly what I am doing right now. If is a maid job and they ask me I will go and help them clean, when I feel good. If I am not feeling good I am not going anywhere, because I will do things that I don't even know that I do."

Her ability to work is also affected by inherited hypertension.

"I went to the doctor and the pressure went so high, over 100 and something 140/165. But I got alright again. Sometimes (my vision) really does blurred. So I am not capable of going into work. Nervousness. Sometimes a car past and it make a little loud noise, ah scream out... I find myself cussing about things that I would (normally) bypass. I am easy to get emotional, very scary. All of that (information) is in the paper from my doctor."

9.2.4 COPING

So how do you live, money, clothes and so on? She replies,

"Sometimes I don't have. Up to last week there, nothing! No sugar, etc. But how I get by is sometimes by my second daughter, because of what she did (academically) she will always have a job in Anguilla working with government. So she give me a little something. And then my boyfriend I have with the last little girl. He know I have the child so he make sure she get something to eat, if chicken or whatever else. He is very qualified so even if he don't have a big job for a year or so he would always have a little job; if is electrical. He gets electrician work and all those sort of things. Fix people this and whatever. So that is basically how I get by, but is not always. Sometimes bills can't be paid. I call them and ask them to hold them for me. Always finding myself in the position of calling the company people to ask them to hold them for me because I can't keep myself above water."

Angela says her first daughter used to work at a lawyer's office before she went to university *and*

"Hopefully if she had gotten a green card she would have gotten a job to do all now. "But she can't get nothing... but I ain't giving up. There is somebody somewhere praying for her, you know? She could get a job here if she had completed her studies. She could get a job working at the bank. She is very highly qualified. But maybe just as she start to work, something (scholarship renewal) and she have to leave it. I hope something come through for her. I hope it do. I pray that this day will be a good day for her or a good week...something positive. Something would come up. Somebody would call."

Her present dwelling, according to Angela, belongs to a friend of hers. She explains that it was her friend's mother's business place. Angela goes on to explain how the business used to work. She is then asked why she has not set up a business. Her reply,

“they ain’t give me no permit. You can’t get anything in Anguilla unless you go through the government. And they will look at your style of life and decide if they will give it to you or not. Everybody for themselves now. They becoming greedy, but not only that they becoming thief. See what you have and envy you. You have to be careful now. They not working and everybody want... and they will take what you have. They will take up what can sell to make money for themselves. They wicked...they pushing drugs...”

9.2.5 HER LIFE IN RETROSPECT

In looking back at her life, Angela reflects in a way that underscores the importance of not assuming that material insufficiency equates to unhappiness. According to Angela,

“I would not say I was the worst of the worst eh? You always have someone who was worse than me eh? But I reminisce about back then. But you had some good times growing up with some good siblings. We had some nice times growing up. Back in St. Croix and St. Kitts village we had some of the nicest clothes and shoes. We was like the top of the list. Me mom had a boyfriend in St. Croix. In dem days little money was big money. She used to send us boxes of stuff and we were the only children come out in these nice dresses, in they hats and shoes and socks to match. I mean, we used to be feeling like we was kings. My mom, she tried hard with us you know? Those things, memories, don’t go away. They stay with you, you know?”

9.2.6 HOPE IN HER CHILDREN

She compares these feelings of happiness with her current state of mind. The innocence of childhood has been replaced by the sobering reality of adult responsibility in a situation of quite limited capability.

“Here now, today, is just like sometimes you sit down, you wonder where you going. You ain’t seeing no way, nothing, you know? Of course sometimes people would give you a little something, your friends, you know? With children – a little dollar – you use that to get a little food today, but you ain’t want that every day. You could snap today, tomorrow, you don’t know how you stand. The future could be hopeful if you have it in your mind that kinda way.

Hopeful. You got to be hoping that things could be bright one day, always praying, hoping, but right now as me seeing it, it dark. Well the children might be the prospect. Because I know especially my second girl she can’t go back down. There is no way she can go down no more. If she stop work now she going to be always (employable). Right now she have certification that could give her a job anywhere in the world. She is doing accounting at Brent University in Norway. She just got the overall highest out of 200 students.

My girl (other daughter) get the highest class mark in technical subjects. They are straight A children... She does tell me things like mummy if I come out of university right now I am set. So whatever it is I don’t know, but I hope she will stay there as long as possible. If she could get that continued certification, she will get a scholarship or something that she can go into her Masters without having to

pay for it. So she got that too. She got that free she don't have to pay for it. It's awarded to her because of her grades."

"For five years she has to work here for the government and then she can go on her own. So she going to have to work for the government today. I wish this one (daughter who has returned home and has not had her scholarship renewed) was like that because the one that gone up she was a kind of subtle person who don't want to work. She say whether she work or she don't work she going to get pay because she already awarded that. But this one want to work and she is the one sitting at home. But the other want don't want to go and she feel that whether she go or not they have to pay her.

