

A LAND TENURE REFORM PROPOSAL FOR
GRENADA, WEST INDIES FEDERATION

Thesis for the Degree of M. S.
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Ernest Payne

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ABSTRACT

A LAND TENURE REFORM PROPOSAL FOR GRENADA WEST INDIES FEDERATION

By

Ernest Payne

The Problem

The existing land tenure structure in Grenada poses a serious problem, but prior to this study no proposal has been presented in a serious effort to resolve this problem.

The following features show that a real problem exists:

1. The gross population density is very high.
2. Good cropland is very scarce.
3. There is a very high concentration of ownership of agricultural land--a higher concentration than existed in Japan and China before the major land tenure reforms effected in those countries between 1946 and 1950.
4. Land use is rather inefficient.
5. There are a large number of small subsistence farms as opposed to commercially oriented farms.
6. On occasions in the past agricultural workers of the large underemployed peasant class have resorted to rioting to promote their claims for better conditions.
7. The underprivileged segments of the society are being influenced by a surge of expectations which precludes prolonged satisfaction with very low levels of living and ineffective citizenship.

Procedure

Based primarily upon library references, the study proceeds through various problem solving stages including: recognition of the problem, a review of related factors, an analysis of alternatives, development and presentation of a land tenure reform proposal, and finally consideration of some of the features affecting the hypothetical implementation of the proposal.

Findings

The findings appear as a proposal embodying some 43 items, the salient features of which are presented below:

1. Land Consolidation

The proposal endorses consolidating of the small subsistence peasant holdings. It is suggested that a minimum farm size of 4 - 5 acres of cropland be adopted.

2. Land Settlement and Colonization

It is suggested that serious consideration be given to overseas land settlements to be colonized by surplus rural families. The nearby island of Dominica is recommended as first choice for settlements and it is indicated that enough land, credit and other facilities and opportunities be made available to help make the proposed settlements attractive.

3. Proposals to Make Opportunities to Use Land More Secure and Rewarding

It is recommended that in Grenada renewed efforts be made to provide farmers with agricultural credit and a more efficient

marketing system; it is also proposed that the Extension Service be reorganized. These three supporting measures are treated as vital sources of economic power.

4. Landlord-Tenant Relations

It is proposed that the Grenada Small Tenancies Ordinance of 1952 be revised to provide more security of tenure. In keeping with trends in other countries it is suggested that the percentage of tenancy be reduced, that tenancy contracts cover a period of three years, and that compensation be paid for all improvements made on farms by tenants. In addition it is proposed that efforts should be directed to improving housing for agricultural workers.

5. Cooperative Farming

It is proposed that cooperative principles be widely disseminated in Grenada and that cooperative farming be encouraged.

6. Land Redistribution

The proposal embodies land redistribution as an essential feature and provides for a significant modification of the plantation system involving a transfer of 20% of Grenada's total cropland from the plantations to peasant holdings.

The proposal recommends that plantation owners be protected for at least 20 years against further expropriation and that compensation paid them by government be controlled. Peasants would be expected to pay the same price for land that it was purchased for by government and would be allowed 30 years to complete payments.

7. Legislative Action

It is proposed that an Agricultural Land Adjustment law be enacted to provide for the establishment of the administrative machinery for the land tenure reform program. The proposal also recommends that a second law, the Farmers' Settlement Special Measures law, delineate goals and policies toward and under which the administrative machinery is to work.

**A LAND TENURE REFORM PROPOSAL
FOR GRENADA, EAST INDIES
FEDERATION**

by

ERNEST PAYNE

A THESIS

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The writer wishes to take this opportunity to thank cooperating teachers, the secretarial staff of the office of Extension Personnel Development, his wife, and Mr. Donald G. Carry of International Cooperation Administration for having contributed in many ways to help bring this study to a successful completion.

AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

The third of ten children of Dr. and Mrs. Charles Payne, the writer was born at Bridgetown, Barbados, West Indies, on 4th of November, 1925. He attended Harrison College and on completion of high school worked for nearly four years as Senior Field Assistant, Sugar Experiment Station, Georgetown, British Guiana, South America.

The writer attended the University of British Columbia, Canada, from 1943 to 1954 and graduated with a B.S.A. in May 1952. From 1952 to 1954 he worked and did part-time studies toward a M.Sc. in Community and Regional Planning, but accepted an appointment in the Department of Agriculture, Grenada, West Indies, prior to completing a graduate degree.

In Grenada he worked first as Cane Farming Officer, 1954-56; then as Land Use Officer, 1956-59; and subsequently as Agricultural Officer (General) -- equivalent to Chief of Extension. He commenced studies at Michigan State University in September 1960 after being awarded an International Cooperation Administration Scholarship.

In 1949 the writer married Miss Muriel A. Hinds, a concert pianist of some reputation in West Indian circles. Presently they have three children: Jennifer, age 10; Brian, age 8; and Catherine who is 6 years old.

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PART I: INTRODUCTION

The Purpose of This Thesis

This study is concerned with one of the most significant problems in Grenada--land tenure reform. A comprehensive study is made of the island's resources and a method to cope with this problem is proposed.

A secondary purpose stemming from the special interest of the writer is a study of the contribution that extension education can make to a land tenure reform programme.

Statement of the Problem

Part I states the problem and procedure. In Part II the general setting of the problem is depicted. A detailed discussion of the problem is presented in Part III, and at this time only a definition of the term land tenure reform and a brief outline of the Grenada problem is presented.

Land Tenure Defined

At the very beginning it should be indicated that what is currently considered as land reform in Grenada is little more than the purchase of small tracts of plantation land for cutting up and distribution to peasants. This approach was used first under the Land Settlement Scheme (21:13)

involving parcels of 1/2 acre to 2 acres per farmer, and later in modified form as the House and Garden Lot Programme^(21:14) involving parcels of 1/4 to 1/2 acres. Thus it becomes vitally important to begin with a definition of the term, land tenure reform, as it is used in this study.

Land reform involves a wide variety of programmes intended to strengthen and improve the opportunities of small farmers and agricultural workers by a redistribution of rights in land. This statement is well amplified by P. M. Raup:

Land reform at the hands of some writers has meant the expropriation of large land holdings (with or without compensation and their redistribution to farmer tenants, serfs, or laborers--nothing more....

In a broader sense, the concept of land reform is used in this paper to refer to the full range of measures that may or should be taken in order that the structures or relations among men with respect to their rights in land may be improved. In this broad sense the tenure can be paraphrased as "land tenure reform" and is here used to include the following types of reform:

1. Measures directly involving the tenure under which land is held:
 - (a) The promotion of ownership by the operator and the reduction of absentee landlordism.
 - (b) The regulation of rental rates and practices, and the enactment of lease protection laws.
 - (c) The consolidation into efficient-sized units of strip parcels and scattered holdings.
 - (d) The subdivision of large holdings.

(e) The control of land inheritance to prevent the excessive subdivision of holdings, or to discourage the accumulation of large holdings.

(f) The improvement of land surveys and systems of title registration.

2. Related measures essential to the success of land tenure improvements:

(a) The development of an effective agricultural extension service.

(b) The improvement in commercial and cooperative marketing systems in circumstances in which the structure of land ownership dominates or restricts the market outlets for products of land.

(c) Improvement in the conditions of agricultural labor under tenure systems in which land ownerships include some claim to the services of people living on the land.

(d) Improvement in the agricultural credit structure in circumstances in which inadequate credit is a barrier to tenure reform.

(e) Improvement in the arrangements under which land is bought and sold.

(f) Reform in land tax and fiscal policies. (29:5-6)

The Grenada Problem

The nature of the land tenure problem may be construed from the following general factors.

Predominant Economic Considerations:

- Grenada is a small island with a very high gross population density, and agriculture is the major industry.

- Good cropland is very scarce and 0.7% of the farmers control approximately 50% of the farmland. This concentration of ownership far exceeds the concentrations which did exist in Japan, China, and other countries that have been involved recently in major land tenure reform programmes.

- The existing land use can at best be described as only moderately efficient and land tenure reform would seem to be one method which offers opportunities for significantly increasing efficiency in the utilization of agricultural land.

- There are a large number of small subsistence oriented holdings, and fragmentation with accompanying inefficiencies is an important feature of the present pattern.

Predominant Social Considerations:

- In Grenada, the big landowners have until very recent times been loathe to pay hired workers what is generally regarded to be a fair return on labour, and this has contributed to labour unrest and the riots of 1951 and 1952.

- Grenadians and the inhabitants of the other islands of the recently established West Indies Federation are being caught up in a surge of expectations involving new concepts of human dignity and citizenship.

Significance of the Problem

As the preview of the problem continues, the significance of land tenure structure and the wide spread nature of land

tenure reform movements should be noted. In this connection P. W. Raup states in: "The Contribution of Land Reforms to Agricultural Development" :

The increasing attention to problems of economic development following the second World War has been paralleled by a refocusing of attention on the barriers to this development that are centered in land tenure structures....

In the past fifteen years we have seen this interest in land reforms expand to cover the world stage. (23:1)

Land tenure reforms have been in progress in the Caribbean area for some time. Puerto Rico, Cuba, Columbia, and Mexico, all have major land reform programmes. But recent events in Cuba have tended to give the whole land tenure complex a new significance in the Americas. At the August 1961 conference of Latin American countries, convened to sign a ten-year Alliance for Progress Plan, the U.S.A. secured the inclusion of a number of self-help measures which the Latin American countries must implement concurrently with the use of the large U.S.A. loans. Reporting on the final stages of the conference, the New York Times of August 14, 1961, commented:

United States spokesmen said that all significant issues of the conference had been settled and that they were entirely satisfied with the self-help provisions in the document approved by the chapter committee.

The self-help provisions provide for agrarian reform, equitable tax structure and collection and mobilization of resources in the participating Latin American countries. (34:3)

Not only will a new wave of land reform be initiated throughout the Latin American countries that border the Caribbean area, but the linking of self-help provisions to the loans strongly suggest that similar provisions will be attached to loans expected to be made in the near future by the U.S.A. to the West Indies Federation. Seen in the light of recent events, the present thesis assumes a new significance, for the proposal presented herein may provide a basis upon which Grenada, and other islands of the Federation with similar problems, can make an approach to satisfying the land reform provisions attached to U.S. pledges of aid.

Possible Contributions from Extension Education

In the proposal to help resolve the land tenure problem in Grenada it is anticipated that education of the large, poorly educated and illiterate segment of the society will play an important part in the programme. Hence considerable attention is devoted to the role of extension education—that part of a country's educational programme which is usually developed primarily for the adult rural and agricultural section. The extension workers responsible for the extension education programme are expected to help the people identify and reduce their needs and problems. Their work includes a study of resources and helping the people to help themselves.

The Procedure

The thesis is a library study. Land tenure reform has been approached as a management problem for Grenada. An effort has been made to proceed logically through the following problem solving stages:

1. Recognition of the problem and a study of related factors.
2. An analysis of the alternative solutions.
3. Choosing a proposal for implementation.
4. Implementing the proposal.

The subject of this thesis is centrally concerned with two fields of study—resource development and extension education—and thus provides an opportunity to apply both disciplines. In addition to the two central fields of study many other disciplines are involved to a lesser extent.

PART II: THE GRENADA SETTING

A Historical Sketch

Grenada was discovered by Columbus in 1498. The island was inhabited by Carib Indians and no European settlements were attempted for over 100 years. Shortly after settlement by the French, the hostile Caribs were wiped out circa 1651. (19:33)

The island changed hands a few times and was ceded to Britain finally¹ at the Treaty of Versailles, 1763. (2:534)

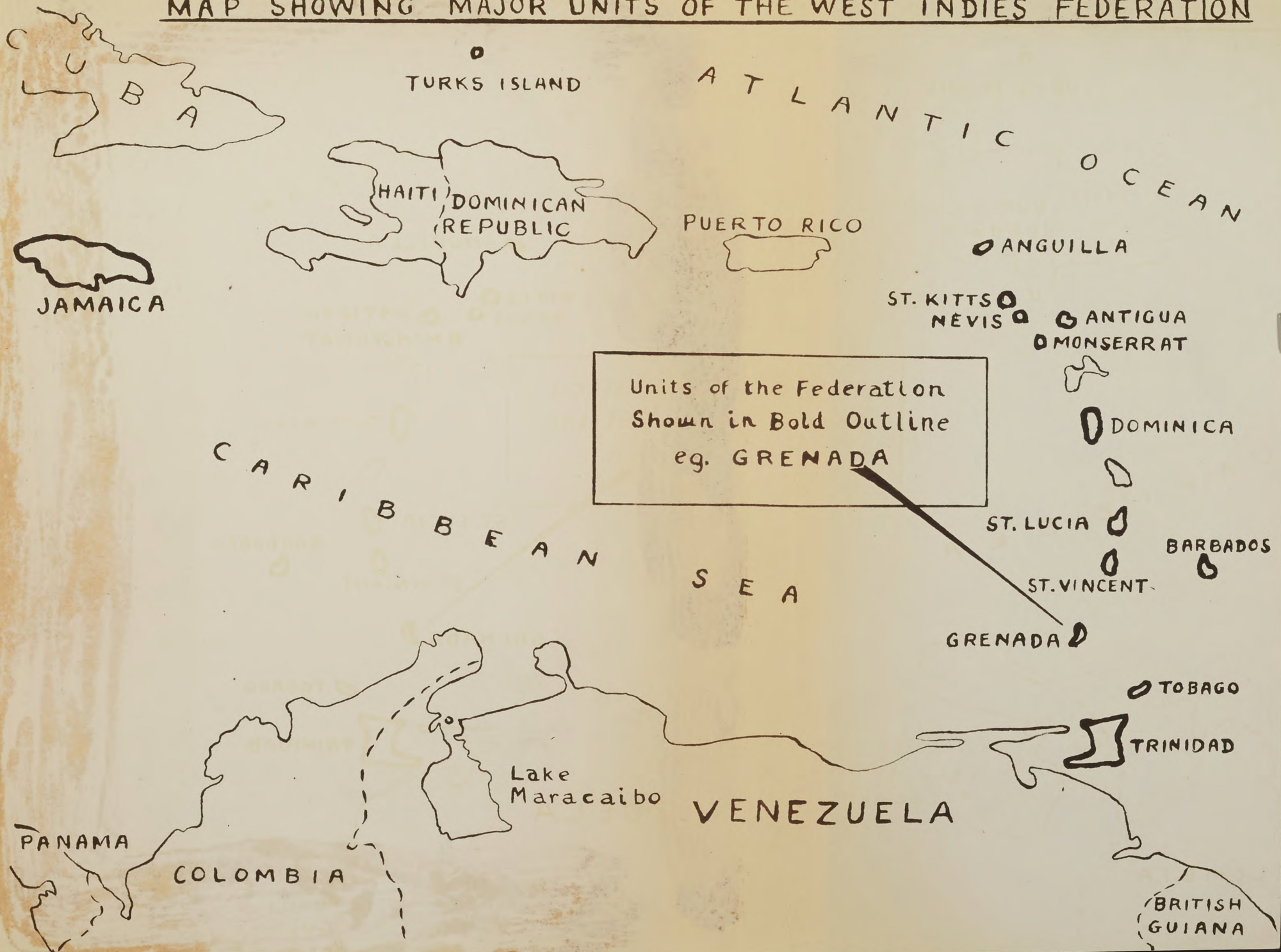
From 1833 Grenada was joined politically to various other British territories in the Caribbean by a series of unions known as the Government of the Windward Islands; these political arrangements were abandoned shortly before the British territories in the Caribbean founded the West Indies Federation. The people of the Federation expect to achieve Dominion Status and full membership in the (British) Commonwealth of Nations on May 31, 1962. (20:13)

The Land and Climate

Grenada is a small island in the Caribbean Sea (see map on page 9). The island is one of a chain, each unit being separated from the other by about 100 miles of sea.

¹A small detachment of French irregulars landed and besieged the British garrison at St. Georges, the capital, from March 1795 to March 1796. For further details see A. Burns, History of the British West Indies, p. 563-570.

MAP SHOWING MAJOR UNITS OF THE WEST INDIES FEDERATION



Grenada and a small island dependency, Carriacou, total 133 square miles--Grenada's area is 120 square miles or approximately 77,000 acres.

The island is mountainous and roughly oblong in shape. An axial range runs north-south and is somewhat closer to the western than the eastern coast. Several peaks are over 2,000 feet.

The main agricultural area is in the east and the north. Flat lands occur mostly as small, narrow alluvial strips at various points on the coast.

Temperatures are relatively constant; daytime temperatures fluctuate between 76° and 90°F and night temperatures between 65° and 78°F.

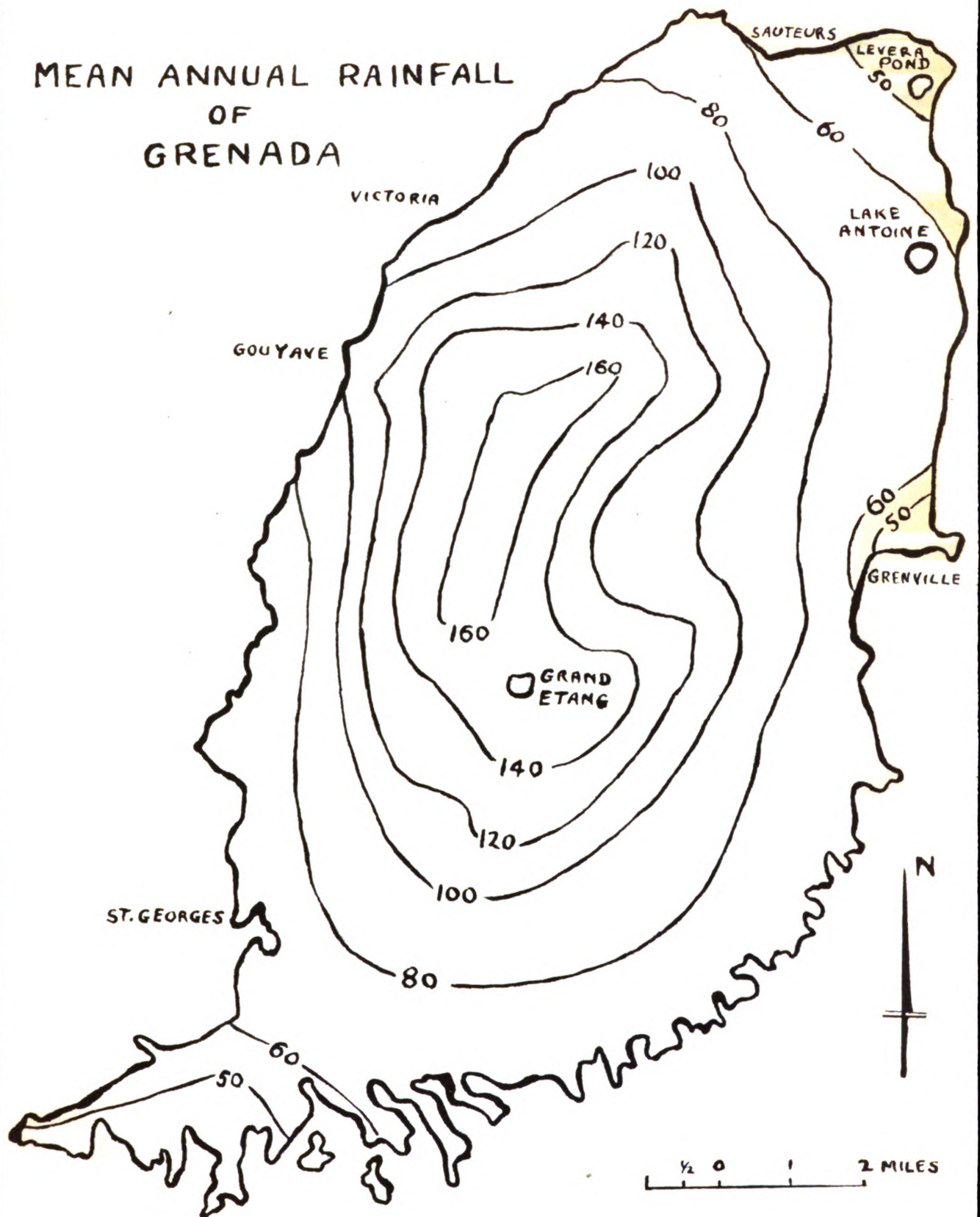
Rainfall varies considerably. A small part of the southwest coast is very dry and averages about 40 inches per annum; in the central highlands the rainfall exceeds 150 inches. Most of the agricultural land lies between the 50 and 140 inchyets* (see Mean Annual Rainfall Map of Grenada on page 11).

The Economic Base

Grenada and the other small islands of the Federation have a predominantly agricultural economy and the average annual per capita income in these units is low--in the vicinity of \$200 (U.S.).

*Inches. A line on a map connecting points of equal rainfall.

MEAN ANNUAL RAINFALL OF GRENADA



In contrast, the bigger islands, Trinidad and Jamaica, are rapidly developing a broader and quite diversified industrial base. Professor Gordon K. Lewis of the University of Puerto Rico writes of this industrialization:

Both the Jamaican and the Trinidad governments are currently operating under imaginative Ten-Year Plans that envisage massive industrialization (already in Jamaica the mining, manufacturing, and construction industries are rapidly growing, having increased their contribution to the islands total output from 19 percent in 1950 to 28 percent in 1955). (14:222)

In these islands the average annual per capita income is about \$300 (U.S.). Barbados does not fit neatly into either the big- or small-island category and enjoys a special sort of intermediate status.

Agriculture

The major crops in Grenada are cocoa, nutmeg, bananas, coconut and sugar cane; only the first three named are exported. Below is the dollar value (W.I. currency)* of the export crops for the year 1958. (21:1-2)

Table I Dollar (W.I.) Value of Grenada's Export Crops in 1958

Crop	\$ (W.I.) value, 1958
Cocoa	2,297,468
Nutmeg and Mace	4,542,659
Bananas	1,752,340
Total	8,592,467

* One dollar (W.I.) is currently valued at 67 cents (U.S.).

4. The fourth part of the document discusses the benefits of a well-maintained record-keeping system. It notes that accurate records can improve decision-making, enhance communication, and provide a clear audit trail. The text also mentions that proper record-keeping can help in identifying trends, spotting anomalies, and ensuring compliance with relevant regulations and standards.

5. The fifth part of the document provides a summary of the key points discussed and offers final recommendations. It reiterates the importance of a proactive approach to record-keeping and encourages the implementation of the outlined steps and procedures. The document concludes by stating that a strong record-keeping system is a fundamental component of any successful organization.

There is enough coconut to meet local needs, but sugar cane production has declined in recent years and presently some sugar is imported.

Livestock rearing is largely a peasant undertaking in Grenada. There is nearly enough livestock (cattle, hogs, sheep, and goats) to satisfy the current demand for meat, but the demand would increase far beyond supply if the purchasing power of the low income groups increased significantly. Good quality meats are imported for consumers in the upper economic brackets. The local supply of milk and poultry products is quite inadequate.

The peasants grow bluggoe (a cooking banana), sweet potato, yam, cassava,* eddoes,* tannia,* dosheen,* and breadfruit to provide the carbohydrates in their diets. The surplus is sold in the urban markets through numerous small-time retailers called huxters (almost invariably women). Marketing organization is poor and measures to revamp the system are under consideration. A marketing board was established in 1960.

Fisheries

The small fishing industry supplies a fair quality of fresh fish which is eagerly consumed as fish prices are controlled at a level approximately one-half of that of standard meat prices. Local fish catches are supplemented

*Root crops with high starch content.

by large quantities of imported salted cod which is an important source of protein for the poor.

It should be pointed out that possibilities may exist for expanding the deep sea (called off-shore) fishing industry. It is well accepted that the productivity of the sea is dependent on the composition and mineral content of the waters. Bearing this in mind it is significant to note that a nutrient rich ocean current passes close to Grenada. William Saenz in presenting a review (Time 1959) of marine fish life resources of the Caribbean said:

There are two main currents (drifts) that enter the Caribbean.

Of the two currents, the most important is the south equatorial which passes by the Brazilian and Guiana coasts. The impoverished waters pick up nutrients from the great rivers that flow into the area and transport them to the Caribbean. The main current flows through the channel between Trinidad and Tobago. Increased fertility of the waters is noticed along the Venezuelan coast and sometimes as far as Barbados. (14:179)

Grenada is 90 miles north of Trinidad and directly in the path of the South Equatorial Current. Saenz's statement explains the Venezuelan fishing boats that frequent Grenada's off-shore waters, and makes a mockery of the local fishing industry which still concentrates on shallow open beach and coral fishing. Many of the valuable off-shore pelagic species—bonito, dolphin, yellow fin tuna, and jacks—to name a few, are landed in Grenada even with the present small, ill-equipped fishing craft. Using larger craft equipped with cold storage facilities, it should be possible within a few years to increase the island's annual catch many fold.

4. The fourth part of the document discusses the challenges and limitations of the research process. It acknowledges that there are always potential biases and errors in data collection and analysis, and that the results may not be generalizable to all situations. However, it also notes that by following rigorous research practices and being transparent about the limitations, the value of the research can be maximized.

5. The fifth part of the document provides a summary of the key findings and conclusions. It reiterates the importance of accurate record-keeping and the value of a mixed-methods approach to data collection and analysis. The text concludes by emphasizing the need for ongoing monitoring and evaluation to ensure that the research remains relevant and useful over time.

Manufacturing Industries

The locally grown sugar cane is manufactured into brown sugar at the Grenada Sugar Factory Ltd.--it is the only sugar factory in the island. The factory and a number of small mills manufacture white unblended rums with a very high alcoholic content. Known locally as 'strong rum' these white rums are very popular with the economically underprivileged groups. High quality blended (red) rums are imported primarily from Barbados.

The Tempe Manufacturing Company processes copra from the coconut palm into coconut oil, much of which is used locally as a cooking oil. The oil also is used to manufacture laundry and kitchen soaps.

There is one small commercial sawmill and a small government-owned sawmill to assist with cutting and treating the limited quantities of timber cut in the government forest reserves.

Ice is produced in two small plants and bottling of various soft drinks, including Coca Cola, is done locally.

There is increasing recognition that attempts will have to be made to expand the industrial base. In this connection oil is a possibility that probably has not been adequately explored. Cecil Morgan in "The Caribbean and its Petroleum" writes:

Of all the natural resources of the Caribbean, petroleum has been the most productive economically. In varying quantities oil occurs in much of the area. (14773)

Grenada is about 150 miles from Trinidad's oil fields--and like the latter is only a few hundred miles northeast of the prolific oil fields of Lake Maracaibo in northwest Venezuela. Although in the past Grenada has been regarded as almost wholly of recent volcanic origin, the discovery of shales of an older geological period would seem to open the door to speculation as to the possibilities of oil in Grenada.

The writer has only attempted to draw attention to the possibility of finding oil--a country with as restricted a resource base as Grenada cannot afford to overlook possibilities that may lead to striking oil and/or natural gas. Barbados which is several hundred miles farther away from the major oil fields succeeded in attracting oil companies that have drilled for years and to date have only found natural gas in commercial quantities. In the time being, Barbados has benefited from the investments in the exploratory test wells and from the marketing of natural gas.

Tourism

Considerable efforts have been made to expand the small tourist industry and in 1960 some overseas investors, including a few from the U.S.A., had begun construction on a new hotel to augment those already completed with local capital. Two small beaches are being developed as high quality housing areas--primarily as winter and vacation residences for Americans and Venezuelans. However, there appears to be a need to expand lower priced accommodations for inter-island tourists of West Indian origin.

Hurricane 'Janet' in 1955*

This brief introduction to the economic background of Grenada would be rather incomplete if mention was not made of the serious setback suffered as a result of the great hurricane 'Janet' of September 22-23, 1955. Production for export declined to perhaps as low as 25% of normal in 1956. Subsequently, banana production was rapidly expanded, but many mature cocoa and nutmeg orchards by 1960 were still producing well below pre-Janet levels due to the large number of trees destroyed by the hurricane.

A further consequence has been the effect on the overall dollar resources of the island. In 1955, the Grenada government had a sizable dollar reserve and farmer indebtedness was low. Today, the government is several million dollars in debt and many farmers, both big and small, are heavily mortgaged.

The People

The island of Grenada (Carriacou excluded) has a population of approximately 82,000. Thus the gross population density is 680 persons per square mile, or slightly over one person per acre. The gross density is over 13 times that of the U.S.A. (180.5 million people to 3,615,000 square miles in 1960)^(13:12) which averaged 50 persons per square mile.

Grenadians are mostly Negro and Negro mixtures--chiefly Negro x East Indian, and Negro x European. The people of

* 'Janet' was Grenada's first major hurricane in 137 years.

obvious mixed blood are referred to as 'coloured.' An approximate breakdown by ethnic groups would be of the order:

Negro and coloured	93%
East Indians	5%
European stock	2%

On request, the following census data was supplied by Mr. G. A. Southwell, Superintendent of Agriculture, Grenada:

Table II Grenada's Population, 1946 and 1960 Census

Year	1946		1960		Total
	No.	%	No.	%	
1946	20,276	44	36,342	56	66,618
1960	37,822	46	43,243	54	81,065
Increase	8,546	-	7,501	-	16,047

For every 100 males in the population there are 116 females. Average life expectancy is about 55 years. The annual net rate of increase in population is 1.7%—comparable increases^(15:12) for Haiti and Cuba in the Caribbean, and for the U.S.A. are 1.2%, 1.9%, and 1.7% respectively.

All Grenadians speak English; only a few people can still speak patois (broken French).

Illiteracy is fairly high in Grenada—about 20% if not higher. Many factors have contributed to the high illiteracy rate, the most important being (1) limited government activity in educational matters until comparatively recent times, and (2) the fact that the Negroes first learned French

* The population increase in Grenada occurred despite high out-migration to Britain. The annual average population increase for the world is 1.6%.

and then had to replace this with English just before and after the beginning of the 19th century. Two other islands (Dominica and St. Lucia) have higher illiteracy rates than Grenada and both were also originally French colonies. In Barbados, where England has been the only imperial power since settlement in 1625, where the government has pursued a very active education programme, and where there is a significant percentage of European stock (over 10%) the illiteracy rate is estimated at less than 2%.

Social Systems

The Plantation

According to P. E. James:

The Portuguese developed the plantation system in the New World. In northern Brazil, Portuguese landowners in the sixteenth century became wealthy through the sale of sugar to the European market. (10:16)

E. T. Thompson writes that the Caribbean is the locus classicus of plantation societies. (10:30) As an institution the plantation was well established in most of the islands of the West Indies before the abolition of slavery in the British West Indies during the 1830's and it would be unrealistic to discuss land reform in Grenada without some discussion of its plantation system.

Professor Edgar T. Thompson also writes:

In a larger sense, the plantation itself is a variant of a wider order of institutions, of what might be called 'settlement' institutions. It is one of that class of institutions that patterns the relationship of people to the land and largely determines how people shall live on the land and with one another. For land is not just walked on

or worked with tools; it is walked on or worked within a system of social relationship, and as such it gets itself incorporated into the society. (10:30)

Plantations are an integral part of West Indian life and are perhaps the focal points of a majority of peasants' and agricultural labourers' economic activity. Charles Wagley, Professor of Anthropology, Columbia University writes:

The third broad culture sphere of the Americas is Plantation-America in view of the importance of this institution upon the history of the society of the area.

Briefly, this culture sphere extends spatially from about midway up the coast of Brazil into the Guianas, along the Caribbean coast, through the Caribbean itself, and into the United States. (10:5)

At the time of the coming of Columbus to the Caribbean these islands were inhabited by Amerinds--the Arawaks and the Caribs, (9:30-32) says Roberts. Charles Wagley gives further details:

The indigenous population was soon decimated by disease, warfare, and slavery, so the Europeans sought labour in Africa. Thus, sugar production by the plantation system with African slave labour became the fundamental formative features of the Plantation-America culture sphere--and other crops such as cacao, coffee, and later cotton were grown by a similar system. (10:5)

Professor Wagley in his paper "Plantation America: A Culture Sphere" lists and discusses a number of the basic common features of this sphere and closes the section with:

To summarise then, some of the basic common features in this culture sphere are: monocrop cultivation under the plantation system, rigid class lines, multiracial societies, weak community cohesion, small peasant proprietors involved in subsistence and cash crop production, and a matrifocal type family form. (10:9)

Thompson, a sociologist, comments on the plantation thus:

As an institution of settlement, the plantation arises as the terminus of a migration. This means that, as finally organized, it is a transient institution and is involved in a typical cycle of change. It seems to me of the utmost importance that any design to guide research should take the plantation cycle into account. It is not in the dry bones of a dead institution that we are interested, but neither are we limited in our interest to only the most recent news or the facts of the most recent survey. In plantation areas like those of the Caribbean or of Hawaii or of the South, we need and must have some better sense of what to expect and what, therefore, we shall have to plan for. (10:31)

Much of the agricultural land in Grenada is operated under the plantation system and whereas plantations can be operated as fairly efficient units, the social costs are high. On this important subject, plantations, a central factor in this study, Professor P. M. Raup of the University of Minnesota writes:

Plantations and large-scale, centrally directed units can succeed in organizing masses of unskilled rural labour into reasonably efficient production cadres. This has been particularly true in field crops production where the technology is dominated by a few simple repetitive tasks.... They conserve scarce managerial skills, they permit labour supervision on a mass basis, and they make possible the achievement of acceptable levels of product quality and standardisation. These are impressive short-run accomplishments.

These gains have been acquired at a high price, in many countries. Large-scale units have seldom contributed to the development of quality in the human labour resource, and they have conspicuously failed to promote the development of intensive animal agriculture. By inhibiting the development of widespread networks of agricultural education, extension, credit and marketing services they have tended to perpetuate... a large primitive sector of native production. (29:44-45)

Before proceeding with an account of the characteristics of the family in the Caribbean the reader is presented a quotation which not only indicates that there is a close link between the plantation system and the family, but at the same time provides a cue to what to expect as the thesis develops.

If slavery and the precarious economic situation of the male who depends upon wage labor on the plantation was disastrous to the family system in the Caribbean, as several writers believe, then the same conditions worked as deterrents to the formation of a sound and unified local community. (14:201)

The above quote came from a paper "Recent Studies of Caribbean Local Societies" by C. Wagley.

The Family

The human resource, the people of a country, is its most important resource. The thesis is essentially a study involving resources development and inso facto devotes considerable space to a study of the family, for as Wagley says "the land, climate, mineral resources, and other physical aspects of a nation do not in themselves determine the productivity or standard of living.... Rather, the most serious barriers to a full and efficient use of any nation or region's resources are apt to be human factors...." (14:193) The review of the lower class Negro family in the Caribbean area attempts to reveal some of the elements that tend to operate as limiting factors in the development of human resources.

Because the land tenure problem is essentially a problem of land as related to peasants, major efforts will be directed to the presentation of data on low income families in the Caribbean. The close relationship between the plantation

system and family life is well stated in the following comment by Thompson in the paper "The Plantation Cycle and Problems of Typology":

It might be suggested that at first every new institution growing up is more or less opposed to the family and opposed by the family. The family represents certain mores and the new institution is trying to break or change the mores, at least at some point. Settlement institutions, like mines, lumber camps, ranches, and plantations can almost pulverize family life. Later, however, the family is reconstituted within the framework of the institution and harmonized with it. (10:32)

Churched Christian marriage creates the typical family unit of the middle and upper classes in the Caribbean. This pattern is nourished by the extra-cultural focus of these classes which are in contact with Euro-American culture. Many families of the lower economic groups are formed by church marriage, but a large proportion are never churched or marry in later life when the union has been proved to be enduring or when the parents and/or their children have made economic and status advances. The situation is portrayed by this extract from the Herskovits' book, Trinidad Village, in which the writers report the outcome of a field study: (5:98)

The extent to which keeping is a normal expression of family life is apparent from an analysis of the marital status of a considerable proportion of the families in Toco and its immediate vicinity. They may be classified as follows:

Married	37	33%
Married but with premarital offspring	24	21%
Keeping, but one or both mates previously married	20	18%
Keeping	31	28%
	<u>112</u>	<u>100%</u>

If the first two categories are combined to indicate the married couples and the last two to indicate the keepers, the figures are:

Married	61	54%
Keeping	51	46%

One of the most penetrating analyses of lower class Negro families in the Caribbean was completed a few years ago in British Guiana (a part of Plantation-America located northeast coastal South America between Brazil and Venezuela) by Dr. Raymond T. Smith. Although conditions in British Guiana cannot be said to be identical with those in the Caribbean Islands, it can be safely claimed that Smith's findings in British Guiana should prove to be fairly typical of conditions in a similar economic and ethnic group in the islands of the West Indies Federation. Dr. Smith states in a paper "The Family in the Caribbean":

Most writers are agreed that the main functioning family unit in the Caribbean is a household group. It will be defined as a group of people occupying a single dwelling and sharing a common food supply. (10:67)

Dr. Smith distinguishes a number of elements of household group activity; four of these are mentioned below:

1. Child Care: This is an almost universal activity of household groups and is normally under the control of a woman in the status of "mother," who is not necessarily the biological mother of all the children in the group. Males do not participate directly in this activity, but the existence of the role of "father" is important to the socialization process and male contributions to the household economy are essential in the majority of cases.

2. Sexual Services: Within the household these are provided only between spouses in non-incestuous unions, but they may be provided across the boundaries of household groups between persons who will be referred to as "lovers."

3. Domestic Services: These are provided by adult females for all members of the household group, and consist mainly of cooking and washing clothes. They are rarely provided across the boundaries of household groups.