She was a civil servant for a year here also. So that was able to help her to go off now to further... because she work for the government. The government here is not gonna give you money unless you work for them. You have to work for them. If you is a part of them they will look out for you, but if you never work for them before you is like a blacklist coming up. Hoping that the second one... that if God spare her life that she grow up to be an adult, a woman, as I see it from her I can see that she look for her own mother. Because I see little things that she doing for me. She want to make sure I happy: mummy come use the Internet; you don't know how to use it? You could talk to me. She will buy a hook up so I can speak to her. If she gone and hear I ain't feeling good (she asks) mummy what is wrong with you? I can't study. Don't tell me things like that – those kinds of things (sighs)."

9.2.7 POVERTY ALTHOUGH CHRONIC CAN BE DYNAMIC AND SUBJECT TO TEMPORAL VARIATION

For some households the inability to meet basic needs is a constant condition. For others the inability is distributed temporally. Here, poverty has a seasonal and a life cycle dimension. Angela's experiences seem to demonstrate both types of variation. This emerges when she is queried as to the schooling of her children. Angela is asked if she had any variations during the school years of her eldest children.

She replies,

"tell you the truth, yes, yes. They had went to school sometimes with nothing to eat. I told them always pray eh? Always be like a prayer person from young. Drink some water and you going feel better in the morning. Somewhere God is going to send a Daniel. My little boy was like a Daniel. I used to send him out like to talk to people and they would give him money because sometimes with children they feel for you more than not. That's what I tell the kids, you talk to the person. I could only go... they looking on me as a big ole woman.

You go they does see it in your eyes. Sometimes you go on the phone to talk to somebody they hearing you on the phone they seeing how your emotions... You go and you sit with them, they feel that they will help you. So the little boy would go and he would go and he would ask for some foodstuffs and somebody bring him back some foodstuff and a little money. Even from the Chief Minister right now he has always been there. He ain't come to look for me to see how my house is, but for the little children I know if is EC\$100 or \$50 he would never turn his back on me. I mean sometimes he don't always have it, but when it comes to the kids he would see to it that they get something to eat. That's one thing

about him. God bless him. I hope he don't leave from where he is because who might be going there might be worse than him.

But now as a big woman I will go to him. I call him Cousin Simon. I say Cousin Simon I ain't got no (money) to make food. He say, well I don't have it to give you, but I give you some. He helped, you know? So I really wish him all the best... They say he is not running anymore, but let God continue to be with him and bless him. He still be a good somebody even if they not working."

"I am not a budget person... I don't have that kind of money that I know that every month I will get this (say) \$300 to go and shop. No. It don't go that way cause sometime I don't even have it to even go in the shop. So as soon as I get a little \$20 I go and buy something to put in my house.

Everyday I go so I don't have no special budget for foodstuff. The current electricity bill that look like \$200-300. Sometimes the children have Internet and they got to be doing school work whether here or friends wherever they go. The cable bill? That comes and goes. The cable bill can be \$400-\$500 sometimes. That is Internet and wireless. The cable by itself can be \$120. It can be high, it can be low. When the kids around is plenty when is only me it does stay low...but as I told you sometimes I don't pay it I make it go into the next month. And they will call and ask when I think I can pay it and I will tell them the 15th or so."

Poverty can be seasonal as well. The earnings of the poor might fluctuate according to the variable availability of income earning opportunities over the course of a year. Angela states,

"sometimes there is a job at... (foreign concern) and they does pay like (US) \$3. I can earn like \$200-\$300 and that is US and I can pay off my bills. But how often that does be? Is usually around Christmas time, but sometimes is only for one child (babysitting). If you get two or three children, man the hours that you get, you get a good \$800-900 US. Angela says this kind of employment is seasonal.

She continues,

"right now it's going to get worse because the amount of people coming in is getting less. But you see if you nice the people call you back eh? So that's how I been getting jobs. I have been nice to the kids and the parents... once you please the kids you please the parents you know? It's not about pleasing parents, they don't care; it's all about how the children feel. They love me and I love them and I make them happy, they call you back. I have a guest that the children are now big. I don't sit for them anymore, but they come where I am. (Saying) you are my babysitter etcetera, etcetera, they want to take me back with them. So you will be recommended very highly, I am, so."

Angela's seeming inability to access decent housing is, perhaps, one of the chief markers of her status as a poor person in Anguilla. While the need is not as pressing as food, it signals her lack of entitlement and limited capability in her own society. It marks her as socially excluded in a society preoccupied with social status. Angela says:

“...basically, it about the old house. No privacy you got to be using the outside to bathe and everything else, you know? It falling apart fast.”

Angela says an official told her she was

“on the list for the eight people they gonna help (with housing). I want to know what’s the use of them telling me about help (since none is forthcoming).”

At the end of the interview we discover that Angela’s daughter who has returned from college has been at the back of the house all along. Angela explains that she is embarrassed about the house and feels uncomfortable for me, a stranger, to see her there so she has kept out of sight. The household seems to feel particularly concerned about the bathroom facilities that the house offers. Angela proffers the following,

“I try my best it’s not easy. The last time I spoke to them I told them I know how they are feeling. I feel bad too.” She says she told them, “If they are young adults and they are growing up and they feel they don’t want to live in this place anymore find a little place and rent it and you know have their friends come over and do whatever they want to do. They don’t have to come back to live here in this kind of mess you know? The second girl, not this one, I wouldn’t want to put her in this either because she is getting older and she has friends, you know? So she should look about a little place for all of us to rent. Right now the landlord is so greedy about their rent. They are like hawks.”