4. Economic Support: Economic support is provided by adult males and channeled to the woman in the status of wife-mother or mother. It consists mainly of cash with which to buy essentials such as certain kinds of food, clothing, and other consumer goods, but it also includes farm produce. It may also be provided by males outside the household group in return for sexual services or as a paternity obligation. In a few cases economic support may be wholly provided by female members of the household through their trading, farming, or wage-earning activities. But this is rare.

These are the four main elements...." (10:67-68)

Dr. Smith continues:

In these Guianese Negro villages, household groups with few exceptions, come into being when a man and a woman enter a conjugal union and set up house together. The relationship between the members of a newly constituted household group may have been in existence for some time and the couple may have several children as a result of their previous ties as lovers. The woman may have been providing the man with sexual services in return for a measure of economic support, but until they live together, there is no explicit recognition of the man's exclusive rights to her sexual services. Also, she is unlikely to have provided him with domestic services while they were living in separate households. (10:68)

R. T. Smith's studies show that the family goes through a number of stages:

During this early stage in the life of the household, the woman is quite dependent upon her spouse for economic support, for he is the sole provider for herself and her small children. She becomes less completely dependent upon him as her eldest children begin to leave school and to enter the labour market, thereby acquiring the means to make some contribution to the economic support of the group. Sons rarely work with or for their fathers, but they always give support to their mothers, who perform domestic services for them. (10:69)

There are really three phases in the development cycle of the household. In the first phase, young men and women are forming relationships with a series of lovers and becoming parents without living with a spouse. This is really a latent phase for it is only when they enter phase two and begin to live together that the life of a new household group can be seen to begin. The second phase involves the isolation of a nuclear family unit in its own house. In the third phase the household has become matrifocal, and it usually includes the members of a three generation matri-line: mother, daughters, and maybe sons, and daughter's children. (10:70)

Smith goes on to explain that:

Matrifocality, a feature remarked upon by every writer on the New World Negro family and by many writers on Latin American societies, is a matter of degree rather than some absolute quality of the system. (10:70)

In the closing stages of his paper, Dr. R. T. Smith refers to M. Young's* research involving a random sample of 96 working-class families in East London. He also refers to research reported by Miss C. S. Wilson† on a Scottish mining community and says:

In both the East London and Scottish studies, the evidence suggests that the existence of a three generation matri-line with an emphasis upon the matrifocal household group is associated with a social structure in which males neither control income-producing property nor wholly determine, by virtue of their occupational or political role, the status position of their families of procreation. (10:74)

From the above it is seen that Smith has revealed a relationship between family structure and economic and status

* M. Young, "Kinship and Family in East London," *Man*, Vol. LIV 1954, Article 210.

† C. S. Wilson, The Family and Neighborhood in a British Community, Unpublished M.Sc. Dissertation, Cambridge University Library, (1953).

factors. Smith makes yet another observation which the present writer accepts:

There is no doubt that the present position of the Negro group and the Negro family system had their origin in the extreme type society created by plantation slavery. (1974)

Further insight into low income families in the Caribbean may be gleaned from J. K. and P. S. Herkovits in their book, Trinidad Villagers. The famous anthropologists write:

The institution of "keepers," the form of Trinidad common-law marriage that resembles extra-legal Negro marriages in all the New World, was seen to be a reconciliation of European monogamic institutions and African relationship groupings based on broader definitions of kinship and plural marriage. (1971)

The present writer has lived a number of years in Barbados, British Guiana, Canada, and Grenada, and has visited Trinidad, St. Lucia, Jamaica, and the U.S.A. He accepts R. P. Smith's elements of organization regarding the low income Negro families in British Guiana as being broadly speaking applicable to low income Negro families in Grenada. Also, he believes that the three most significant forces which have produced the widespread phenomena of common-law marriage, extra-marital sex relations, and matrifocal families in low income Negro families in the Caribbean are:

1. Plantation slavery (Smith)
2. Past and present economic and status factors (Smith)
- and 3. Reconciliation of European monogamic institutions and African relationship groupings based on broader definitions of kinship and plural marriage. (Herkovits)

Whereas the above elements probably created the existing family structure during the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries A.D.,

the present writer suggests that this structure has been reinforced and perpetuated in recent times by the sex ratio which reveals a marked surplus of females in the society, a feature which cannot but reduce, as far as marriage is concerned, the 'bargaining power' of females planning to establish a family.

C. Wagley, an anthropologist commenting on studies of the Caribbean family, writes:

There have been some stimulating discussions on the bases and causes of the forms of family life in the Caribbean, and these discussions all seem to prove that in most of the region the family does not constitute a sound foundation for local community organization. (10:195)

Despite the 'proof' of an unsound foundation Mr. Wagley refers to, the present writer not only doubts that the above conclusion is correct, but suggests that the opposite may well be true.

To support this opposing position a series of quotations is offered from a paper "Lower Class Family Organization on the Caribbean Coast of Colombia" which appeared in the Spring 1960 issue of the Pacific Sociological Review. Celia S. Rosenthal of Colombia University reports in this paper on a study carried out among the lower class, predominantly Negroes, in the Cartagena area. In the introductory section she says:

The lower class families in the Cartagena area fall into two broad categories: 1) those with a conjugal basis, and 2) those with a consanguineous basis. The conjugal units in turn can be divided into two types: A) those with a religious and juridical sanction which we shall refer to as the "Catholic Family," and B) those without a religious and juridical sanction which we shall call the "Consensual Family."* (28:12)

*The asterisk was inserted by the present writer.
Union by consent.

Later in the paper Rosenthal writes:

FEMALE CENTERED FAMILY

In the discussion of the conjugal types of families, one based on Catholic and legal marriage and the other on consensual union, it was necessary to bring in the third type, the consanguineous, in order to examine what happened to the woman and her child when the conjugal family broke down. Doing field work in the Cartagena area, one cannot help but note the great frequency of the consanguineous domestic groupings which, we think, outnumber even the existing consensual units.

We shall call this type of family a Female Centered Family because at its head is a woman, with the rest of its members somehow related to her: her siblings, her children, or grandchildren. New units of this type, as was pointed out earlier, often come into existence when the man abandons his spouse and leaves the house to her. On the other hand, a new consanguineous domestic group may originate much later. After the man deserts her, the woman who has no house of her own may leave the children with her family and send money for their upkeep. When they become older, their common earnings may make it possible for the mother to set up house, thus forming a new unit.

Once established, this type of family has greater chances for permanence in the lower class than either the consensual or Catholic type. Even in cases where the woman who is the head of the family takes a marido (husband), his future departure does not affect the continuity of the domestic group. It has been observed that in some such groups husbands succeed one another but the care of the family remains the same. When the children reach adulthood and begin leaving home, grandchildren start coming in. Thus, many domestic groups consist of the woman, her younger children, and her grandchildren.

The relative stability and continuity of the Female Centered Family, about the origin of which the investigators of the Negro family in the New World are divided, must be kept in mind when dealing with the question of persistence of this type. (28:15-16)

In attempting to arrive at a meaningful explanation of the existing family organization, Rosenthal analyzes the two broad family types (conjugal and consanguineous) from the functional viewpoint and after stating that in all cultures the family is identified with the procreation and socialization functions, continues:

In so far as the conjugal units in the lower class function as breeding mechanisms, but fail to provide care and socialization of offspring, the need exists for an alternative structure to fulfill those functions. The consanguineous Female Centered domestic group constitutes such a structure, and as we noted before, does perform those functions....

We know that any one institution may fulfill several needs and that the family is generally such an institution. What we see, however, in the lower class of the Cartagena area are two separate structural arrangements for meeting the distinct functions of procreation, care and socialization. The conjugal types of family can be thought of as predominantly breeding and the consanguineous as predominantly care and socializing mechanisms. (28:16)

The above study suggests that the matrifocal family of the Caribbean area is very strong and essential to the continuity of the cultures of the area. This family type has been most successful in withstanding the great disruptive pressures to which the New World Negro families have been exposed. To deny the strength, adaptability and essential role of the matrifocal family unit will necessitate assuming a culturally bound and/or closed mind position.

While some suggest that the Caribbean family is weak, one finds that a sub-institution--the consanguineous family--has evolved to produce a unit which provides the essential roles of care and socialization of its members under the stresses typical of the cultures.

When Wagley says that "in most of the region the family does not constitute a sound foundation for local community organization" it is obvious that he does not refer to any weakness in the families as instruments of procreation. Thus, it may be assumed that he implies that the families fail to provide care and socialization for family members. But within the total family institution the matrifocal sub-unit which is numerically the dominant unit of the large lower class provides these very functions. Perhaps Wagley perceives as 'family' only traditional Euro-American family units. Such a restriction in use is not assumed in this paper. And the present writer is led to adopt the position that the family in the Caribbean region constitutes an adequate foundation for local community organization.

Nevertheless, regardless of what value position one adopts it is important to note that in the absence of other building blocks it appears logical that the existing family types should provide the foundation for local community organization.

If the matrifocal or consanguineous type family is the most adaptable, numerically dominant, and functionally viable family unit from the viewpoint of the particular culture (provides more care and socialization than the other family types) then the present writer feels that he cannot over-emphasize the need for other elements in the culture to cease their traditional efforts to do away with the matrifocal family on ethical grounds. The matrifocal-consanguineous type unit should be allowed its pre-eminent position in the

society until it ceases to play its present vital role regarding cultural continuity.

The basis for the above plea for a more permissive attitude towards the matrifocal-concomitaneous type family does not rest upon the writer's normative value position but rather represents an effort to view the existing pressures in anthropological and socio-psychological terms. Powerful and sustained pressures have been applied to the bond linking the social- and self-identity of members of Afro-American cultures. Historically, this bond has been maintained at near-break point. The prolonged existence under conditions which tend to prohibit any significant integration of the social identity and the self-identity constantly undermines the development of a healthy total personality.

It would appear that members of the society are torn between attraction to a strong, concomitaneous family unit which seems to have evolved under the influence of one set of powerful forces--slavery, the plantation system, and poverty, and reinforced by a surplus of females; and pressures from legal and religious institutions to adopt church marriage, the approved form of conjugal family units.

Under the present frustrating* conditions, there is little wonder that Wessenthal reports that when members of lower class Negro families of Colombia on the Caribbean coast are subjected to questions about the infrequency of

* It would be naive to think that adjustment in itself is achieved by balance; at times one feels a slight frustration. When the frustrations are excessive, social and psychological tensions arise and can produce serious maladjustments.

churched marriage and the frequency of family break ups, "a definite pattern emerges of men blaming the women and the women blaming the men.

The constant pattern of blame reflects the exaggerated hostility between the sexes which is markedly noticeable in this area." (26:13)

To help reduce the hostility, sound mental health programming should include conscious and systematic efforts to reduce the pressures historically exerted on the consanguineous family type of the emergent Caribbean societies.

Race Relations and Colour

The Hershkovits noted the low status of the Negro in the Caribbean:

For after generations of immediate supervision the Negro, though now legally free, still found himself in the lowest social and economic strata of the societies of which he was an integral part, without voice in the direction of affairs, whether social or economic or political whether he was immediately affected by the decisions or not. (5:13)

Race relations in the West Indies are good. Many changes and improvements have occurred especially over the last two-three decades and all groups expect and accept that racial integration will proceed until race and colour will cease being significant factors. However, it would be misleading to claim that no problems exist. R. A. Manners (Associate Professor of Anthropology and Chairman of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Brandeis University) in a paper "Methods of Community Analysis in the Caribbean" writes:

There exists a fairly wide range of colour-consciousness and colour prejudice in the island chain, and few community studies pay adequate attention to analysis of the playing-to-skill aspects of these phenomena. (1963)

Dr. Eric Williams,⁺ Premier of Trinidad, in a paper "Race Relations in Caribbean Society" writes:

There are the three determinants historically of the race relations pattern in the Caribbean—the division of property, the use of state power to maintain this division, and the prevailing theory of race. (1963)

Race relations have improved as the conditions which produced the black slave-white master relationship have changed. With the decline in the importance of sugar, the slave-plantation economy went bankrupt. (1963) Again, the growth of democracy removed the state support on which racism flourished. Today, in all the units of the West Indies, Federation representative government by popular vote is well established and labour or socialist parties are in control both at the unit and federal levels. Finally, of considerable help is the repudiation by the modern world of the old theory of race (e.g. South Africa withdrew recently from the Commonwealth of Nations because that country's racist policy was not acceptable to the other members of the group which includes Britain, Canada, India, Australia, Nigeria, Ghana, Pakistan, Ceylon, and New Zealand).

In Grenada, relations between the white master and the black slave were never bad. It is accepted in Grenada that there are only one or two recorded instances of cruelty to slaves in that island; this experience contrasts sharply

⁺ Dr. Williams, a West Indian, was formerly Professor of Social and Political Science at Howard University.

with that of Barbados.

Another factor that has contributed to better than average race and colour relations in Grenada is the fact that a large percentage of the plantations are either owned or managed by Negroes—thus as a group, the Negroes are not down trodden. With Negroes well established in the upper class it was impossible for a small white minority group to adopt any other policy but equality for all members of the same class regardless of race or colour.

Despite the above advantages which the Negro in Grenada enjoyed over his counterparts in some of the other units, there remained some acceptance of the concept that a white or fair skin is associated with the privileged classes. However, for more than a decade, nearly all of the top political positions have been held by Negroes. More recently, all but one of the top Civil Service positions have been filled by Negroes and the Queen's Representative (the Administrator) is a Negro. Thus, the more glaring aspects of colour and race prejudice have disappeared and it remains only for time to erase the more subtle aspects of these phenomena.

Religion and Education

The Church is a powerful institution in Grenada. Nearly all the people are Christians. Roman Catholics form the largest denominational group and the remainder are mainly Anglican (Church of England) and Methodist. Various low church groups have been making significant gains in recent years.

3

It would seem that a major factor contributing to the big influence of the Church in the people's lives is the limited activity of government in the area of both primary and secondary education. The limited role played by the Grenada Government in the past has allowed the denominational groups to assume and maintain considerable responsibility in educational matters. There is keen rivalry between some of the denominational groups.*

Evaluated as a vital institution, the school system leaves much room for improvement. The facts indicate that protem government provides the money but the denominations operate the schools. In support, hereunder is an extract from a Colonial Office report on Grenada for the years 1955 and 1956:

In 1955 and 1956 primary education was provided in 54 schools, 11 of which were maintained entirely by the Government, the remainder being denominational schools in receipt of grants-in-aid. There are also four housecraft and four handicraft centres. All teachers' salaries are provided by the Government, and for the most part the schools are maintained from public funds save for the maintenance of the buildings. Dilapidated denominational buildings are gradually to be replaced by Government-owned buildings constructed to a standard design and operated by the denomination concerned under an agreement with the Government.

There are 19,104 children on the rolls of the elementary schools in 1955 and 19,076 in 1956. The average attendance was 14,338, or 75 per cent of the number enrolled in 1955, and 14,377, or 75.3 per cent in 1956. Compulsory attendance has been extended to include the entire colony except Carriacou and Petite Martinique. (19:23-24)

*Historically the rivalry stems from the once bitter struggle between French Catholics and English Protestants. For further details please see A. Burns, History of the British West Indies, pp. 506 and 543.

[illegible]

Whereas primary education (the three R's) is free, parents have to meet the costs of secondary education. There are only six secondary schools, four in St. Georges and two in Grenville. The two in Grenville are handicapped by poor facilities and staff and jointly they produce perhaps only 5% of the certificated high school graduates. Thus, realistically speaking, high school education is restricted to the St. Georges area and to families of the middle and upper economic groups. Some students get free high school education as a result of scholarships awarded on the outcome of annual competitive examinations.

The certificated graduates produced probably represent no more than 10% of the potential. Describing the system an authority speaking of another island in the West Indies Federation said:

A Jamaican religious educationist has recently pointed out how the island inherited the old English system of two different types of education: one for the laboring classes to be good wage earners, the other for the higher class to be intellectual leaders in the professions. (14:220)

The University College of the West Indies makes available to the top high school graduates a few scholarships tenable at that institution. Of its own, the Grenada Government awards (on a competitive basis) only one university scholarship per annum. The facts show that in Grenada education beyond the high school level, and technical schools, and teacher training schools are sadly inadequate. Dr. Gordon K. Lewis, an authority on education in the British Caribbean writes:

Altogether the region suffers from a set of educational and cultural prejudices that obstruct the rise of the scientific man. The results can be seen in a number of representative social types: the West Indies graduate who has been corrupted by the dangerous magic of the Oxford philosophical schools; the worker who still sees in manual labor the badge of slavery; the science teacher half apologetic about his "subject;" the classicist, often the resident Englishman, who sees in technical and vocational education nothing more than a vulgar Americanization of the society.... It is at least heartening to realize that as the experience of Puerto Rico shows, these attitudes rapidly erode in the face of technical change and technical demand. (14:221-222)

The weaknesses depicted above apply with more than normal intensity in Grenada and the other small islands. Whereas in recent years the richer units—Jamaica, Trinidad, and Barbados—have launched ambitious educational programmes that significantly increase the opportunities of students from the lower economic groups, the situation in Grenada has changed little. Whereas governments of the richer islands have or are in the process of establishing technical schools and centres of higher education, Grenada has not been able to follow. Thus a vicious pattern is crystalising—the second rate economic and political status of the small islands is being reinforced by inferior and inadequate educational opportunities.

The Community

It is widely accepted that community structure in Plantation America* is weak:

Throughout this sphere, there seems to be a weak sense of community cohesion, and local communities are but loosely organized. (10:8)

The above quotation came from Wagley's paper "Plantation America: A Culture Sphere."

*See p.19 for a definition of the term, Plantation America.

5

Wagley in a paper "Recent Studies of Caribbean Local Societies" writes:

These studies of Caribbean local societies have contributed much to our knowledge of the human resources of the region....Despite the great cultural variability of the Caribbean islands, resulting from their distinctive European origins, there seems to exist certain common features of community life such as the matri-focal family (i.e., families characterized by the absence of a father-spouse and headed by the mother); a color hierarchy in which Caucasoid physical features are granted high prestige and Negroid features low position; and related to this, a strong sense of socio-economic class derived from the days of slavery and expressed, for example, in the distinction between the peasant and the elite in Haiti and elsewhere. (14:194-195)

Reporting on studies by Dr. H. G. Smith in Jamaica, Wagley says:

His "community" is delimited by topographic features and water supply, by visiting distances between kinmen and friends, by the mutual awareness of social status among its members, by a feeling of common interest and tradition, and often by a common religious affiliation.... Smith explains that villages and market centers are not "communities" but rather a heterogeneous collection of sectors of the various communities which border upon it. Yet these same villages act as organizational and service centers for the hinterland communities. As in Puerto Rico, the cohesive unit seems not to be the larger group consisting of several neighborhoods and covering the full round of social life, but a more limited local group similar to the neighborhood. (14:197)

Barbados seems to enjoy the doubtful privilege of having the weakest community structure:

In Barbados the local community seems to be even more diffuse and amorphous than in other Caribbean islands. Laurens Comitas of Columbia University, who carried out research in Barbados for ten months, studied a cluster of seven discrete settlements on the windward coast....it seems that there is little

attachment to the individual settlement itself...."There is almost complete dependence," Mr. Comitas writes, "on the larger web of island life for the satisfaction of many of the local needs." Thus in Barbados the small settlements can only be recognized as weakly united neighborhoods, and it would seem that any spatial unit larger than the neighborhood which might be designated as a "community" would be the entire island. (14:197-198.)

The plantation system and slavery are cited by Wagley as the major factors contributing to the lack of community cohesion:

The lack of a strong and well defined local community in the Caribbean region is the result of slavery and a plantation economy....One is tempted to generalize that wherever the plantation and slave system were present, the rural community could not become an efficient and cohesive social unit. (14:199)

Here it is most pertinent to note that Barbados with the most diffuse and amorphous "communities" is associated with a fairly long and stern slavery era and a nearly all inclusive plantation economy devoted almost exclusively to sugar cane production. If Wagley is correct then Barbados should, and does, have very weak community structure.

Moreover, Wagley is supported by an examination of community life in Grenada. In south Grenada where the cane plantations exist one finds the most socially and economically depressed area on the island. Here labour unrest is almost chronic, here was the scene of the bloody riots of 1951 and 1952.

It is necessary to concede that other variables are operating in the problem area of south Grenada, e.g., the area is in the low rainfall belt. However, what of the

island dependency of Carriacou which has a significantly lower rainfall than south Grenada? Carriacou is an economically depressed area, but has no sugar plantations. Carriacou people provide a good example of an industrious, cohesive social unit. And Carriacou escaped both slavery and the plantation economy some time ago. Thus the evidence seems to lead to one conclusion--that the plantation system perpetuates social disorganization.

However, there are examples of cohesive communities and two cases are treated in some detail in order to present those characteristics which appear conducive to the development of cohesive communities in the Caribbean. Wagley writes:

In British Guiana Raymond Smith describes a relatively cohesive local community....To a large extent it is a settlement of landowners.... Neither the village council nor the churches set to unite the community as such. Yet there is a strong sense of esprit de corps, and people say "We are all one family," and "This is a black peoples' village."The strength of community identity and unity is especially apparent on the occasion of a wake, when all community members must in some way show their solidarity to the bereaved.

A community studied in Martinique by Michael Horowitz contrasts even more strikingly with what seems to be the norm in the Caribbean. This community situated in the high mountains is....a recognisable geographic unit and happens to coincide with an administrative division of the island, the commune. The town center or bourg contains schools, town hall, medical dispensary, post office, police, church, cemetery, and other community services for the townspeople and for the rural population.... Community esprit de corps is high, there are religious festivals shared by all, and as in August Town in British Guiana, wakes are community affairs. Religious fraternities, agricultural cooperative groups, and a mutual aid society cut across neighborhoods and unite the

community. In this Martinique community, there is little division on religious, ethnic, racial or socio-economic lines. Nearly all consider themselves as Noirs (Negroes) or gens de couleur; the rural population is almost entirely devoted to hoe vegetable gardening for their own consumption and for sale in the market; and since the terrain is so extremely uneven, the land is not suitable for sugar cane plantations, and the people with their small plots do not often work as wage laborers on the lowland plantations. (14:200)

The foregoing overview of Caribbean community life can be used to provide some factors against which to attempt to crudely estimate the degree of community cohesion in Grenada.

Factors influencing community cohesion.

1. Ethnic and religious elements. Sociological research in the States of Wisconsin and Minnesota in the U.S.A. indicates that rural neighborhoods which are homogeneous with respect to ethnic background and religious composition tend to rank higher on neighborhood strength and family identification items than do neighborhoods that are heterogeneous as regards these characteristics. (26:355)

Reporting on one phase of the research undertaken under the auspices of the Research Committee of the Graduate School of the University of Wisconsin, Duncan and Kreitlow write:

When the organizations are classified according to types, the difference between homogeneous and heterogeneous neighborhoods becomes more striking. On the basis of all four indices, homogeneous neighborhoods show greater participation in religious and social organizations, while heterogeneous neighborhoods show greater participation in agricultural and school organizations. (26:354)

In Grenada, whereas there is considerable ethnic homogeneity, there is marked religious heterogeneity.

It will be important for educators and planners to capitalize on the integrative elements arising from racial homogeneity, and to contain the disruptive forces which can and occasionally do originate from religious heterogeneity.

2. This is a black peoples' village.

A numerically dominant group normally expects to largely determine the socio-economic life of a community.

Negroes in Grenada have made considerable progress in their struggle to achieve the dominant role in the social and economic life of the society.

3. Family bonds.

Previously cited research by Rosenthal indicates that consanguineous family bonds are usually very powerful in the Caribbean area.

Blood ties are strong in Grenada and often hold precedence over other allegiances.

4. We are all one family.

It is possible that the statement "We are all one family" reflects an Afro-American psycho-social value position which indicates that this group accepts all mankind as one family. The acceptance would seem to be complete—at the physical, emotional, and intellectual levels. Grenadians tend to hold this orientation.

5. Wakes⁺ seem to reflect community solidarity (see both cases of cohesive communities cited).

Wakes are still a fairly common feature in rural Grenada.

+ Wake: A semi-religious, semi-social night meeting at the home of a deceased.

6. A broad ownership base tends to encourage community esprit de corps. A high percentage of peasants own land in Grenada. However, many of these holdings are very small and can be worked individually only as subsistence farms. Excessive fragmentation contributes to inefficiency and builds up frustration.

7. Cooperative organizations emphasize the individual for what he is within a society.

Cooperative groups, particularly Friendly Societies, have had a long history in Grenada. Cooperative farmer groups have increased in number quite rapidly since 1957.

8. Carnivals and other festivals have much potential as positive contributors to cohesion both at the community- and island-wide levels.

In Grenada the annual 2-day carnivals which are held just prior to the lenten season are a great cohesive force. The lower and middle classes unite on these great festival occasions.

9. Race and Colour.

Colour and race have ceased to pose serious problems in Grenada.

10. Illiteracy.

An important contra-cohesive force.

11. The Plantation System.

The plantations are probably an important contra-cohesive force.

12. Class structure.

Despite some recent weakening of barriers the wide gulf between the upper and middle classes on the one hand and the

large lower class segment on the other hand, is definitely an important contra-cohesive force in the society.

13. Local government. Government below the unit (island) level is almost non-existent.

14. Topography or terrain.

Grenada's terrain is mountainous and uneven. Under these conditions it is important to note that it is possible to build either communities within natural geographical areas and hence have boundaries which help define limits and reinforce community cohesion; or to attempt to build communities without regard to natural boundaries, in which case the uneven terrain tends to break the communities into a series of loosely organized neighborhoods.

15. Community facilities.

Facilities are very few and inadequate. Sufficient attention has not been paid to most aspects of community planning.

In Grenada, items 1 through 8 operate as integrative factors and seem to make a net positive contribution to community cohesiveness. Item 9 (race and colour) should be considered a neutral force. Presently items 11 through 15 work as either contra-cohesive forces or have much undeveloped potential as cohesive factors.

The above analysis of community cohesiveness although lacking much of the rigor of a scientific investigation suggests that Grenada communities now have rather limited cohesion. However, the study can help the educator and community planner to expend the country's very limited

resources where they will tend to be of maximum benefit to the society.

In concluding this review of the community situation in Grenada here is a comment by Duncan and Kreitlow:

Educators concerned with organisations may well consider the purposes that organisations serve among the various ethnic groups or combinations of ethnic groups. In organising and servicing organisations, professional educators must consider the part culture plays in organisational objectives. (26:357)

Government

The Federal Government

The West Indies Federation was established 2nd January, 1958. The member units are:

Antigua, Barbados, Dominica, Grenada, Montserrat, St. Christopher, Nevis, and Anguilla, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and Trinidad and Tobago. All unit territories will have equal status.... The Cayman Islands and the Turks and Caicos Islands will not have the status of unit territories and their position will be governed by special arrangements. (20:7)

The Federal capital is to be located in Trinidad and the temporary site is Port-of-Spain. As in Canada, the titular Head of State is the Governor General.

The Legislative Power of the Federation will be vested in the Federal Legislature which will consist of Her Majesty, a Senate and a House of Representatives. (20:7)

The Federal Supreme Court is the supreme judicial organ of the Federation, however, provision exists for appeals to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, England.

Federal Revenue is quite restricted—for the next ten years the Federal Government's principal source of revenue

will be a percentage of import duties of customs. The Constitution provides for amendments of the Constitution, but differentiates between ordinary and entrenched* provisions.

Unit or State Government

In Grenada, at the unit level the Queen's Representative is called "The Administrator". The leader of the majority party is called the Chief Minister.* He and four other ministers are responsible for the day-to-day affairs of government. Most of the powers held by the Administrator under the Crown Colony system has passed over to the Chief Minister.

Other features of government are treated in the following quotations:

The legislative powers of the Federation were set out in an Exclusive Legislative List and a Concurrent Legislative List....Both the Federal and Territorial Legislatures were empowered to legislate for subjects on the Concurrent List but Federal legislation would take precedence. (20:5)

Legislation on matters not contained in either List is for the Legislatures of the Territories. (20:9)

*Entrenched: The amended law must be passed by each House of the Federal Legislature by an absolute majority and then must be approved by absolute majorities in a majority of the Houses of the Legislatures of the territories representing a majority of the population of the Federation. Note—51% of the nation's population resides in Jamaica.

**Jamaica, Trinidad, and Barbados have Governors, the other units have Administrators.

* * *Jamaica, Trinidad, and Barbados have Premiers, and the other units have Chief Ministers.

Intergovernmental Relations as Discussed from the West Indian Constitutional Conference, London, England, 1961.

It must be admitted that the Unit Governments are in a relatively stronger position than is the Federal Government of the West Indies. However, if the recency of the establishment of the Federation is taken into account there is little reason for overemphasizing the limited powers of the federal body.

It appears that two distinct trends are discernable from the reports of the Conference:

(1) A genuine desire for the delegates to provide the Federal Government with the means to proceed on a modest climb in stature over the next few years—the federal budget for 1959 will have increased twofold by 1962. However, there are no plans for the budget to increase significantly between 1962 and 1969. About 1970 the constitution will probably be revised significantly and the taxing power of the Federal Government will be expanded, and

(2) A display of the dominant roles being assumed by Jamaica and Trinidad, e.g., see Jamaica's success in refusing the Federal Government the right to legislate "on the subjects 'Development of Industries' and 'Taxes on Income and Profits'....until the proposal has been approved by a majority of each House of the Federal Legislature and by an absolute majority of the Representative House of each Unit Legislature. There will be a review of this arrangement at the end of nine years." (20:11)

Jamaica threatened to secede if her wishes did not carry. Jamaica's stand rests on the claim that federal interference with existing development programmes and the income and profits system would chase away investors of foreign capital and skuttle her rapidly expanding industrial drive.

International and Regional Ties

On the international scene it appears evident that the West Indies Federation will for some time occupy middle ground between a number of poles of influence. The major influences are:

1. Britain, 2. Canada, 3. The United States of America, 4. Latin America, and 5. Communism in the Caribbean.

Britain. Units of the West Indies Federation have had long ties with Britain and at the recent Conference in London, West Indian leaders "expressed the desire for the West Indies to become on independence, a member of the Commonwealth. The Secretary of State warmly welcomed the proposal...would consult the other Commonwealth Governments with a view to securing their concurrence." (20:13)

Canada. Canada is a member of the Commonwealth but has been singled out for special mention because ties between Canada and the West Indies have been strong and more or less continuous over a period of about 200 years. Further, at an early stage of the movement toward formation of a West Indies Federation, Canada hastened to offer assistance. Although

little is heard now of the idea, only a decade ago a number of persons on both side (Canada and the West Indies) expressed the hope that after federation the West Indies should seek to join Canada as the 11th province.

The United States of America. W. A. Roberts,* an American historian, calls the Caribbean "Our Sea of Destiny." It appears logical that the U.S.A. should pay close attention to developments in the area—it is the gateway to the Panama Canal. However, U. S. interests have been hampered by a prolonged era of isolation interrupted occasionally by spurts of aggressiveness which have done her almost as much harm as her isolationist policy.

American policy in the Caribbean has lacked consistency—save in its inconsistency and lack of vision. Here is a comment by W. A. Roberts written circa 1940 that hints at the confusion then existing. Roberts is discussing the military bases the U.S.A. had recently acquired in the Caribbean as a result of Churchill's offer of bases for warships. Roberts suggests that the U.S.A. may take the opportunity to solidify her position and then adds that it is unlikely that the U.S.A. would wish to acquire the larger islands of the colonies in the Caribbean:

*Mr. Roberts dedicated his book "The Caribbean" to Mr. & Mrs. Norman Manley. Mr. Manley is the present Premier of Jamaica.

Jamaica is as large as the state of Connecticut and has a population of 1,250,000, mostly of colored blood. It seems improbable that the United States would want another colony from which a vast amount of tropical products would have to be admitted duty free. Nor are her dominant political parties anxious to add considerably to the number of Negro citizens. She is none too happy about her experience in ruling Puerto Rico, and she may well wish that she had taken only a naval station there in 1898. She has pointedly evaded the question of according statehood to the island. (9:341)

The U.S. inconsistent policy in the Caribbean continued up to about 1960. Both inconsistency and neglect are reflected in a recent (1959) comment by the historian, Professor A. Curtis Wilgus, of the University of Florida:

With the Second World War, the United States especially realized that the Caribbean was an important area for the production of numerous strategic materials which were soon encouraged in a variety of ways, chiefly with United States government and business capital. Following the Second World War, unfortunately, United States government and individual financial attention was concentrated chiefly in a number of non-Latin American areas. Only within the last few years,... has the United States come to realize that it must help its neighbors at its Caribbean front door to help themselves. (14:xxi)

The inconsistent policy paved the way for Cuba's drift into the communist block.

The present administration realizes that Caribbean problems are U.S. problems and among new measures has included the appointment of Mr. Ivan B. White as the U. S. Special Representative to the West Indies Federation with the rank of Ambassador. (30:3) Until July, 1961, the U.S. was represented in Port-of-Spain by a Consul General.

The United States of America, Britain and the West Indies Federation have recently agreed that the U.S.A. will continue to operate (33:11) the bases in the area after the Federation becomes independent in 1962.

It is also agreed that the U.S.A. will give some immediate financial help (33:11) to the smaller units (this includes Grenada) of the Federation and it was decided that more help will be forthcoming to the Federation in the very near future.

Latin America. The West Indies Federation is not a member of the Latin American block but was invited to (32:4) send observers to the Latin American Economic Development Conference held in Montevideo, Uruguay, August 1961. The conference was called to "help set up the machinery for President Kennedy's ten year "Alliance for Progress," a far-reaching programme to raise the living standards of America's southern neighbors. (32:4)

The invitation to the West Indies Federation was on the grounds that the Federation was shortly to become the newest nation in the hemisphere. Mr. Manley, Premier of Jamaica, has proposed that the West Indies Federation join the Organization of the American States. (32:12)

West Indians have been aware of the need for closer ties with Latin American countries and over the past decade Spanish has probably replaced French as the most desired foreign language on the curriculums of high schools in the Federation. Indications are that most contact with South

America will be through Venezuela which is less than 12 miles from the coast of Trinidad.

Communism in the Caribbean. Communism is well established in the Caribbean and this area will doubtless continue to be a battleground of the cold war between the dominant capitalism and Marxist ideology.

On the north of the Federation is Cuba—largest island in the Caribbean and approximately five times the total area of the West Indies Federation. Cuba could have played a more commanding role in Caribbean affairs, but since independence from Spain has looked northward. Almost instinctively she may move now to re-establish ties with other Caribbean islands, with the mainland of South America, and of course, with Central America—areas with which she has had almost 300 years of common history as colonies of Spain. Without doubt, her influence will be felt in every corner of the Caribbean, for although it is not widely known, Cuba has great industrial potential:

The nickeliferous iron ores of Cuba are the world's largest potential source of nickel and cobalt and an important source of iron and chromium. At present, nearly all the United States requirements of nickel and chrome, and of most of its cobalt, are supplied from foreign sources. (14:139)

The challenge from Cuba is clearly understood by some. During the recent West Indies Constitutional Conference, Mr. Eric Williams, Premier of Trinidad, in an interview given the independent London newspaper, Times asked:

What is going to be the future of West Indian Society? Is it going to be totalitarian or democratic? (11:19)

Following the interview a Reuters's release said:
Over all their discussions loomed the threatening
figure of Mr. Fidel Castro. (31:13)

On the north is British Guiana which has long been
closely associated with, and frequently has been requested
to join, the Federation. Whereas British Guiana is not
committed to communism, some of her foremost political
leaders seem to favour Marxist ideology.

For almost a decade Britain has tried to contain the
leftist leaders but Mr. Cheddi Jagan, Premier of British
Guiana, seems more firmly entrenched than ever and has not
changed his mind. At a Latin American Conference in
Santiago, Chile, during May 1961, Mr. Jagan said:

British Guiana will stand for socialist economic
system once it obtains its freedom. (30:16)

The same news release from Georgetown, British Guiana
said:

Mr. Jagan also praised Marxist rules for economic
development and described them as the only ones
suitable for Latin America. (30:16)

Grenada's Governmental Ministries

Because the territory is small and operates on a
slender budget there are only five governmental ministers
in Grenada. The Chief Minister is in control—the other
ministers are appointed by and are responsible to him.
Below is a list of the ministerial posts with brief comments
indicating some of the respective operational areas.

1. The Chief Minister Responsible for over-all develop-
ment and finance.

2. Minister for Commerce, Industry and Tourism

Control of the Department of Agriculture, the Department of Forestry and Lands, and Tourist Development Board, etc.

3. Minister for Social Affairs

Control of the Department of Health, Department of Education, Community Development, and The Department of Cooperatives, etc.

4. Minister for Communications and Works

Maintenance of roads, harbours and airport facilities, water works, government buildings, etc.

5. Minister without portfolio

A minister with less day-to-day duties than the others, and is generally appointed to act in place of another minister when the latter is absent on duty in the Federal Capital or elsewhere, is ill, etc.

Recruitment, promotion, discipline, etc. of civil servants at the unit level are a responsibility of the Administrator's Office and is handled through his assistant, the Secretary to Government, a non-political appointment. The Civil Service Commission plays an important role in the selection and promotion of personnel and is advised by the Secretary to Government. Ministers of Government have some say in appointments to senior positions.

The Department of Agriculture. The Superintendent of Agriculture is the chief technical officer in the Department of Agriculture and is responsible to the Minister of Commerce, Industry and Tourism through the Principal Secretary of the Ministry. The department performs four broad functions:

1. Agricultural research.
2. Agricultural extension involving 4-H, but not home economics or family living.
3. Various regulatory duties—primarily in the area of animal and plant disease.
4. Service duties—chiefly spraying of cocoa and banana cultivations and various veterinary services—to control pests and diseases.