Currently she pays nothing for the house. She says I used to pay and the people tell me the place is so bad it’s best to go. The other day a big chunk of cement drop out from the roof.

In conversation with the young lady herself she explains that her scholarship was only for two years in the first instance but the degree was for four and she had expected it to be renewed. She closes by saying, *“I do have faith about doors opening and so on. I never give up.”*

9.3 CASE STUDY3: JUNE, THIRTY-THREE-YEAR-OLD MOTHER OF 10 CHILDREN

June comes from a family of ten children fathered by five different men. For all the love and support provided by the relatives of her parents, she herself has repeated her mother’s reproductive experiences, a not uncommon occurrence and an important mechanism in the transmission of poverty across generations. In this case though, there is an obvious social differentiation between her parents. Interestingly, June chose to repeat the reproductive behaviour and hence social position of the socially disadvantaged parent. The socio-psychological basis of her choices warrants further investigation. They would tell policy-makers much about the strategies of intervention necessary to break the cycle. The following is the account of her life experiences that she provided.

9.3.1 EARLY YEARS AND FAMILY BACKGROUND

June was born in Anguilla to a mother who was a laundry worker and a father who was a hotel manager in St. Maarten.

“I am the fifth sister. I am the third of my mother’s children. My mother make 10 children altogether and the last set to the last boy was a twin.”

June reports that her mother had these children for five different men.

“I grew up in Spade Town with my grandmother (father’s mother). I grew up here. Things was rough with my mother and stuff like that so...”

Her father, she explains, was originally from Anguilla but worked as a manager in St. Maarten. Of her brothers and sisters she says,

“well aahm, we grew up in different houses but my sister both me and she by mother and father, we grew up together. We grew up close.”

Growing up with her grandmother she says,

“...was a good life. A good experience. I was grew up as a Christian and very strict. I get love and everything that I want because my aunts and them used to support me too because they didn’t have any children. It was me, my grandmother and my uncle. My aunt used to live in St. Maarten. One of them used to live here close.

My aunt who used to live in St. Maarten used to buy me things, my father’s sisters. And my mother’s family used to give us (too). I was brought up in a Christian home, but very good. In my childhood they was very strict and everything, but I learnt a lot. Nuff food to eat, nuff clothes to wear, toys everything.”

June says she went all the way up to high school.

“I went in (up to) fourth grade. I did my first exam. I was successful. I was very bright going to school, come top of my class. I take part in Spelling Bee. I used to be a monitor. I participate in shows, write dramas and stuff.

I grow with one sister that was close to me and a brother, but the rest was close to me too, but one sister I tell you was really close to me growing up, but the rest was smaller. I am the third of my mother’s children. Two boys before me. The rest younger than me.”

9.3.2 MAKING HER OWN FAMILY

Research in the area suggests that precocious sexual activity on the part of young girls is strongly associated with the absence of a father or father figure in the life of the girl. June continues her story.

“I was 16 making 17. I got pregnant that’s why I had to leave school.” Why did you get pregnant so early. “Well you know sometime when you young, and you like ...a fellow come up to you and he really love you and stuff like that. That is the truth, you know? Sometime ... that happen to you unfortunately, you know? (If that did not happen) I would have finished me school and go on to college.”

June then mentions a second factor. “You know growing up with old people they didn’t tell you much things about sex. Nowadays children watching T.V. they take family planning and stuff. My grandmother didn’t tell me nutten because she was a older head.”

“The father of the child he was from St. Kitts.”

June explains that the man was working in Anguilla.

“She (her daughter) lives in St. Kitts. She is a bright girl also. That child is now 15 years old. All of the bigger children they are bright, thank God. The smaller ones they are ok too.

“After I had this child I stayed home and my father had to look after me and then ahhm I make another one and after that I went out to work. Two children I make with him. After I was living with him. I left me grandmother and went to live with him... for really and truly when he met me he met me on a job. I was babysitting for somebody. I was babysitting a little girl. It was 13 years I started to work, babysitting and doing all kinds of different jobs, yeah. Well he had come home and met my parents before I had the child, but my mother didn’t want to ahmm (was not in favour of the relationship).

After the child I went out to work. I used to work at a restaurant as an assistant chef making pasta and stuff like that. I worked there about two years. After that well ahmm I used to (left the job to) help my sister with her kids and stuff like that. I make ten children altogether. I used to take family planning but they had messed me up so I come off of it. Left up to me I wouldn’t did make all them kids, but thank God... I can say when Jesus Christ come at least I don’t have to answer...I don’t have no sin to answer like for throwing away no children (chuckles).”

Research elsewhere in the region has indicated that one of the factors underlying this type of reproductive behaviour on the part of men and women in the Caribbean has to do with their differential labour market status. The man enjoys a favourable position in the primary labour market relative to the woman. Her own disadvantaged position places her in a position of vulnerability and leaves her open to the overtures of working men.