General of the Department of
Education, the Department
of Health and Labor, and
Federal Reserve Board, etc.

General of the Department of Health,
Department of Education, etc.
to Department of Health, etc.
Department, etc.

Department of Health, Department of
Health, etc., etc., etc.
Department, etc.

A statement was made by the
Director of the Bureau, and he
generally reviewed the work of
the Bureau of Health Statistics
and the Bureau of Health Statistics
in 1911, etc.

Director, etc. of Health Statistics
Director of the Administration
of the Bureau, etc. Secretary
of the Bureau, etc. Secretary

Existing Organization of the Extension Service

Extension, Research, and Plant Protection are the largest divisions in the Department of Agriculture. Only within the Extension Division has the staff chart (see p.57) been presented in detail.

There are five extension districts:

1. Carriacou. An island dependency about 20 miles north of Grenada. Area 13 sq. miles; population about 7,000.
2. North Grenada.
3. South Grenada.
4. East Grenada.
5. West Grenada.

The extension field staff was increased significantly to help meet the emergency resulting from hurricane Janet (1955) but no significant changes were made in the organizational structure. At full strength Extension included (1960) 5 Agricultural Assistants, and 27 Agricultural Instructors. The Foreman, Botanic Gardens, brought the total count to 33. Plans were afoot in 1960 to reduce the instructors to approximately 20; all 5 positions of Agricultural Assistants will be retained.

Existing organization of the Extension Service leaves room for considerable reorganization, and remedial proposals are presented at the end of Part V of this thesis.

PART III: GRENADA'S LAND TENURE PROBLEMS

In Part I, the introduction, it was indicated that the land tenure problem was being handled by a management approach and various steps or phases were identified. In Part II, just completed, an attempt was made to provide and discuss a number of relevant factors which should contribute to a recognition of the land tenure problem in its proper perspective. This section, Part III, concentrates on directing attention to the needs for land reform in Grenada.

Some very penetrating comments on the nature of present day land tenure problems have been made by Parsons, and one of these is presented now to help capture the feel of the problem under discussion.

Land tenure problems arise fundamentally from the contest over the control and use of land....But it is doubtful whether this is the most fundamental explanation. Rather it seems more instructive to interpret the revolutionary ferment in the old world as an expression of a new, emerging sense of citizenship or a groping towards citizenship. The experiences of poverty and starvation, while intensified in recent decades, run back as far as the memory of man; but the promises of the possibilities of citizenship are as new as the emerging nationalism of nations from recent colonies and mandates. In a very deep sense tenure problems are power problems, problems of disparity in economic, social and political power. Here it is suggested that the new thing that has been added to the old power problems over the use and control of land is the emerging sense of citizenship. (8:8-9)

[illegible]

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60637

The Economic Needs for Land Tenure Reform

A Scarcity of Good Cropland

An agricultural survey undertaken by W.L.E. Hanton in 1957 indicates that there are 52,767 acres under farms. The survey reports 47,300 acres (25:11) as cropland but the Department of Agriculture uses a total cropland figure of 45,000 acres—the difference, 2,300 acres, may be considered unused cropland and marginal land which is not cultivated on a permanent basis. The following is offered as an estimate of present land use in Grenada:

Table III Land Use in Grenada

Use	Acres	% of Total
1. Cropland (cocoa, nutmeg, bananas, cane, coconut and food-crops)	45,000	53.6
2. Pasture (improved) 930 $\frac{1}{2}$ (unimproved) 3,820 $\frac{1}{2}$	4,800	6.3
3. Government Forest Reserves (surveyed and not yet surveyed)	11,000	14.3
4. Forest and woodland farms	8,630 $\frac{1}{2}$	11.3
5. Urban and waste	7,260	9.4
6. Lakes	60	.1
Total	75,800*	100.0

Here now is some population data to provide perspective. Approximately 15,000 people live in the five towns [St. Georges (capital) 8,000; Grenville, 2,000; Gouyave, 2,500; Sauteurs,

* Agricultural Statistics (The West Indies) Series I, No. 4 (1959), p.21.

* The area of Grenada is 120 sq. mi. or 76,800 acres.

1,000; and Victoria, 1,800] and thus about 66,000 (or 80%) of the near 82,000 inhabitants living in rural areas.

The 45,000 acres of cropland divided by the total population gives an average available cropland equivalent per person of 0.55 acres. In contrast, the U.S.A. has an average cropland equivalent in excess of 2.2 acres* per person.

But, man-land ratios of the type just presented are truly comparable only when other relevant factors are also considered. In the first place, Grenada is not developed technologically—the fork and cutlass are used in most agricultural operations even though tractors make important contributions. A shortage of capital severely depresses the level of fertilizer applications. Again, agricultural research and extension are not nearly as well developed in Grenada as in the U.S.A. However, of even greater significance is the fact that the two concepts of cropland are different. Whereas in the U.S.A. cropland refers to flat or gently sloping plow land, in Grenada cropland includes all land that may be possibly planted to crops other than pasture. Much of the land is far too steep for growing anything but permanent vegetation and cannot be cultivated with mechanical equipment.

A soil and land use survey of Grenada was completed in the field by K. C. Vernon and Hugh Payne in 1957. The land classification system used is a modification of the system developed by the U.S. Soil Conservation Service. The team#

*The U.S.A. has available over 400 million acres of cropland. A population of 130 million was used to obtain the equivalent of 2.2 acres per person.

#The present writer (Ernest Payne) worked with the team. See Soil and Land-Use Surveys, No. 9, Grenada, June 1959, p.4.

used seven (7) (22:23) and not the eight (8) (12:427-431) capability classes used in the U.S.A. Also in keeping with standards adopted in earlier surveys in the Caribbean, significantly modified slope categories were used. (22:14)

Now that the present writer has had an opportunity to make a detailed, first hand study of the U.S.A. system, he is convinced that some of the adaptations used by the Soil Research and Survey Section (Headquarters, Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture, Trinidad, West Indies) have not been for the better. Nevertheless, the soil and land use survey of Grenada and the subsequent report have been most useful. Interpreted in terms of U.S.A. standards only about 8,000* acres of the area surveyed are capable of regular and occasional tillage. Of this total only approximately 3,500** are capable of intensive and moderately intensive cultivation to row crops. On the facts available, there can be no doubting that good cropland is very scarce in Grenada and thus every effort must be made to re-form land use to allow for maximum use of the very limited quantity of good agricultural land.

Concentration of Land Ownership

Although land ownership is probably not as concentrated in Grenada as it is in some other units in the West Indies

* Soil and Land Use Surveys, No. 9, Grenada, Table 3, p.32: 0 - 10° slopes total 7,275 acres.

** Ibid. Table 5, p.32. Class I and II land total 3,500 acres
 # In Barbados, Antigua, and St. Kitts the major export crop is sugar cane. Sugar production is almost invariably associated with very high concentrations of land ownership.

Federation, it can safely be claimed that there is considerable concentration of ownership. Data (25:15) from the 1957 agricultural survey has been used to prepare Table IV.

Table IV

Number and Acreage of Farms
Expressed as % of Totals

	10- 50- 100 100 1-4.9 5-9.9 49.9 99.9 >.99						
No. of farms	5,243	5,878	946	458	53	95	12,673
% of total	41.4%	46.4	7.5	3.6	0.4	0.7	100.0
Acreage	1,861	11,970	6,130	8,430	3,599	30,777	62,767
% of total	3.0	19.1	9.8	13.4	5.7	49.0	100.0

In Grenada the average farm size is just under five acres.

Data from Table IV permits comparisons to be made with a number of countries that in recent times have been involved in land reform. Three well known examples will be cited, Japan, Taiwan (Formosa) and China:

1. Japan (Land Reform was initiated in 1948.)

Land ownership was concentrated. In 1935 while some 92% of the farm households owned some land, about half of these families owned only 1.22 acres or less....

At the other extreme, 1.0% of the farm households owned 17.2% of the cultivated land of Japan. (6:19-20)

In Grenada, 1.1% of the farms account for 54.7% of the acreage under farms.

2. Taiwan (Land reform began in 1949.)

At one extreme, some 5.7% of the farm families owned some 49.8% of the land, while at the other extreme some 42.7% of the farm families owned only 5.7% of the land. The average size of the holdings was only 4.3 acres. (6:53)

Comparable figures for Grenada are: At one extreme 4.7% of the farms occupy 68.1% of the farm land while at the other extreme 41.4% of the farms represent only 3.0% of the farm land.

3. China (The Communist Party launched a land reform programme shortly after establishment of the Peoples Government of China in 1949.)

Some 8% of North China's farmers owned nearly two fifths (40%)* of the land; in more fertile more densely settled South China...ownership of land was even more concentrated, for 10% of the families owned nearly three fifths (60%)* of the land. (6:136)

Thus, in the early 1960's Grenada has more concentration of land ownership than any of the three countries (Japan, Taiwan, and China) cited for comparison; all three countries have experienced land reform via evolution or revolution prior to 1950. On concentration of land ownership alone, there would appear to be enough basis for a land reform programme for Grenada.

Absentee Ownership

The writer was unable to secure first-hand data on the amount of absentee ownership (ownership by persons resident overseas). However, the agricultural survey did provide data on "managed" as opposed to "farmer-operated" farms. The data showed 37,839 (25:16) acres (60% of all farm land) as farmer operated, and 24,924 (25:16) acres (40% of farm land) as managed farms. The bulk (20,443 acres^(25:16)) of the acreage under managed farms is in the over 100 acres size category--

* Percent and brackets supplied by the present writer.

Some 85 of North China's farmers owned nearly two
 billion (40%) of the land; in some localities more
 densely settled South China, ownership of land
 was even more concentrated. For 10% of the families
 owned nearly three billion (60%) of the land. (6:110)

Thus, in the early 1930's, a few hundred families owned
 no ownership than any of the three countries (Japan,
 U.S. and China) cited for comparison; all three countries
 experienced land reform via revolution or revolution
 to 1950. An examination of land ownership shows
 would expect to be enough basis for a land reform

and provide data
 future. The data
 land) as land
 in land) as

that is plantations. Some of these plantations would be locally owned but a large proportion would be owned by non-residents.

Efficiency in Land Use

In a paper, "Resources of the Caribbean," H. B. Grist writes:

Throughout history and among all peoples the use that has been made of the land has had significant implications for all members of society. How many people own or control how much and what kind of land, and what they do with it, are matters of vital concern to all. The pattern of land use is frequently as much influenced by the system of land tenure as by the edaphic considerations, and the very lives of millions of people depend upon the way the land is utilized. (13:29)

Because land tenure and land use are closely related, some account of land use in Grenada is now given.

At first, cane was supreme and at about the beginning of the nineteenth century there were 64 sugar cane mills. With the decline of the sugar market there was a shift to cocoa. When the cocoa market was depressed, nutmeg was planted to help stabilise the economy, for coffee and cotton were not major crops.

Nutmeg like cocoa is a tree crop and grows well whether planted in pure stands or scattered between cocoa plantings. An important factor about nutmeg is that Grenada produced about one-half of the world's nutmeg and mace (the aril attached to nutmeg seeds). Cocoa and nutmeg are conveniently handled by the same labour. The economy of the island benefited as a result of the two-crop base and some improvement in cocoa prices. This was the position when hurricane Janet struck in 1955.

Throughout history and across all regions the use
that has been made of the land has been different
institutions for all members of society. The way
people own or control how much and what kind of
land, and what they do with it, are matters of
great concern to all. The pattern of land use is
typically so much influenced by the system of land
tenure as by the economic organization, and the
very lives of millions of people depend upon the
way the land is utilized. (13-14)

Because land tenure and land use are closely related, some

use of land use is shown in the figure.

At first, some was extensive and at about the beginning

a nineteenth century there were 40 million acres of land.

The decline of the sugar market there was a shift to

and given well water

from some plantations

it became produced about

of the soil extended to

overwhelmingly handled by

land benefited as a

agreement in 1900

the same land started

Since the hurricane, there has been a need to grow large quantities of bananas, a quick growing, early maturing crop, to maintain exports until the cocoa and nutmeg trees can be brought back into full production. As a result, Grenada has three export crops. To protect the major crops from pest and disease attacks there is a levy on export cocoa and bananas to provide funds to meet the cost of a highly organized crop inspection and spray programme.

Banana is different from cocoa and nutmeg as regards cultivation requirements. The banana is a pseudo tree and unlike cocoa and nutmeg this crop demands regular and timely attention. Again, there is no definite off season. When a plant bears it is useless and must be cut down. New plants (called suckers) which arise from the original plant have been maturing and one of these is allowed to fruit at a time. The big expansion in banana cultivation has brought many benefits as was pointed out in the "Report on the Department of Agriculture for 1958.)

Opportunity is taken here to comment on the role of bananas in the economy of Grenada. Banana is vital to the economy by virtue of its rapid maturity which allows a quick return on capital, by virtue of its use as a nurse crop for the other major export crops, cocoa and nutmeg, by virtue of its high potential economic return per acre, by virtue of the regularity of shipments which provides producers, farm labour and truckers with regular incomes and by the general stability resulting from increased diversity in crops for export. (21:2)

Note, however, with all these strengths are coupled two great weaknesses: (1) the banana plant is very susceptible to wind storms--seasonal high winds that are quite sub-hurricane are able to destroy large acreages of banana, and (2) the

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Opportunity is taken here to comment on the role
of bananas in the economy of Ecuador. Bananas is
vital to the economy by virtue of its role as a
which allows a dollar return on capital, by virtue of
the use as a source of raw materials for other major exports
orange, coconuts and nutmeg, by virtue of its high
potential economic return per acre, by virtue of
the regularity of shipments which provides producers
with income and farmers with regular income and by
the general stability resulting from increased diversity
in crops for export. (2118)

fruit is very perishable and in times of labour unrest and in war time, losses may be 100%. In contrast, both the cocoa bean and nutmeg can be stored for relatively long periods.

From the foregoing there are three encouraging facts to be noted: first, Grenada now has three major export crops—this contributes to a sounder economic base; second, the crops are to some extent both complementary and supplementary; and thirdly, all three of the crops may be considered permanent vegetative cover and thereby be capable of providing natural conservation for mountainous, high rainfall areas. These are very important factors on the credit side of the land use inventory.

A study of the debit side may best be approached by considering plantation and peasant agriculture separately.

Plantation Agriculture. Locally, the terms plantation and/or estate are applied to the larger farm units which are operated by an owner or manager who hires daily paid labourers to do the manual tasks necessary to develop and maintain the properties as economic farm units. The operator does no manual labour.

Partly because of superior management, the better quality of soil on plantations as compared with peasant holdings, and advantages as regards capital resources, the plantations can be and usually are more efficient units than the small peasant holdings. Again, the plantations concentrate on export crops and so bring money into the country. Also, owners' and managers' incomes are large enough to be taxable.

However, the advantages of the plantation system are frequently not realized in full, due to:

(1) Inefficient management. Often management is not efficiency oriented. The land tax is very low and on a flat rate basis (24 cents [West Indies]^(19:14) or about 15 cents [United States] per acre). This low tax on good quality land provides no incentive to efficient operation. Few can deny the regressive nature of the land tax which treats productive and unproductive alike--especially as the plantations include most of the good lands. Again, the island's revenue suffers. The property tax in Grenada provides under 3%^(19:12) of the island's total tax revenue; a comparable figure for the United States of American was 11% in 1952.^(1:552)

(2) Lack of adequate capital.

(3) High labour requirements for all major crops as none of these allow for considerable mechanization of field operations--in Grenada the mixed orchards (cocoa, nutmeg, and bananas) are mostly on hill slopes.

(4) A lack of interest in rearing livestock. This is an unfortunate and undesirable attitude for as the level of living improves, the people of the lower economic brackets will increase their protein intake and the demand probably should be met from local production and not by increasing imports. Some of the marginal land which the plantations do not work could well be used to rear more livestock.

(5) A lack of interest in growing food crops. Admittedly, bluggoe, breadfruit, and mango are grown in fair quantities;

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but these are planted primarily as shade trees for the orchard crops and wastage can be high. The failure of the plantations to participate in food crop production is one factor contributing to the high cost of local foodstuffs. Further, there is an element of reversal in concepts of responsibility for -

In the British West Indies every proprietor of lands once was obliged, by one of the Slave Acts, to keep properly cultivated in root crops, or ground provisions, one acre for every ten slaves, exclusive of plots or gardens which the Negroes cultivated on their own account. It is to be regretted that regulations such as these, assuming as they did a modicum of crop diversification and self-sufficiency in foodstuffs were not carried over.... (13:34)

The benefits from increased food production must be achieved says Professor K. P. Parsons:

In the strategy of development of most underdeveloped countries an increase in food production is absolutely essential. An impressive proportion of the underdeveloped countries must import food to meet minimum needs at the cost of scarce foreign exchange. (8:20-21)

Barbados with a very high population density and few peasant holdings has a law which requires that about 12% of plantations' available land be planted to food crops. There is room for a similar approach in Grenada even though a 5% figure would probably be adequate in view of the lower population density as compared with Barbados.

(6) The use of plow land (most of which is plantation owned) for export crops. Perhaps only one to two thousand acres are involved; but with adequate conservation measures some of this area if irrigated would be capable of producing row crops and market vegetables on a round-the-year basis.

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The benefits from increased food production must be

In the attempt of development of most underdeveloped
countries an increase in food production is absolutely
essential. An intensive program of the kind -
developed countries must report food to meet minimum
needs at the cost of other local exchange. (13-14)

harbored with a very high population density and low

(7) Failure to utilise all of the cropland. Again, it is admitted that perhaps at most one thousand acres are involved, but 1,000 acres represent over 2% of the total cropland—the island cannot afford a 2% loss per annum. This factor is influenced by the low land tax which does not force the big landowner either to cultivate or sell inferior quality lands that tend to offer a small return on investments.

Peasant Agriculture. From the socio-economic viewpoint the peasant holding is a subsistence unit that keeps the threat of destitution and starvation at least one step removed from the peasant family. Everybody, however poor, gets something to eat. Starvation as reported in some countries does not exist in Grenada or any of the other islands in the Federation.

Fragmentation, however, is a major problem. One has only to refer to an earlier section which dealt with family organization in low income groups to realize that all sorts of economic and legal problems can and do arise under conditions in which a farmer with a one-acre holding dies and leaves land to pass on to perhaps as many as 6 - 10⁺ children, some of whom have only one common parent. Further, illiteracy and poverty contribute to ownership or possession without proper deeds. Relatives with shares in the small holding may seek work overseas and sometimes are unavailable or

* The major problem arises from the large number of offspring that have to receive a share. Illegitimacy does not carry the stigma which it carries say in the United States.

unwilling to release their share. As a result, frequently family-owned land is not worked to capacity but is maintained as a makeshift garden just as if it were short-term tenanted land.

But there are other aspects of the problem. Fragmentation of peasant-owned land and the need to work small parcels of rented or leased lands leads to a situation in which some peasants work several—even six or more small, widely scattered holdings. Data^(25:19) for the table that follows was extracted from the 1957 agricultural survey report.