The advantageous position of men vis-à-vis women in the primary labour market also introduces an element of instability in the relationships between men and women since there is always a pool of needy women open to the overtures of the working man. The account of the unstable nature of the relationship between poor men and women in Caribbean society is completed by the fact of the low, inconsistent earnings that accrue to men in primary labour market. This makes him able to make overtures and initiatives that more often than not he is unable to sustain. June continues her story.

“The ages (of her children) is from 15 right down to 2 months. The oldest girl is 15 and the last baby I make is 2 months. I make those children with ahhhmm three, four gentlemen. The reason why I never settle down with a man?...I'd been glad to settle down with a man. You know how things (go)... most of them like to run plenty woman and stuff... and want to get on with me abusing me and so...cuss me...they never did like beat me or nothing, although one I had, two I had hit me once, but the rest don't really hit me. One he wasn't hit me but he wasn't... no money. One... I left all a dem when a woman don't make no progress. Cussing me, you lose my respect. I like people that work together with me. If you say you working well then put aside \$2... then we can buy a piece of land, build a house or get married. Not working, squandering all. Get pay and doing something else. Man working, you men got tricks you know... they say they working.

Otherwise differently from that, the last one I had was a decent Christian man. Them ain't men who would get in violence in drugs and things like that. They were responsible when it come pon them children. No joke about that. Them responsible when it come to them kids, that is one thing them love them a lot. Them responsible for themselves and them children. If them have a piece of land them will save that fi them children. Dem don't really care about getting me inheriting. I had men that love them children. Right now my last children father he building a house in St. Vincent with them. The rest a them have land fi dem children.”

“Most of my children I make them one for one man two for the other. So I don't give them no load of children. I make one girl and after that all was boys. (Laughs) Till the last one, the tenth one was a girl. I make one girl first and the rest was boys. I even make she first and the rest was boys. She get accustomed to boys. I bring as much as boys as I get... I didn't throw them away, thank God. Till God bless me with a little girl.”

“I love all me children. I ain't mind them gone with people and spending time with people, but I want them all to live with me. Dem children had only went away because I had get sick; otherwise they would have never go away. I get like run down. I ketch a cold and thing after I make my baby. I get wet, man, a learning cold. 'Cause I eat good, you know? I does cook good. I does eat good things. But my family what I cook dem does cook.”

9.3.3 FAMILY AND THE LABOUR MARKET

June explains that she left her job at the restaurant to help her sister take care of her children. After that she did the same for another sister.

“All those children some of them out of school now and even have their own children. I love to take care of children. I love children on a whole. I used to work in (another) restaurant. I used to work in a clothes store. I also used to work on a beach weaving tourist’s hair.

I am a struggler. I like to achieve my own things in life. If I got to go somewhere and you are my husband and you tell me you are coming back for me, I wouldn’t wait for you to come; I catch my lift and go. That is the type of person I is. I self-conscious.”

9.3.4 LOSING HER CHILDREN

June’s children have been taken away by the state. The relevant agencies have decided that the conditions under which she and at least one of the fathers of her children live are not suitable for the well being of her children. She has coped well emotionally with the decision, although, understandably, she has been deeply hurt by it. June gives the appearance of a woman with above average intelligence and she has used this to analyze aspects of the decision that appear to her to be unprincipled, unkind and unjust. Her account of the affair is informed; some measure of understanding of the way in which the state’s definition of her as an unsuitable mother might have had more to do with her situation of social disadvantage than her personal qualities.

She suggests that perhaps an approach informed by a little more caring might have led to the provision of help and support on the part of the social agencies that would have led to the creation of circumstances appropriate for the upbringing of her children. A variation on this argument is one that suggests that having removed the children from her control the agencies might have worked with her to ensure the attainment of the conditions they consider proper for the rearing of children.

The other side of the argument is that in these matters the safety and well being of the child rather than the emotional impact of the decision have to assume priority. Still, the bond between mother and child is quite fundamental to society and short of some irredeemable *personal* quality should be respected by the social agencies that have to make these decisions.

In these matters as well it is sometimes difficult to separate what might be deemed a psycho-emotive deficiency on the part of the parent from the social and economic situation of the parent. Indeed what might be perceived, say, as negligence on the part of the parent might have its basis more in social and economic insufficiency than the emotional or psychological makeup of the person. Every effort should be made to distinguish between

these factors as they provide indication of the extent to which the situation facing the parent and the children might be correctable.

While personal qualities are a little more intractable, an individual's social and material circumstances do not necessarily remain static, but can vary over time. A household that is below the poverty line today might very well rise above it in six months or one year's time. If administrative decisions are merely based on point in time assessment of the circumstances of a household that allow for no monitoring and follow-up then they condemn the parent for an eternity when the problem faced by the household might have been of a temporary nature brought on by personal crisis of some sort. June may or may not be living in material and social circumstances that are conducive to the proper personal development of her children; that depends on how these circumstances are defined and how her circumstances are interpreted by the officials involved. There is, however, a case to be made for these decisions to be subject to review and for the circumstances of the parent to be monitored over time.

9.3.5 JUNE'S ACCOUNT AND FEELINGS ABOUT THE LOSS OF HER CHILDREN

For June the loss of her children is the matter of the moment in her life. She is at present living by herself. Her children are living with other people. The question: "How come they have taken your children away from you?" June responds as follows,

"They ain't really take away my children you know? Cause the time with the boy, dem two children had to go because I was sick nuh. I was sick and this last one, the boy, the three of them went like that. The rest here was raised with me with me sister. The one time I had left them with they godfather ...the godfather try to molest them, so the Welfare had come down on me; remember I had nowhere to stay (house destroyed by fire)... the Welfare man didn't want... I went to my sister to live with her... The magistrate was for we, so he say is better they live with a stranger than with somebody else. He kinda strict when he ready (Welfare). I ain't got no problem with him, but one thing I don't like for them to be doing is taking away my children

The children, she says, feel bad about not living with her.

"Dem hate that. One time we had to go court my little boy he felt so bad he didn't want to go there. Dem children they don't enjoy those things, going court, going court. The children get tired of court man. And dem love to live with me cause I am not a person who love to beat up my children and everything. One thing if my children father give me money... one thing I will shop for all. That's the way I is. When I get my \$400 I shop for all too. I will never left them hungry.

One thing my gentleman that I had here when it comes on food... dem does shop. Even if dem don't give me the money in meh hand dem does shop, that's one thing. And sometimes dem give me a little money to buy wha' I want. Most of the times dem shop dem don't left me hungry."

June's present situation appears to be the culmination of a downward spiral brought about by early motherhood, a lack of preparedness for the labour market compounded by the responsibilities of motherhood, lack of family resources and support, in a situation where it is quite likely that some of the fathers of her children might not have been supportive in either an emotional or material sense. This is a case of social disadvantage reinforcing itself. The instability in her life is exemplified in the amount of physical moving she has done. She continues her account:

"That is the main problem. I want a permanent house where my children father could come one of these days and talk with them or all of them. I ain't got no permanent house. I ain't got no land. Most of my children father dem ain't from here, dem from away so land and those things away. And my family didn't have no land. Because if meh family had had land I woulda get piece long time. If my mother did have land if the government did plan to build a house for me she woulda give me land to build a house. She wouldn't have want us to be on the street. Cause I got plenty children.

The government people is good people you know, but I just need them to give me a permanent shelter, not one where you have to every minute, move, move, move. And I want it like somewhere where I could get meh shop, you know. I don't want to be too far where if something happen to meh or meh children you too far nobody to round to call. You understand what I mean huh? And I don't want it to be too close to people either. People come down on you and mind you business."

Do you expect to get a house?

"Them can't make me live in none of these houses here (run down houses, in one of which she is temporarily living). They never offer me a house on meh own. They give me a shelter. These houses that push-down dem looking... Ah trying to get a piece of land. Even if it means from one of the houses that push-down."

"For I even speak to the Governor. The Governor say he would speak to the Minister. I really have to go back and see if he speak to them, if they could give me a little piece of land and build a little shelter for me. It ain't have to be no big place, one bedroom a kitchen and a hall. At least give me a jump start. Huh? If I have to work now I really can't afford to work and pay for no house now. When they ready to push down the house whe I going do I will be on the street?"

How did you come to be living in this house?

"The government get me this house like to live in because they had to push down the one that I living in before. I ain't had no shelter. They put me there to stay cause I ain't have nowhere to live. (Before that she was living) "...with meh sister. But meh sister place ain't my place. Cause people when they ready they ain't easy you know? Your own spite you harder than ... huh? Huh? (laughs at the irony).

She ain't really put me out, but the place was small. The place was small. She is a big woman. She need her place. All of us jumble up on one another? I went out to help mehself, you know? The place was small I had two of meh children. She had one little small room, but now she extend it."

June went to live with her sister because of a personal crisis. The house in which she used to live was destroyed by fire.

“Me and a friend used to rent that place, three bedroom... I (therefore) had nowhere to stay.”

June explains that she lost everything in the fire, compounding her situation of deprivation.

“In life, I like my sister, my mother, child and thing. When I used to work she used to live with me. A lot of people used to live by my grandmother house. I am a good gal, I mightn't be rich but I got good ways, you know? I like to share what I got and I like to help. You have some people like that but when it come 'pon me now (her time to get help) now it hard (laughs at the irony).”

So you used to provide help for them? *“My sister and dem...”*

Where were you living?

“With meh grandmother when I working. They used to pass where I working. I give she shelter and I take her boy to live with me, but my mother throw them out. So that's why she look out for me. She still good to me because she remember I was looking out for her.”

Are there many people in this country that don't have housing?

“Not really. Most Anguilla people dem does work hard and go to the bank and buy them land and build them house. But you got some that ...even the man that live in that board house there say he trying to get it fix but he can't afford to pay \$500. Some Spanish people had want like a house to live.