Table V		Number of Landless, Single Parcel and Multiple Parcel Farms					
0 (landless)	1	2	3	4	5	6 and over	Total
70	7,398	1,156	1,212	482	214	141	12,673

Fragmentation is associated with inefficiencies and frustrations that must blight the peasants very existence.

S. B. Himadeh writes:

Fragmentation of holdings is also harmful to production. Cultivation of fragmented holdings is wasteful of time and effort. M. Durrafourd (the former Director of Land Survey in Syria and Lebanon) estimates the loss of efficiency due to fragmentation of holdings at 30 per cent: "10 per cent due to loss of time in moving about between the different strips, 10 per cent due to loss of land (in boundaries), and 10 per cent due to excessive seeding." (24-P-P4:10)

As one continues to review the problems associated with small peasant holdings, the depressing picture is sustained. Many of the tracts worked by peasants are rented or leased. Although the rents are low, the quality of the land is usually poor.

*Farmers who keep livestock but control no land.

There is an Agricultural Small Tenancies Ordinance (13:22) (1932) to protect the tenant from unlawful ejection. This law has done much to strengthen the hands of the tenant, for a well established field of permanent crops will have enough value by compensation via arbitration as to force the owner to ponder eviction proceedings. But the value of the ordinance should not be overestimated—limitations are treated in some detail on pp. 97 - 99. Because the law includes a time clause, the tenant can be sure of reaping annual crops he has planted. But leases often do not exceed one year and provided he is prepared to pay the compensation involved, the owner can eject the tenant and thereby perhaps remove the latter's only source of subsistence. Note, however, that economics is not the only consideration:

The question of tenure status is not only a matter of income or degree of poverty; it is also a matter of human dignity and the privilege of exercising one's own will. (8:16)

Short leases deter the tenant from planting permanent crops for fear that the owner will take back the land when the cocoa and nutmeg are well established (these crops take four to eight years respectively to come into production). The failure to grow tree crops on the steep land has both social and economic consequences: (1) the land erodes and becomes worthless, and (2) the tenant grows crops which must be planted afresh each year, but as he gets old he is unable to work the land. Had he grown tree crops he would have been able to reap the fruit without being involved in tilling the land.

Land Tenure Structure and Capital Accumulation in Agriculture

The intention here is to indicate that a close relationship exists between the land tenure structure in a society and the rate of capital accumulation in agriculture. The quotation that follows is extracted from a paper presented recently by Professor Philip M. Raup:

The economist's interest in land reform, in short, comes to focus sharply on the central issue of capital formation.

At the outset it is important that we gain a clear understanding of the capital forming processes that lead to agricultural growth. In the early stages of agricultural development this process is predominantly one of accretionary gains in capital stocks. The investment decisions involved are typically made in small segments, spread over many seasons or gestation periods. The aggregation of capital formed in this manner leads to impressive totals, but these totals should not blind us to the fact that the process is one characterized by many small, plodding steps....

Capital in farming...accumulates, by an incremental process that I have chosen to label as accretionary.

We can see the results very readily in the case of livestock. Increases in livestock numbers and quality, the slow improvement in feeding levels....

Although easily identified in the livestock sector, this accretionary process is also important in the stock of farm capital represented by buildings, fencing, water supplies, and related farm service structures and improvements....

As a consequence, in the history of presently developed countries the saving and investment potential of generations have been required to form the base capital needed before farm firms can take advantage of the high levels of input and output made possible by modern technology.

This excursion into history should serve to remind us of the validity of two propositions:

- a) The accretionary forms of agricultural capital formation are the important ones in early developmental phases, and in phases involving a shift from a cash-crop economy to a livestock-feed economy.

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- b) The time required for the effective operation of these accretionary processes is long in terms of human life spans. (23:13-15)

And to close this subsection, just one more quotation from the same source:

It is here argued that a country's tenure system constitutes a major force in maximizing the accretionary formation of capital in agriculture and insuring that surpluses above subsistence levels are reinvested in the productive plant. (29:16)

Land Reform and Development

When one talks of developing a country it is usually in terms of level of living that progress is measured. Economic Development may be in the agricultural section or in the industrial section, but usually it is in both. These two sections are interdependent and in practical situations planning for balanced over-all development should allow for adjustments by which the sections both supplement and complement each other.

Here the land reform problem is studied as it relates to agricultural development. In the following paragraphs are quotations by Parsons in this connection:

Land reform in this context is considered to be the aggregate of programmes for resolving tenure problems. Agricultural development is taken to include changes in status of farm people which influence their effective participation in the farm economy as much as the improvement in farm production and land use practices. (8:4)

Land tenure adjustment appears essential in many countries to facilitate the development of the economies. Yet it must be recognized that land reform is not a cure-all and it can be productive of social and economic benefits only as a part of a comprehensive programme of development. (8:20)

the subsection--Land Reform and Development

Volume 12, No. 1, 1984

● 上海五洲大藥房 總店 石岐市門外大街

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with the following letter
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Land reform which does not lead to improvement in the level of living is a farce. Reforming the ownership structure without providing other opportunities is of little value.

The interdependence of various factors is well stated by Parsons:

Clearly no land distribution or land reform program, no matter how extensive and successful, can permanently solve all the problems of economic development. A functioning and growing economy must have marketing and credit institutions which give real support to a farmer's production program. There are major questions of equitable taxation, capital accumulation, investment, management and many more. Land reforms, at best, can be only a start toward economic health and development. But properly conceived and wisely directed there is little doubt that they can be made a constructive and integral part of programs of accelerated economic development. (24-P-22:9)

Professor K. H. Parsons, in the above, is stressing the need for the small farmer not only to receive and control land, but to have adequate access to the other dimensions of opportunity essential to making a living from the land. The comment is of particular importance to the Grenada situation where internal marketing and agricultural credit are quite inadequate.

This subsection has been included to assist with the task of placing the land tenure problem and land reform proposals in their proper perspective. A small unit territory like Grenada is heavily handicapped by a lack of adequate capital for financing a balanced economic development programme. And, of course, social development must also be provided for out of the very limited resources. It is this need to allow for a broad view of the problem that has prompted the inclusion of the subsection—Land Reform and Development.

Some Social Considerations Associated
with Land Reform

Of the social considerations enumerated below, possibly the disparity in size between the plantations and the peasant holdings is the chief contributing factor to social disorganization and it is with this factor that the review begins.

Disparity in Size Between Plantations and Peasant Holdings

A landlord who owns 1,000 acres of land controls perhaps 1,000 times as much arable land as a peasant. It is difficult to achieve social cohesion in face of such disparities in power, security, and status.

It should be made clear that although Grenada has numerous plantations, none of these is really large. Only 16 estates exceed (19:18) 500 acres and it is reported that one (22:11) of them is 1,000 acres. There are no large corporations operating several thousands of acres of land as occurs presently in British Guiana and until recently in Cuba. However, some landlords own two or more plantations.

The Plantation System and Paternalism

In Grenada it is the family owned plantation that is most common if not the only type. With the family type plantation is commonly associated various paternalistic obligations of the plantation owner, obligations that did not cease with the termination of slavery. To quote anthropologist Vera Rubin:

Nevertheless, paternalism remained an important expectation in the relations between management

With Land Reform

Of the social organizations enumerated below, possibly the diversity in class between the plantations and the peasant holdings is the most contrasting factor to social dis- organization and it is with this factor that the review begins.

Managers in Sugar, Tobacco, Plantations and Peasant Holdings

A landlord who owns 1,000 acres of land controls perhaps 1,000 times as much wealth as a peasant. It is difficult to realize social cohesion in face of such disparity in power, security, and status.

It should be made clear that although there are numerous plantations, none of them is really large. Only 15 estates exceed (15:15) 500 acres and it is reported that one (22:11) of them is 1,000 acres. There are no large corporations operating several thousands of acres of land as estates presently in British Guiana and until recently in Cuba. However, some landlords own two or more plantations.

and wage workers on family-controlled estates. even the transition to the modern corporate-owned "factory-in-the-field" has not altogether changed the traditional reliance on face-to-face relations and the dependency on subordinate-superordinate relationships. Paternalistic patterns tend to freeze into authoritarian controls. (10:114)

Despite the deep seated independent spirit which is a striking feature of Grenadian peasants, there remains a measure of expectation of paternalistic treatment, and paternalism tends to smother self-reliance and initiative. If the peasants no longer show a marked need for paternalistic treatment from the big landowner, it is because they have shifted their focus to government and the politicians.

Landlord-peasant relations are moderately satisfactory. Nevertheless, there is an obvious and vital need for greater responsibility in most quarters in the handling of personal, community, and national problems and emphasis should be given to improving cooperation between the various segments of the society.

The Place of Work in the Value System of the Elite

Along with the underdeveloped self-reliance and sense of responsibility there are other handicaps; some associated with the plantation slavery heritage and others more closely tied to the great shortage of land. The plantation owner in the recent past was a lazy man. He was also the embodiment of two values which have been selected for brief discussion: (1) the good time--wine, women, and song; and (2) success--measured in terms of status and security.

and wage workers on family-controlled estates. even the transition to the modern corporate-owned "factory-in-the-field" has not altogether changed the traditional reliance on face-to-face relations and the dependency on subordinate-superordinate relationships. Paternalistic patterns tend to freeze into authoritarian controls. (10:114)

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Viewed anthropologically, the plantation owner-manager is a very important "significant other" in a culture in which he may control upwards to 1,000 times as much land as a peasant. It is natural that the peasant should adopt in modified form the value system of the landlord. Thus the peasant works, and often he has to work hard for mere subsistence, but extra work is usually out of the question. Any who work very hard have become slaves for work and slavery days are over. The Puritan ethic which played such an important role in the United States is not a strong force in Grenada. However, unless a peasant does a lot of work, he will never be able to save for a rainy day. Nor will he be able to accumulate capital to buy land or provide his children a good education. And upward mobility without money, or land or education is almost non-existent.

The Existing Social Structure and Capital Accumulation in Agriculture

Earlier it was shown that the low land tax does not encourage maximum efficiency in the use of land resources. For the same reasons, the low land tax does not encourage maximisation of the accretionary formation of capital in agriculture. At this stage it can be shown that the existing social structure militates against capital accumulation in agriculture.

The value system of the elite ranks manual labour very low. Again, when land is so scarce that ownership per se brings status, then one can find a number of small landowners who do not attempt to work land at an efficient level; for

to the status of ownership has been added status gotten by doing a minimum of manual work after the pattern of the big planter.

However, the hurricane has forced most owners to work hard to re-establish the "permanent" tree crops that had been destroyed. Today the right to leisure is no longer as highly valued as in the "pre-Janet" era. A powerful force, the hurricane, has helped counter an undesirable product of the plantation system.

Low Wages and Labour Unrest

Just as the slave owner was slow to free the slave, so in recent times the landowner appeared loathe to pay a decent wage. In 1937, a wave of riots in Trinidad, Barbados, and Jamaica brought labour in those islands higher wages. At that time, Grenada's labourers were unorganized and remained quiet. Their wages remained disgracefully low until the Grenada riots of 1951 and 1952 which were led by the charismatic leader E. M. Cairry. Daily wages rose from 30s (United States) per day in 1951 to 60s in 1952 and by 1959 had reached about \$1.12 (United States). The poorest small islands pay about \$1.00 (United States) per day and the richer, big islands pay unskilled agricultural labour about \$1.75 (United States) per day.

Recent Social Trends

In Grenada, powerful forces--riots, the hurricane 'Janet,' political progress and the promise of nationhood have been operating to effect changes in the cultural pattern associated with the plantation system. The political advances, wage

increases, and the regular weekly payments for bananas have brought new hope into the lives of the peasants. There have been encouraging improvements in the attitudes of some of the farmers and there are some signs of an awareness of the need for more efficient land use. In a few years the peasants have indicated that when given a chance to succeed they can and will work to achieve a better life.

A Summary of Grenada's Economic and Social Needs for Land Reform

Part II dealt with the general setting of the problem and Part III concentrated more specifically on the land tenure problem. It has been shown that the existing land tenure system is characterized by:

1. Excessive concentration of ownership resulting from the established plantation system.
2. A significant amount of absentee ownership of farm land.
3. Considerable fragmentation producing small inefficient subsistence holdings.
4. A not very efficient land use pattern involving the non-use of some cropland.
5. Inefficient management of both the large plantations and the small farms.
6. An inadequate land tax system.
7. Inadequate accumulation of capital in agriculture.
8. Some landless peasants.
9. Insecure tenure among tillers who share, rent, or lease small holdings.

10. A considerable proportion of peasants being dependent on wages for day work on plantations.

11. Poor access to various opportunities (agricultural credit, markets, etc.) essential to providing farmers the means to make a living from agriculture.

Some Decisions

The above list of needs leads to the conclusion that a serious land tenure problem exists in Grenada and that land reform should be catered for in government planning, both at the unit and federal levels—for other units of the West Indies Federation are also affected by similar land tenure problems. The Federal Government should help meet the problems by assisting in the preparation of regional land tenure reform programmes designed to alleviate the ills associated with the existing tenure structure. The watch words may well be "evolution not revolution."

PART IV: ANALYSIS OF ALTERNATIVES

The Plantation System and Social Organization

An effort to introduce major changes in the existing land tenure system would be tantamount to an assault on the plantation system. Would such an attack be justified in Grenada?

The literature studied and the quotations presented indicate that the plantation system in the Caribbean area has directly or indirectly contributed to:

1. Rigid class lines separating the elite from the peasants.
2. Subsistence peasants who till the land, and comparatively rich landlords who do no manual labour.
3. The lowly position of the Negro--the major racial group.
4. A colour hierarchy affected by the divisions of property--Negroes at the bottom and Whites at the top.
5. Paternalism and the underdevelopment of self-reliance.
6. Insufficient regard for human dignity.
7. Excessive concentration of land ownership.
8. Absentee ownership.
9. Poverty and land hunger among the peasantry.
10. Inefficient land use including some unused cropland.
11. Inadequate production of food crops and livestock, and thereby contributing to the high cost of living by forcing increased importation of expensive agricultural products. The latter in turn contributes to the unfavourable balance of trade.

PART IV: ANALYSIS OF INFORMATION

The Plantation System and Social Organization

Effort to introduce major changes in the existing
the system would be tantamount to an assault on the
as system. Social work as a whole is justified in

literature studied and the questions presented
that the plantation system in the Caribbean area has
or indirectly contributed to:

High class lines separating the elite from the

plantation system was still the land, and consequently

which was to be social justice.

The lowly position of the negro--the major racial group.

A color hierarchy reflected by the divisions of

regions at the bottom and white at the top.

Intensification and the underdevelopment of self-

12. Inefficient management of farms.

13. An inadequate land tax system.

14. An inadequate accumulation of capital in agriculture.

15. An inadequate educational system. Here the influence is indirect: The elite would have the money to complete their children's education overseas and this would tend neither to show marked concern over the inadequate local system nor to encourage a higher tax level to finance provision of improved local facilities.

16. The unsatisfactory state of the family system.

17. The evolution of weak, incohesive communities.

Further the degree of incohesion tends to be related to the form and extent of the plantation system—in Barbados where the plantation system almost blankets the island, the communities are most diffuse and amorphous.

18. The form of government adopted or demanded by emerging nations. The plantation system is well established throughout the Caribbean and all the governments in the West Indies Federation are labour or socialist. In British Guiana where the plantation system is owned and operated by large foreign corporations (as opposed to the family type) a Marxist economic system is hailed as the only solution to the economic ills of the country. It is significant that the 'Marxists' are primarily supported by that racial segment of the society (The East Indians) most deeply committed to the agricultural industry in terms of manual labour for daily wages and as small farm operators.

The experience in Cuba also supports the same general theory, i.e., a relationship exists between the plantation system and leftist forms of government.

19. Low wages.

20. Social disorganization, labour unrest and riots.

The above appears to be rather overwhelming evidence in support of modifying the plantation system even though it permits the achievement of fairly efficient levels of production.

A Series of Emancipations in Other Countries in Order to Establish a Basis for a Grenada Proposal

The bulk of Part IV is devoted to a review of alternatives likely to help resolve Grenada's land tenure problem. This list of reform proposals for Grenada is presented at the end of the section and is limited to alternatives in the immediate area of land reform.

The alternatives to be reviewed will be studied within a framework of six categories (18:18-26) as compiled by Parsons.

1. Land consolidation. The consolidation of fragmented holdings is a measure which is often regarded as the least controversial of land reform programmes.

2. Settlement and colonization. This category includes programmes which involve an extension of man's dominion over nature.

3. Measures to increase the small farmers' opportunities to make a more secure and satisfactory livelihood from farming through reducing hazards and/or handicaps.

4. Landlord and tenant relations. Here attention is paid to lease and rental arrangements, wages, and housing for hired agricultural workers.

5. Cooperative farming and related group activities.

6. Redistribution of land. Parsons says that land distribution is the 'hot' core of the land reform problem.

Land Consolidation

Consolidation is an answer to fragmentation. With 5,243 (or 41.4%) of the farms under one acre in size, there is obvious need for farm consolidation in Grenada. Local experience with land settlements and house and garden lots would indicate that lots of 1/4 acre to 2 acres in size are uneconomic farm units. The experience in Puerto Rico was similar. These very small holdings cannot provide a living and hence are neglected by the owners who seek work elsewhere for wages.

Through consolidation it is hoped to control farm size in order to replace small uneconomic farms with larger units of optimum size for the specific type of farming. Note that the concept of optimum farm size is a dynamic one. "This optimum size can be defined only within broad limits, in relation to the type of farming practiced...it is subject to continuous change as the economy develops...." (23:181)

The above quotation and the two that follow are from a United Nations publication, Experiences in Land Reform, (1954).

One common method adopted in Sweden is the combination of two small farms with or without state aid. (23:190) In the U.K.,

local authorities now have the power to combine small holdings. (23:191)

Cooperative education can pave the way for the adoption of consolidation:

Measures for the consolidation of fragmented holdings demand a high degree of practical understanding and readiness for co-operation on the part of farmers and will be more readily adopted where co-operative traditions are established.

Measures to effect consolidation may be undertaken by means of voluntary co-operation among groups of farmers, either through formal co-operative societies, as in Denmark, or through associations created for the purpose, as in Switzerland. They may also be undertaken by the government, using powers of compulsion...The government may also encourage participation in consolidation projects by offering credit facilities for improvement of new holdings or by contributing to the costs of consolidation. (23:195)

In numerous states of India and Pakistan, special Consolidation Holdings Acts have been passed. Millions of acres are affected. Minimum limits have "been put at 6.25 acres in Uttar Pradesh, five acres for irrigated and fifteen acres for unirrigated land in Madhya Bharat...." (23:197)

It is impractical to set a minimum farm size without careful consideration of a number of factors including population density, climate, acreage per capita income, soil type, and crops grown--just to mention a few. However, experimental plots in Trinidad, supervised by Dr. A. L. Jolly of I.C.T.A.* have indicated that about 3 1/4 acres is a working minimum except in the rather special case of irrigated market gardens where 1 - 2 acres appears adequate. After

*Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture is now the Faculty of Agriculture, University College of the West Indies.

more than five years of careful management, net annual earnings in excess of \$1,200 (West Indies)^(27:3) were obtained on small farms by families of two persons. However, it should be noted that very high rates of capitalization were involved. For cocoa cultivation, Dr. Jolly said that perhaps a 10 acre^(27:5) holding would yield a handsome return to the farm family.