Other people tell me that them want here to live. Most people, once them working them can pay them rent, but you got some people in Anguilla things really hard with them. Things hard with me. Things hard with who working, what say who ain't working (laughs) Everybody crying. All around now... Sometimes you gotta eat less to survive (chuckles). Save up something for another day. My mother used to tell me you got to tie your belly sometimes, like eat less so you could get through life.”

How do you think your life has been?

“Sometimes things is rougher than other times, but my life is ok. Thank God for life you know, cause wherever you meet life sometime you got things good and bad with everybody. Don't care who you be and where you come from, you know? That's why I say give God thanks and praise. Say thank God. Tomorrow you ain't got you still have to thank him. He will provide. I gonna try to get my life on a good track again so I can work for what I want in life. Inherit my own stuff.

I would like to do a Nursing Aide job. Go back to school. Get some more subjects and qualifications and take a course in computer also. And go to the bank, borrow some money buy a piece of land and build a house for meh kids. That's wha I will do. That is my goal, yeah. To get my own things in life,

because my own ...I wouldn't have no favourites (among her children) to say leave this for that one and that for other.

But meh girl child they go on their way and get them own. For the house will pass on from generation to generation. Even if I ... I will never tell my children that this is for that and that is for that. Everyone must work and get them own. If I could give them a little help I will give them a little help. If I have money...I will do that."

So you trying to get back your children right now.

"Yes, I going to go by the Public Works people to get help to fix one part of the roof. I going to try and get a back hoe to push down all these bushes. The Welfare Man complaining about all kinds of surrounding. So since he say... I going clean, it clean it down. I will see what is the next step with he."

June compensates in her mind for the negative perception she feels is held of her by the state officials through a reassertion of her fundamental personhood, devoid of its place in a social hierarchy that she feels has devalued it.

"But I believe in my heart ...as I tell he already...I don't care what dem think about me. Cause Jesus know me. Once I am fit with Jesus, I don't care about them (chuckles,) dem is only man like me and you. This is just the outside, the clothes. Once God know the heart and the mind you don't got to care about people. Because you could do good for people and they say bad things about you.

If you do 99 and you don't do the hundred is like you never do nutten! Cause you got some people dem come from well off family...dem don't treat them children good. You have some women put on them nails, chain all kinda thing and left dem children and gone. I make sure that my children have food first to eat and tonic to drink.

If people want children dem must go and make dem You could lose you life making children (chuckles). I say you could lose you life because is life and death eh? I don't care what they do. I will do what I got to do first cause they got some people...I know people eh, but I just thinking positive. Once God is for me they going give me back my children... No man is greater than God."

June goes on to point out how her situation of need was ignored, or worse, used against her in the taking of her children.

"My children father does support them very good. They give me money to buy things for them. My last three children... before they give them away to these people, but the people is very good people, right... I wouldn't like to tell you (no lie). The magistrate lady and these people like all of them come from... she give in to these people like... left up to me I have family that well off and I don't even give my children to them, less for other people. I got family that well off and I don't give them my children when they ask me. I like the people whe my boy with, but I don't want nobody keep my children.

Don't come to me and complain and take away my children. The girl (her daughter) was away for a long time. He shoulda get it fix, cause she had three weeks in St. Kitts, he should a get it fix. So I talk about if he giving me he old house and saying this and that (Government should have fixed the house before giving it to her).

So some of the things it ain't my fault, but I could keep it in order and clean, which is the truth. You understand? But if them could help me with fix it with putting on bolts and thing... even send somebody to chop down the bush. I can't chop down the bush, you know wha ah mean? If I was working to pay somebody to clean down my yard I wouldn't have to ask them for nutten."

If you were to get back your children, you would have to get a job? June now begins to release some of her pent-up emotion.

"Who me? The fathers would support them. I would get a job when the girl come a little older. I would get a job (later) to help myself."

"I positive to get back my children. Then after I would like them to give me a better shelter with a concrete roof in more space, because me children want to come to look for me from St. Kitts. Dem can't come to spend time cause two bedrooms (is all she has now)..." Some people when they giving away my children is as if they want to leave me on the streets. But the Minister tell me no, they wouldn't do that. After you giving away people children, what people going think?"

What are you doing with yourself right now?

"Well I just taking it easy. I just hoping that I get back meh children and ah going take care of them. When the little girl become a little older I go and get a job and set up mehself, you know?"

June explains that she is

"fulling up government forms" in trying to get a job currently "...to get a steady job. But some people telling me that the government laying off people now. Dem cutting all salary...that's what people telling me."

During the course of the interview June had given a man some clothes to take somewhere. I asked her about it and she explained that she was sending it for her children and that the man was her baby-father. She explains that he cares for all her children, even those that are not his.

"Some men when they dey with you dem only care for dem children, but some men care for all your children. He is gone to make sure they have clothes and the boys go to the barber. Between he and meh aunt, meh aunt stay with them because she is a older lady. But them is big boys, dem don't want to stay with no auntie. Dem want to come by me and watch T.V. ...Dem is big boys, they got a lot of common sense. They soon gone on their own anyway. The welfare man (was foolish to take them away). (They are) ...nine and ten, but they got a lot of common sense."