If allowance is made for the high population density in Grenada, a minimum size of 4 or 5 acres appears reasonable for unirrigated land. On irrigated alluviums intended for market gardens, a minimum of two acres would permit an equivalent net income. To adopt minimums below those proposed would jeopardize the economic feasibility of the units.

It may be possible to increase the minimum farm size after about ten years, after it was possible to decide whether progress had been made with proposals presented in the next subsection, proposals to transfer whole farm families to colonize areas outside Grenada.

Farm consolidation without population planning will hardly work even over the short run. Population planning should be an essential feature of Grenada's land reform and development plans. Grenada's density of 680 persons per square mile must be adjusted downwards towards the average (400 persons/sq.mi.) for the West Indies Federation. Without population planning, the land reform proposals become nothing more than stop-gap measures, become just one of a series of reshuffles of rights in land in face of the present net population increase of 1.7% per annum.

Settlement and Colonization

There is little opportunity for settlement of new agricultural areas in Grenada—with considerable effort perhaps a 25% increase in cropland could be achieved. However, a big opportunity for settlement of new areas exists in the neighboring island of Dominica.

Dominica is 2 1/2 times the area of Grenada and has a slightly smaller total population. Large sections of the island are completely undeveloped; development has been hindered by the hilly terrain, the forest cover, inadequate capital, and lack of roads. Now that both internal and external communications have been improved, it is logical to expect a planned flow of people and capital to Dominica.

Barbados, a densely populated unit, has been negotiating for over one year with Dominica and hopes to establish land settlements there. But although Grenada is more closely tied to Dominica by historical accident, climate, topography, and agricultural crops grown, to date the Grenada Government has made no effort to open negotiations.

A soil and land use survey is now in progress in Dominica. Also, it has been reported recently in the Daily Observer of Jamaica that deposits of gold and iron ore^(33:11) have been discovered within 20 miles of Roseau, the capital. It is hoped that the deposits prove of commercial proportions. Even without these attractions, settlement of Dominica should be pressed. Of all the peoples of the Federation, Grenadians

are apt, culturally speaking, to make the best settlers for development of Dominica. It would be most odd if negotiations for settlements were not proposed by either party (both units stand to gain) within the next year or so.

Lack of capital to finance the settlements would be a major snag and the bulk of the funds should come from the Federal Government. Barbados has already approached this source for assistance and Grenada should follow suit. Now that Trinidad has established a claim to limit immigrants from other units for a nine year period it would be best to exploit Dominica's possibilities to the full.

Any dynamic farm consolidation programs in Grenada will necessitate a complementary overseas settlement scheme, for, despite the heavy migration to Britain since 1957, the 1960 census indicates a net annual population increase of 1.7% since the 1946 census. Nor can industrialization be expected to provide the answer in the foreseeable future for not only are the opportunities for sizable industrial development limited, but the experiences in the industrialized countries suggest a time lapse between industrial expansion and decline in rural population. According to Raup:

Folke Devring has pointed out that in many of these countries the downturn in agricultural population took place relatively late in their development histories. (29:6)

Although Dominica has been cited as the obvious first choice for settlements, other opportunities exist. There is British Guiana. Also various West African (31:3) nations have

been approached by the Jamaica Government to accept settlements of surplus agricultural families. The present migration to Britain hardly provides an adequate and permanent solution to the Federation's surplus population problem. In the first place many Britains object to the spate of coloured migrants. Secondly, the island suffers when a migration takes mostly adults of the most productive age groups and leaves the elder citizens and the children. In the national interest the establishment of settlements in Dominica is probably the most profitable proposition.

Measures to Make Opportunities to Use Land More Secure or Rewarding by Reducing Headlocks and Hazards

This section deals with three dimensions of opportunity - which must be readily available to farmers, (a) agricultural credit, (b) market opportunities, and (3) education; all three are important sources of economic power.

Agricultural Credit. Until recently, agricultural credit in Grenada has been a privilege of the big landowner; with large tracts of land he can raise loans easily. But the small farmer was usually less fortunate. After the 1955 hurricane most farmers obtained credit by mortgaging their land, but credit for rehabilitation--special loans and grants from the U.K.--has been exhausted. And whereas the traditional scarcity has returned, Dr. A. L. Jolly's investigation on small farm possibilities has stressed the need for credit to make a success with small family farms:

The third secret of these holdings is that they need heavy capitalization compared with normal peasants, and investment of a kind that is suitable to the small

farm. The tenant capital (that is, excluding land, roads and water supply) required for the arable farm is about \$1,000 and for the market garden \$2,000; this represents tenant investment of \$1,000 per acre or more. About half the capital is invested in crops and livestock, the other half in the tenant's house and buildings sited on the holding. None, of course, is invested in machinery or transport. Suitable investment at the rate of \$1,000 to \$1,500 per worker (exclusive of land) obviously makes satisfactory labour earnings a practical possibility. (27:4)

Without credit, the accretionary process of capital formation in agriculture falters. The land reform programme must have a substantial credit backing. So urgent is the need that if borrowed capital is slow in forthcoming, then taxes will have to be levied—an increase in the land tax should be considered.

As agriculture is primarily a unit responsibility it behoves the unit government to secure the funds to provide agricultural credit. The urgent need would indicate that requests for agricultural credit should be included in the negotiations for immediate assistance from the United States and from the United Kingdom. Agricultural credit from these countries would be made available for the small islands pending development of long-term assistance programmes after nationhood is achieved.

Marketing. Whereas the marketing of export crops is well organised, failure to provide proper interval marketing opportunities is a major failing in Grenada. The need for revamping the inadequate system is appreciated and the marketing division in the Department of Agriculture is being reorganized. In 1960, a new Marketing Officer was appointed and an Advisory Marketing Board established. The Head of the Department of Agriculture is chairman of the Board.

Land reform will provide an excellent opportunity for a reshuffle in land use which could go a long way to help with reorganizing the marketing system. Presently, most field and garden vegetables are grown on small scattered peasant holdings on hill slopes throughout the island. There is no regional specialization in the production of vegetables, meat, milk, and poultry products.

Land reform could help facilitate area specialization. By requiring that farmers to be assigned new farms in particular areas agree to devote a stated percentage of the cropland to a specified crop or type of farming, it will be possible to guarantee not only area and/or regional specialization, but to achieve a more efficient land use in terms of soil conservation principles. For example, the growing of row crops on steep, clean-cultivated slopes will be superseded by permanent vegetation on the slopes and row crops on some of the flat alluvial areas which can be mulched, irrigated and otherwise managed to produce row crops and garden vegetables round the year. It is important to note that without land tenure reform a rational land use pattern with respect to local food crop production can never develop without authoritarian government controls as long as the plantations hold nearly all of the very limited alluvial flats.

However, if land reform is used to secure an efficient land use pattern, then many of the marketing problems which do not now seem surmountable will become manageable—the ready accumulation of agricultural statistics will permit crop

forecasting, production planning, and the development of marketing facilities capable of efficiently serving all three segments of the marketing public: producers (farmers); middleman (wholesalers and retailers); and the consumers.

The Extension Service. What are the objectives of Extension? The answer to this question is well stated in a publication on the Policies of the Cooperative Extension Service in Michigan:

Extension's function is education. It is not education in the abstract, but education for action. It is education of an informal and distinct type. It is education directed to helping people solve the various problems which they encounter from day to day in agriculture, home economics, and related subjects. It is education focused on the objectives of helping people attain:

- Greater ability in maintaining more efficient farms and better homes.
- Greater ability in acquiring higher incomes and levels of living on a continuing basis.
- Increased competence and willingness, by both adults and youth, to assume leadership and citizenship responsibilities.
- Increased ability and willingness to undertake organized group action when such will contribute effectively to improving their welfare.

In striving to attain these objectives, the guiding principle of all Extension workers has always been "helping people to help themselves." (16:5)

A land tenure reform programme involves politics, a multitude of regulatory measures, and finally various educational and self-help functions. Politics and the enforcement of regulations in action programmes have no place in extension work. Diffusing useful and practical information on subjects pertaining to agriculture and home management is the legitimate area of action for the extension service.

Here, from the same Michigan State publication is a list of nine areas of responsibility around which extension workers centre their activities:

- Efficiency in agricultural production
- Efficiency in marketing, distribution, and utilisation
- Conservation development and use of natural resources
- Management on the farm and in the home
- Family living
- Youth development
- Leadership development
- Community improvement and resource development
- Public affairs education (16:7)

It is readily seen from the above that extension workers have ample opportunity to make valuable contributions to the success of land tenure reform programmes without direct involvement in politics and law enforcement.

Landlord-tenant Relations

In this subsection the emphasis is on increasing security, more security for both owners and tenant.

Whereas the Grenada Small Tenancies Ordinance of 1952 was probably based on the English Tenancy Act of 1948 and does incorporate a number of the security measures embodied in the latter named, it appears that certain clauses which gave further security to the English tenant were omitted in the Grenada law. Below are a number of quotations from the United Nations first report on Progress in Land Reform; provisions which are in the English Act but are missing in the Grenada Ordinance are discussed briefly after each quote:

Normally, a landlord must give his tenant at least twelve months' notice to quit, and this notice must expire on the annual date of the tenancy. Except in certain circumstances, the tenant has the right to object to a notice to quit. If he does so within one month from the giving of the notice, then the landlord has to apply for the consent of the Minister of Agriculture to the operation of the notice....(23:120)

Comment: In Grenada the one year* notice may apply but the tenant has no right to object.

As regards compensation, the English Act "contains comprehensive provisions for ensuring that a tenant receives adequate compensation on the termination of a tenancy for any improvements he has carried out...." (23:121)

Comment: In Grenada, compensation is usually paid only on crops planted by the tenant. Where annual crops are involved there is a possibility that these may have been reaped by the time the arbitration occurs. In such cases the tenant would only be paid for the permanent crops he had planted.

In addition, a tenant who vacates a holding in consequence of a notice to quit is in most cases entitled to compensation for disturbance, varying from one to two years' rent....A tenant is not entitled to compensation for disturbance if he leaves as a result of notice to quit following the issue of a certificate of bad husbandry against him. (23:121)

Comment: There is no compensation for disturbance in Grenada.

For a broader perspective it is necessary to look further afield. Security measures have received considerable attention in Western European countries over a number of generations and existing legislation allows a high degree of security to the tenant. "In most of these countries, peasant proprietorship is well established, and tenancy plays a comparatively unimportant part in the agrarian structure." (23:117)

When one turns to recent land reform developments in Asia it is seen in the literature studied that rural overpopulation has forced reformers to pay special attention to

*The notice period may be only six months.

security for the cultivator:

In India, one of the major aims of land reform policy is to provide security for tenants, including opportunities for them to become owners of the land they cultivate.

Although measures vary from area to area, they relate generally to the following: (1) setting a minimum period of tenancy; (2) restricting the grounds for eviction; (3) establishing the tenant's right to restoration of lands; (4) elimination of absentee landlordism and encouragement of peasant proprietorship; (5) restrictions on subletting; (6) compensation for improvements.

(1) A minimum period of tenancy has been laid down in several States: ten years in Bombay, Punjab and Hyderabad, and five years in Mysore, Berar, and Tanjore.

(2) The grounds for eviction permissible under recent Acts are:

"...non-payment of rent; use of land for non-agricultural purposes, or in any manner injurious to the land; subletting except in cases specified under the Acts; and leaving lands fallow for specified periods. In Bombay and Hyderabad, the tenants who have joined in a co-operative farming society cannot be ejected even if the landlord requires land for personal cultivation." In many cases also time and opportunity are provided for tenants to remove the causes making them liable to eviction.... (23:127)

In Pakistan, also, the trends are towards more security:

The purpose of recent tenancy legislation is to give adequate security to all tenants...legislation is not uniform in the whole country, and the degree of security granted is greater in the Punjab, for instance, than in Sind.

In the Punjab permanent and hereditary rights have been granted to all tenants-at-will but they cannot sublet their holdings.

In the North-West Frontier Province the Tenancy Act of 1950 guarantees tenant cultivators three years of security of tenure under certain conditions.

In Sind, the large majority of tenants-at-will, called haris, have obtained security for one year...they cannot

be evicted before the end of the cropping season. Permanent rights have been granted to those cultivators who have farmed four acres from the same land holder continuously for three years. (23:129)

And now to Japan:

In Japan...the 1946 Owner-Farmer Establishment Law has transferred nearly 80 per cent of all tenant land to owner occupancy. (23:130)

Rental rates will not be discussed here because for the most part they provide no major problem in Grenada. However, it is interesting to note that in Egypt rental value is estimated at seven times the basic land tax. (23:79) The Egyptian method of calculating rental rates may prove useful in the preparation of revised rates for Grenada.

Hired agricultural workers are an important segment of the labour force where the plantation system is well established. In Grenada, over the past five years agricultural workers have increased their membership in labour unions and the labour codes are enforced via cooperation between the Labour Department and the various labour unions. Labour legislation protects the worker by:

1. Minimum wage agreements
2. Regulation of contracts
3. Regulation of work hours and holidays
4. Regulation of work by women and children
5. Protection of health and other social security measures.

In the area of housing, however, it appears that there is much room for improving accommodations for hired workers. The writer is unaware of any evidence that would suggest that the owners of family type plantations in Grenada accept responsibility

for housing employees other than managers, watchmen and perhaps foremen. In contrast, workers on corporation type estates in Trinidad, Jamaica and British Guiana do receive assistance with housing.

The above suggests that land reform proposals should include provisions for extending the responsibility of Grenada plantation owners to include help with housing for regularly hired workers. This approach is well established (23:161) in Australia, New Zealand, the United States of America and other countries.

In India, a somewhat different approach has been used-- in some states steps have been taken by government housing boards (23:162) to construct houses in rural areas for farm labour, the costs to be recovered by government in installments over twenty-five years. Regardless of the approach, reform should include proposals which will help provide agricultural workers with improved housing accommodations.

Cooperative Farming

Cooperative farming is not easily organized unless the basic cooperative principles are acceptable to a sizeable segment of the society. So it may be best to begin by asking-- What are the possibilities for cooperative farming in Grenada?

A few cooperative credit unions and a number of Friendly Societies* have operated in Grenada for a long time. However,

*Friendly Societies are organized as chapters, usually with one chapter operating in an area. Male or mixed membership is common. Members save money which is banked and accounted for by a trusted member. Normally, funds are withdrawn to cover family emergencies.

an organized cooperative movement did not develop until after the appointment of a Registrar of Cooperatives in 1956.

Since 1957 the movement has grown rapidly. It is estimated that there are 25-30 organisations with about 1,000 members. Thus, about 8 % of the peasants are directly involved in cooperative groups. To date emphasis has been on encouraging members to accumulate savings (very meagre) and study rules and cooperative philosophy so as to be prepared to participate in organized cooperative marketing and full fledged credit union activity at a later stage.

Cooperatives can be expanded to play a vital role in rural development of overpopulated developing countries. Where overpopulation is a serious problem people literally rub shoulder to shoulder and unless the collateral relational orientation (an ingrained cultural value position which emphasizes the individual as a member of a group) is encouraged to be dominant over the individualistic relational orientation (where prime attention is given to the autonomy of individuals) it is most likely that considerable friction, frustration, hostility, and social disorganization will result from the juxtaposition of individuals.

Thus as a socializing mechanism cooperatives can be beneficial to an overpopulated society. But as a positive force in development, the movement can be organized to produce self-help groups capable of achieving goals far beyond the capabilities of individual efforts.

In Grenada, group self-help activity has played an important role in the rural segment--voluntary, unpaid labour groups working in "maroons"* have long been a feature. But whereas the maroons usually were organized primarily for cane harvests and the host farmer would feed the helpers, the existing labour groups are encouraged to handle all types of cultivation operations and members are expected to supply their own food. Such efforts on holdings as separate units are only one step away from group work on consolidated holdings.

Thus in Grenada there exists the socio-economic elements which could support development not only of cooperative credit unions and marketing societies but could be nurtured to produce cooperative farms from consolidated peasant holdings. In India, the operation of cooperative farms primarily by extended family groups is being encouraged. It seems feasible that some of the proposed consolidated holdings in Grenada could be worked as cooperative farms along the lines used in India.

Important as they are, the above are not the only contributions that the cooperative movement can make to a land reform programme. Cooperatives are a good training ground

* The writer assumes the Grenada "maroon" to be similar to the "gayap" of Trinidad. The Herskovits write in the book, Trinidad Village:

The gayap, whereby men cooperate in performing tasks that benefit from concerted effort, has its counterpart in Africa though the custom of mutual self-help is far more widely spread than on that continent....Here is an example of the retention of a custom which was immediately applicable to the requirements of the slave system, where gang labour was the fundamental technique employed in working the estates. Under freedom, the older custom merely reasserted itself, to obtain results that were beyond individual effort. (5:290-291)

for leaders who will be capable of making important contributions to the programme through local committees after the pattern used so successfully in Japan's land tenure reform programme as Parsons reports:

Local committees carried much of the responsibility of administration, and this experience seems to have valuable lessons for other countries. (8:6)

And finally, if viewed from an over-all developmental orientation, the cooperative movement can render vital assistance in the building of community facilities as roads, multi-purpose community halls and playfields; in the training of craftsmen and handicraft workers as a contribution to the establishment of rural and cottage industries; in the lessening of dependence on paternalism accompanied by a developing self-reliance, and in the creation of dynamic communities.

Redistribution of Land--The "Hot" Core of Land Tenure Reform

Land redistribution programmes are serious undertakings and indicate recognition that serious social and economic maladjustments have become established in the society. The pressures which have built up will probably not subside until and unless redistribution is effected, and distribution by an evolutionary process is to be preferred to some other more costly methods.

Seen in its proper perspective, land redistribution in Grenada will be nothing more or less than another of a long series of almost worldwide redistribution programmes. Land reform is presently in progress in many areas but has been

making most headway in Asia in recent times. It now seems that the time is ripe for land reform to move through the Caribbean. Cuba resorted to a revolution; what shall be the experience of the West Indies Federation?

In Grenada as in Asia one big problem hinges on the low rates of both capital and land in relation to a big and rapidly increasing labour force. Almost throughout Asia, land reform is or recently has been concerned with the abolition of the landlord and the transfer of ownership from landlord to the tiller.^(23:19) Broadly speaking, a similar approach will probably yield the most realistic solution for Grenada.

The existing heavy concentration of ownership (0.7% of the farms account for 49% of the farm acreage) should be reduced significantly. But before suggesting a programme it is wise to note some of the measures used in other countries in their redistribution programmes.