I grow up my children with a lot of wisdom, knowledge so they could know wha' is wha'. I don't grow up my children like lunatics. If you come in my yard if you move this bucket he know that you is tiefing. You know? I does teach them cause I want them to learn them lessons...because their mother is a poor lady, you know?. She ain't got no financial job... to help them out. I make sure (they) going to school so they could learn their lesson so they could get a good job."

June explains that her father is still alive, but that he never used to support her. (It was) *"his sisters and his mother, yeah."* Her grandmother, she explains is dead.

"If my grandmother did living I would never be (in this situation). If she was living I would never be in anybody house where them ready to come and push it down."

Her grandmother's house June explains to be

"family problems. My aunt had made me move out. Tell me to go with my boyfriend. My grandmother did always want me to stay there... my grandmother never left me. When I is a big woman my grandmother used to cook and left food for me. She take good care of me. If she had land she woulda left piece for me that's what I know for sure. She died 10 years now. But my other mother had no land either, cause she only had a little piece and she say is for all her children. We ain't got no land."

9.3.6 JUNE'S TRANSNATIONAL FAMILY NETWORK AND THE MIGRATION OPTION

Her mother, she explains, has migrated. She explains that if her mother was in Anguilla she would have taken back the children from the homes to which they have been given by the Welfare Dept.

"She is that type of woman. She had say we take after our grandmother people, soft (laughs)...she is a clean woman too. She like to keep her surroundings... I come from clean, clean people. Always got them house clean and them surroundings clean. My mother used to live in a small house..."

She explains that she is like that too but sometimes she does not always have the proper facility to store her things. Her mother, she says, has not sent anything for her yet

"because she just went up last year. She has not got her money yet. She send a fifty pounds for me and the children. My sister (who is also in the U.K.) she bring down things for them in August. My sister tell me I could come England. All of them want me to come England. Four sisters up there in England." The sister that she grew up close with she says, "will put me on the plane tomorrow if I want to go from this struggle down here. My last brother was down here some... I got four sisters in England and two brothers. My grandfather died up there. I got my aunt up there, my uncle, a great uncle. I got sisters and brothers in the States too. Everybody does want me come away, but I like Anguilla, you know?"

But the real main basic thing that's why I still holding on here so long is to get a jump start. A little piece of land and a little shelter so when I go abroad now I could always send back money and build a nice house right (chuckles). And, when I come back I wouldn't have to live on the street."

Some people say they would be real glad if I go England they could push down the house without giving me anything. You ketch wha' I mean so that's the main basics why I am here. So I could build a little shelter so I could have for the children dem so at least if I go away and I return me and my children got a shelter, you understand? And I want to vote for this government what's in, next year.

That's what I here for also. Because they was good to me in life. I would like to get married first and settle down... but for sure even if I don't have no future husband the main problem is I want all meh kids from people so that when I going them will go too. I don't want to left back no children around with nobody, you ketch wha' I mean? So that's wha' got me here too, meh children. I have to fight to get them back so I have them with me when I traveling, we all go. Dem done got them European passport. Only the two youngest ones I got to work on them European passport. You understand?...We got European passport."

Even meh baby father want to go St. Vincent. I don't mind him going St. Vincent (with his child) but I ask he if he going bring him back cause I don't want no Welfare people ...he father raising him from year and months, he love his boy, but I still don't know the people in St. Vincent. I like meh children to be with me. Because when you children with people they do them all kinda thing you mightn't know what they will do dem. Some people will love them like them own, but you don't know what some people will do your children eh?

So when I walk I want to walk with the whole Brady bunch. I tell anybody if they love the cow they got to love the calf and if they don't want the calf they can't want the cow. I can't dey with nobody who don't love my children. My children come first. Even if I get a husband I will love he, but not better than my children.

Dem is my children. Because when I get old, you think it nice to have your children and the whole of Anguilla talking 'bout you having so much of children calling you all kinda thing to be giving away you children? All of them ... people want them children so when them get big them going take care of them Dem sleeping nice and good in the night with them children, I don't even sleep at night sometime. I mean I will sleep, but not fully sleep... is just that you miss your children, you know?

June continues in her analysis which suggests that social discrimination is a factor in the removal of her children by the state.

"Them come and give away the children and all of them come up inna matchbox house themselves. A lot of people in Anguilla them was poor before them get what them got to get. My children would come big and I would get a house just like how the rest ah people get. So nobody try and call me down them got to check themselves first. Everybody in Anguilla was poor. Everybody, all around people was poor.

Some people still come up a little better than others, but most of the time everybody around the Caribbean was poor; ain't it true? So that's what I trying to say. So anybody think they going call me down they make a wrong because I will call them down too (chuckles). You have to defend yourself. You think a girl working in a lawyer office better than me eh? You think I putting she before me (laughs)? You got to love yourself and who don't love you once God loves you, you don't care. You

might have this job that you have and people (pretend that they like you), but turn you back them dog whip you.”

...You deeds does come back to haunt you or else haunt you children. I hear people... oh them put him so. It ain't no voodoo, you know? God works things out in his own time. His own time, cause whatever goes around comes around. Let me tell you something.

People has done me wuss than them and when retribution start to lick em, them was worse off than me. The retribution was so hot them couldn't even stand it. So, in life let them keep doing what they got to do cause everyday bucket go ah well, but one day the bottom going drop down. So I don't worry what them doing...”

“I don't want my children going England. I don't want them going left me when I going them should be going. If them go by my sister and she wring them ears I going know. I just drawing a reference, I don't mean she going do that. That's the way I see it. For you never know who people is even if people ...the other boy, I find the man(with whom he satys) he better than the wife.

Because you know sometime you might take somebody child and you love them better than you real children and the wife might get a little jealous and thing, but my boy father tell the man my boy don't have to worry bout anything here cause he is the favourite and his mother got nuff land... I ain't got no favourite children cause I make so much of them. If I have ten dollars I share it equal for them. If I have two dollars I share it in one for each. I don't treat my children (with any favouritism). But everybody got favourite still, you know? Everybody.”

“When you sum it up, what do you think about your life? My life? I've had a good life. I never think I worse than anybody else, no matter what the circumstances might be. 'Cause sometimes a person might be driving a car and you go in their cabinet and it be empty... mine might be full, so don't judge people. Thank God for life and whatever comes, come. As I tell you when good times come you say Allelujah, when bad times you say thanks. I never give up on God. He see you through all the struggles, the test the trials.

You had this lady one time, she is a Christian she get up in the church and say one time, I wasn't there but somebody told me, that she only have chicken wings to give to her children, but she still give God thanks and praise so today now she could buy a pack (of chicken). So life is a thing you have to take it as it goes and comes (laughs). For example sometimes you and your wife might be on good terms, sometimes you and she could be on bad terms. Is just like that. Right now my baby father, he friends and them when them see me, them laugh and talk with me good. When them see him them saying something different, want him to lef' me.

So in life you meet a lot of obstacles. Sometimes you listen to friends and you get carried away in a relationship. Dem is friends, you believe them is for you, but them is against you. If you look for yourself sometimes you find out that you was wrong.”

The interview ends on a note that provides insight into June's makeup and understanding of life. It augurs well for the possibility that she can make the changes that are necessary in her life. Indeed, our entire conversation points to her as having a strong, robust personality that could very well overcome the limitations imposed on her by the circumstances of life in Anguilla and the wrong decisions she has made at critical junctures of her life.

“You got some people them mind very simple and very shallow, cause my cousin she put down her mother for a man. So she stop check her mother. Because some people them mind very simple and shallow. Anybody could deceive them. You know that, right? If you have a positive and a strong mind you gonna be a struggler and a survivor and everything, a person who can stand on you feet to fight any battle that come. Otherwise you will go down (chuckles). You got to be conscious, know what you are about. Eh?”

June's case also highlights the critical nature of the interplay between structure and agency for social outcomes. By now the iterative nature of the relationship between these two variables is well established. Structure shapes agency through constraint. Agency alters structure to the extent that space has been created for choice. Another way of conceptualising this relationship is to think of structure as impelling, but never compelling.

June's life has been impelled by social and psychological structures that because of her natural abilities she might have been aware of, but never fully understood. Social intervention along lines that bring these things to the fore of her consciousness while at the same time providing support and incentives that encourage her to make the right choices could very well bring out the eminently redeemable human being that she seems to be.

9.4 CONCLUSION

The phenomenological interviews have attempted to gain deeper insight into the picture of poverty produced by the statistical data and the community studies. The narratives of their lives produced by the respondents allow us gain insight into the ways in which biography and sociology intersect and reflect each other. The picture that emerges from these individual stories is of a society in which those at the bottom of the socioeconomic scale are experiencing some amount of difficulty in coping with the very changes associated with increased prosperity that the territory has experienced in recent times. These are persons who lack the requisite education and labour market skills to take advantage of the 'new economy' associated with the rise of Anguilla in the niche areas of the global economy of which it has been able to take advantage.

This mismatch between human resource capabilities and the needs of the Anguillian economy in the 21st century probably, given the historical pattern of the society's development, affects a significant enough constituency of the society. It has had a

particularly telling effect on the respondents that have been interviewed. These persons, it is evident, have been left behind by the most recent changes in the economic fortunes of the country. They, like many Anguillians, have a legacy of chronic deprivation. However, unlike those who have broken that tradition, their own immediate circumstances and the life choices and decisions that they and their immediate forebears have made have left the respondents faced with very challenging life situations. The case studies seem to suggest the continuation of a cycle of deprivation informed by a synergy of mating and family formation, lack of adequate labour market preparation, inadequate incomes and inadequate social agency support. It is in the interest of the society to break the cycle of poverty in which these individuals appear trapped. Indeed, some of them appear to have been stymied by circumstances beyond their control after making much headway in this direction. Breaking the cycle will only be possible through strategic interventions in the form of counselling, training and welfare based on official recognition of the inestimable value of human resources. Whether the resources or the will exist to enable such interventions to take place remains to be seen.

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