As early as 1900^(13:32) efforts were made to restrict land ownership by corporations in Puerto Rico to 500 acres; but the law was not enforced. However, R. E. Crist says:

Teeth were provided by act of the insular legislature in 1936, which made possible quo warranto proceedings for the taking over by the insular government of corporation acreages in excess of 500 acres.^(13:33)

Those who believe the plantation system to be efficient beyond comparison with other agricultural production units should read this quotation from the book The Caribbean at Mid Century:

Although it is frequently maintained that, up to the point of diminishing returns the plantation system is

economically more efficient than the small owner-operator system, this contention, in the opinion of Dr. Pico, well-trained observer and careful scholar, does not hold true in Puerto Rico.

The need for more than 500 acres per farm for efficiency in production has not been substantiated by facts. In view of the unsocial distribution of income that results from concentration of large tracts of lands of private individuals, the practice of owning more than 500 acres should be condemned.

The owner-operator system of land tenure would therefore seem to be justified on economic grounds as well as from the point of view of social considerations. (13:34-35)

In Mexico where land reform has been in progress since 1915, the upper limit on cropland is 200 hectares* (494.2 acres). E. A. Duran writes:

Mexican law sanctions a size of plot whose area is no greater than one hundred irrigated hectares, two hundred hectares of non-irrigated land, or its equivalent in other types of land such as pastures, uncultivated lands, forests, etc. (8:309)

But as one continues the review the upper limit falls.

A United Nations publication reports that in Egypt the limit is 200 feddan** (207.564 acres).

The Law on Agrarian Reform of 1952 provides that "No person shall own more than 200 feddan (84 hectares) of agricultural land." (23:79)

Some exceptions were permitted including the transfer of ownership within five years of the entry into force of the law of a maximum of 50 feddan per child provided that the total did not exceed 100 feddan. (23:79)

In addition, compensation was controlled.

Compensation is to be paid at a rate equal to ten times the rental value, which is estimated at seven times the basic land tax; to this shall be added the "value of any constructions, machine installations, and trees." Compensation "shall be in the form of

*One hectare = 2.471 acres.

** One feddan = 1.038 acres.

government bonds, bearing interest at 3 per cent, redeemable in thirty years; these bonds may be used in payment for unimproved land purchased from the Government or for land tax and death duties.

Farmers and farm labourers owning less than five feddan are entitled to receive from two to five feddan of expropriated land. Payment is to equal the amount paid by the Government as compensation, plus an annual interest of 3 per cent plus an over-all addition of "15 per cent of this price, representing costs of requisition, distribution and other expenses."

Expropriation and redistribution are to be completed within five years. In the meantime, "as of 1 January 1953, a supplementary tax shall be imposed on any area exceeding 200 feddan, at the rate of five times the amount of the basic tax." Land that has been expropriated but not yet redistributed is managed by the Higher Committee for Agrarian Reforms which works through provincial committees. (23:79)

Many countries in Europe have recently completed land reform. For example, in Finland^(23:66) two million hectares or 12% of south Finland has changed hands since 1945. In Poland^(23:66) 29% of the total agricultural area changed hands in recent years. These transfer percentages will be used to help arrive at a reasonable transfer percentage for Grenada's programme proposals.

As the review of land redistribution programmes shifts to Asia, the upper limits set on farm size falls considerably and is very low in Japan* where population pressure problems are probably the most severe. The table that follows includes data from Table I in the Statistical Appendix ^(6:226) of The Pattern of Land Tenure Reform in East Asia, by Sidney Klein.

*Only 7.35 acres allowed per person. For further details see p. 106.

The table suggests a similarity in the problems to be surmounted in Grenada and a number of Asian countries and is in sharp contrast with the U.S.A. situation. The figures, refer to the agricultural population per square mile of cultivated land, e.g., for Grenada, 45,000 acres of cropland or 70.31 square miles with an estimated rural population of 66,000 yields a density of $66,000/70.31$ or 939 persons per square mile of cultivated land.

Table VI

Country	Year	Agricultural population density per sq.mi. of cultivated land
Japan	1940	1476
China	1936	1077
Taiwan	1940	940
<u>Grenada</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>939</u>
United States	1940	52

A brief outline of some of the characteristics of India's land redistribution programmes provide a good starting point. On information available, the limit on farm size in some states is between 30 and 80 acres.^(23:56) Only cooperative groups may control over the limits, and as in Egypt, the compensation rates to landlords are controlled.

Land acquired under reform regulations is distributed with top priority given the landless agricultural workers resident near the area being reapportioned. Each family may purchase on a long-term installment plan between 5 - 7 acres of irrigated land or over 15 acres of fallow land. On

acquiring land, government has it surveyed and divided into parcels which are numbered. The eligible farmers draw lots to determine who shall have claim to each specific parcel. When families are willing to work in cooperative groups, such farmers are assigned to adjoining parcels.

Space will not be devoted to a study of reform in Communist China because there are elements in the programme, e.g., confiscation of property without compensation, that would be unacceptable in the West Indies Federation. However, it is interesting to note that steps were taken "to induce the peasants to join a mutual aid team on a long term (yearly or longer) basis, and sometimes to add to cooperation in agricultural production, cooperation in rural subsidiary occupations." (6:171)

The salient features of land tenure reform in Japan are embodied in two ordinances: No. 556 and No. 621 of 1946.

S. Klein writes:

The first ordinance, the Agricultural Land Adjustment Law, set up the administrative machinery for the program; the second ordinance, the Owner Farmer Land Establishment Special Measures Law, delineated the objectives and policies toward and under which the administrative machinery was to work.

The Agricultural Land Adjustment Law contained two significant features:

1. It designated the National Minister of Agriculture and Forestry, the prefectural governors, and the central, prefectural and local agricultural land commissions as responsible for carrying out the land tenure reform legislation. The most important commissions, the local commissions, were to be composed of 10 persons elected for two year terms by secret ballot: five tenant representatives, two owner-cultivator representatives, and three

landlord representatives were to be elected by persons voting in their respective categories.... In addition to the 10 elected representatives, the prefectural governor might appoint three additional persons with the unanimous consent of all elected commissioners.

2. Ownership, lease, and other rights in agricultural land could not be created or transferred except with permission of the prefectural governor or the local land commission. Tenants might not terminate, refuse, or rescind leases to agricultural land, even in cases of bad faith, without prior approval of local land commissions and without giving one-half to one full year's notice. No sale of land was to be effected where the price exceeded 40 times the official rental valuation for paddy land or 48 times the official rental valuation for upland fields.

The Farmer Establishment Special Law decreed that:

1. The government was to purchase all tenant lands owned by absentee landowners, and all tenant lands owned by resident landlords, in excess of an average of 2.45 acres (one cho). On the average, 7.35 acres (three cho) were to be the maximum holding owned by any one person.

2. The government was to purchase the land in accordance with a plan prepared and administered by each local commission. The plan was to be drawn so that the ultimate buyers should pay the same price to the government as the government paid the sellers,....

3. The price to be paid to each seller for the land was to be 40 times the official (1938) rental valuation for paddy land and 48 times the official rental valuation for uplands, plus a subsidy.... The purchase price was to be paid in government bonds within 30 years.

4. The government received the power to sell to the eligible, agricultural land which it might acquire under the law, and in addition, agricultural land already in its possession. Those eligible to purchase were tenant farmers and others "likely to devote themselves to cultivation," farm labourers, tenants of corporations, etc. The sale plan for each locality and each individual sale was to be the responsibility of the local commissions.

5. Purchasers of land were to pay the government for the land in annual installments over a 30 year period at 3.2% interest, unless it was elected by them on an individual basis to pay sooner. (6:23-25)

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Considerations Related to Land Redistribution in Grenada

Within the existing cultural complex, the crux of the redistribution problem seems to hinge on how much cropland is to be transferred from the largest farms to the small farms.

Data from Table IV, page 62, can be used to show that the 11,121 farms under five acres in size total only 13,831 acres of farmland. In contrast, the 95 farms over 100 acres in size total 30,777 farmland acres. As 62,767 acres of farmland yielded 45,000 acres of cropland, i.e., a ratio of about 7:5, it can be assumed that the two groups (under five acres and over 100 acres) represent respectively about 9900 acres and 22,000 acres of cropland.

If about 20% (or 9,000 acres) of Grenada's total cropland is transferred from the over 100 acre farms to those under 5 acres in size, the 95 plantations would be left a total of 13,000 acres of cropland or approximately 137 acres each. A transfer of this order would allow the landlords to retain a maximum of 80 - 100 acres of cropland each and also to have the privilege (based on the Egyptian example) of transferring some land--say to a maximum of 50 acres--to their children.

Redistribution it seems should provide for a significant transfer of control over land from the richest group to the poorest. And a transfer planned so as not to involve the intermediate groups is apt to cause a minimum of dislocation

and arouse a minimum of opposition. Another important feature is that this approach would only necessitate redistribution in a maximum of 95 areas and thus would not present an unduly difficult administrative problem.

A Land Reform Proposal for Grenada— the Recommended Alternatives

One of the crucial stages in any problem solving situation is the choice of alternatives or the proposals endorsed at the decision making phase. This is the point reached—it follows logically after recognition of the problem, observing the relevant factors, and analysing the alternatives. Hereunder are the proposals which are presented under the six categories used in the previous section. A seventh and final subsection is included to cover proposed legislative action.

Land consolidation:

1. That a programme of farm consolidation be endorsed and that consideration be given to efficient size for the specific type of farming.

2. That a number of methods be employed to secure consolidation of small farms, e.g., through formal cooperatives, through specially created associations, by compulsion, and by encouragement involving contributions to the costs of consolidation.

3. That efficient and/or optimum size be regarded as variable and susceptible to change.

4. That a minimum size of 4 - 5 acres of cropland be adopted proten as applicable to all hillside farming; and that provision be made for a minimum of two acre farms where irrigated alluvial soils are used for the production of market garden crops.

5. That the existing family units be used as the basic units in the land reform programme.

Land Settlement and Colonization

1. That provisions be made for the settlement of some of Grenada's peasant families in planned overseas land settlements and that priority be given to settlement in nearby Dominica.

2. That population planning involving planned out-migration and birth control measures be considered an integral feature of the land tenure reform programme.

3. That farm families in the overseas settlements be provided with enough land, credit and other facilities and opportunities as to help make the settlements attractive and successful.

Proposals to Make Opportunities to Use Land More Secure and Rewarding

1. Credit. That government borrow and/or levy taxes to provide agricultural credit for farmers whose development plans are seriously handicapped by a lack of capital.

2. Marketing. That land use plans incorporate features that make for the development of a more efficient marketing structure--both for export crops and products for local

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consumption.

That in the programme for marketing reorganization, government define certain alluvial areas as special areas for continuous farming as vegetable gardens.

3. Extension. That the extension service be reorganized to provide maximum support to land reform and farm development, and that the Service function by helping the people help themselves and by working as an educational organisation.

4. That the land reform programme provide for adequate soil conservation measures and efficient land use.

5. That special farms be established to repeat Dr. Jolly's experiments on small farms under Grenada conditions in order that Extension may have reliable information for farmers in the vital area of small farm operation and management.

Landlord and Tenant Relations

1. That the Grenada Agricultural Small Tenancies Ordinance (No. 17 of 1952) be revised to incorporate new provisions that provide more security of tenure.

2. That where possible tenancy be replaced by owner occupancy and that the percentage of tenancy be reduced by providing tenants who have completed three or more years of uninterrupted tenancy opportunity to purchase the farms they operate.

3. That tenants have the right to appeal on receipt of a quit notice and that the appeals be judged in terms of the value of the farm as a unit of agricultural production.

4. That compensation to the tenant cover all improvements on the farm.

5. That cultivators' security of tenure normally be extended to cover a three year period.

6. That provision be made for paying tenants compensation for disturbances of tenancy.

7. That tenants who do not operate their farms satisfactorily be first warned in writing. If they fail to show improvement during the warning period, then a quit notice would be served and no compensation be paid.

8. That minimum housing standards for housing hired agricultural workers be introduced and that government promote joint plantation owner-hired worker responsibility in housing for regularly employed agricultural workers. However, that government face the likelihood of having to make some financial contributions to the costs of improved rural housing.

Cooperative Farming

1. That Cooperative farming be encouraged.

2. That cooperative principles be widely disseminated to provide a sound and broad base for the organization of numerous forms of cooperative activity in agriculture and other rural occupations.

Land Redistribution

1. That land redistribution be incorporated as an essential feature of the land tenure reform programme.

2. That reform provide for a significant modification of the plantation system by requiring that a significant percentage of the cropland controlled by the largest plantations be acquired for redistribution to the landless agricultural workers and to farmers with small uneconomic holdings.

In this connection it is recommended that about 20% (or 9,000 acres) of Grenada's cropland be transferred to the eligible peasants.

Table VII Land Distribution Before and After
the Proposed Land Reform

Farmland size categories	<u>Approximate Cropland Involved</u>			
	<u>Before</u>		<u>After</u>	
	<u>Acres</u>	<u>% of total</u>	<u>Acres</u>	<u>% of total</u>
Under 5 acres	9,910	22.1	18,910	42.1
5 - 9.9 "	4,330	9.8	4,330	9.8
10-49.9 "	6,020	13.4	6,020	13.4
50-99.9 "	2,570	5.7	2,570	5.7
Over 100 "	22,000	49.0	13,000	29.0
<u>Totals</u>	<u>44,830</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>44,830</u>	<u>100.0</u>

3. That an upper limit on individual ownership of arable land be set at approximately 40 - 50 acres of alluvial soil, or 80 - 100 acres of hillside land, or the equivalent, in order to reduce the concentration of ownership. And that only cooperative groups may control areas beyond the stated limits.

4. That the upper limit be held constant by contract for at least 20 years so that landowners can proceed with development plans without fear of further expropriation within the 20 year period.

5. That acquired land be surveyed and subdivided into a number of farms of the size set as the minimum for the specific type of farming.

6. That provisions be made to prohibit the cutting up of large farms into small parcels below four (4) acres in size except in special cases, e.g., irrigated alluviums for market gardens.

7. That eligible farmers (farmers with less than four acres) and landless agricultural workers choose their farms by drawing lots; and that farmers willing to work holdings as cooperative farms be provided adjoining parcels.

8. That compensation rates for land acquired by government for redistribution be controlled.

9. That compensation be paid in part by government bonds bearing interest at 3 - 4% and redeemable in 30 years.

10. That land be sold at the same price it was purchased for by government, and that those purchasing land be allowed up to 30 years to complete payments.

11. That every effort be made to restrict individual farmers (as opposed to cooperative farmers) to the control of only one farm.

12. That within 3 to 4 years of the enactment of land tenure reform legislation, the plantation owners with more cropland than the specified limit be allowed to transfer to

their children land up to, but not in excess of, 50 arable acres.

13. That the acquisition and redistribution of land be completed within 3 to 4 years.

Legislative Action

1. That an Agricultural Land Adjustment Law be passed to allow for the establishment of the administrative machinery for the land tenure reform programme.

2. That the said ordinance designate the State (Unit) Minister for Commerce, Industry and Tourism, through the Department of Forestry and Lands in conjunction with local agricultural land committees, as responsible for carrying out land redistribution legislation.

3. That the said ordinance designate the State (Unit) Minister for Social Affairs through the Department of Cooperatives in conjunction with the Farmers Cooperative Societies, as responsible for carrying out farm consolidation legislation.

4. That the said law provide that ownership and other rights in agricultural land cannot be created or transferred except with permission of the local committees and the Ministers-in-Council.

5. That a second law, the Farmers Establishment Special Measures Law delineate goals and policies toward and under which the administrative machinery is to work.

6. That consideration be given to raising the basic land tax of 24s per acre to at least 50s (West Indian).

7. That a supplementary tax be imposed on any individually controlled area exceeding the specified upper limit, at a rate 2 - 3 times the new basic land tax; and that the increased taxes from land be used to help finance the proposed agricultural credit scheme.

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PART V: IMPLEMENTATION OF THE LAND

TENURE REFORM PROPOSAL

The treatment of land tenure reform as a management problem began with recognition of the problem, then followed a careful study of relevant factors. Next the alternatives were listed and analysed, and the decisions were stated in a comprehensive proposal. Taking action or implementation is the phase of the process with which it is intended to close the main body of this thesis. The following is a discussion of some of the factors relevant to the implementation of the land reform proposal.

The Need for Careful Planning

Implementation of major land reform measures involves attention to a wide assortment of factors and as a result necessitates careful planning. It would be an impractical task to attempt to deal with all the considerations associated with implementing the proposal but there are a couple of aspects which are so important that to omit some discussion of them, however brief, would be inappropriate.

Although the proposal outlined in Part IV specifically avoids many of the harsher elements of land tenure reform such as confiscation of landlords' property without compensation, and does not advocate abolition of the plantation system; there would be a number of important changes introduced into the culture. It is probably true to argue that the benefits

should far outweigh the disbenefits. But there is no denying that important and widespread changes can, if not adequately planned and executed, lead to considerable social disorganisation, e.g., political reform in Nigeria was a success, but the recent chaos in the Congo was a direct result of unplanned, precipitate action.

In the management of a problem it is often as important to minimise losses as it is to maximise gains (the minimax principle) for it is the net gain that determines the ultimate benefit to the society as a whole. Poor management instead of achieving the benefits of evolutionary progress may well be accompanied by many of the costs of revolution.

One aspect of which to beware in programmes which introduce significant change into a culture is the cost of mental ill health. In the book Cultural Patterns and Technical Change, prepared by the World Federation for Mental Health and edited by the eminent sociologist and anthropologist, Margaret Mead, the need for the change-agent to pay special attention to the mental health of the member of the society is stressed:

So a first consideration—from the standpoint of mental health—in the introduction of any technical change should be the safe-guard of the population against further mental ill health, against the expression in individual lives of the disorganisation and disruption accompanying the introduction of new techniques and ways of living. (7:269)

Change involves a discarding of old habits for new ones and there are certain psychological principles which should

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be observed during the process. Those principles are documented in Cultural Patterns and Technical Change (7:270-275) and include:

1. Taking into consideration the total culture.
2. Awareness that the change-agents' beliefs, behavior and attitudes are not universal and axiomatic.
3. Realization that peoples beliefs and attitudes have functional utility.
4. Any change must be viewed from the point of the persons exposed to the change.
5. Experts must be on guard against the 'logical' decision that the way to deal with change in one aspect of living is to make a master plan for changes in the whole. There is no way of predicting responses to even one far reaching change; so the master plan approach should be avoided.
6. Any significant change tends to introduce disharmony and/or instability, and this disruption tends to occur even if the people accept the idea of change.
7. Frustrations can develop in any of the following four major areas: physical environment, biological limitations, psychological make-up, and social environment.
8. When frustrations persist then disruption results and frequent harmful consequences result. Adjustments may reduce tension but may also impair the healthy functioning of the total personality of the individual, e.g., new forms of dependency may develop; or accumulated tensions may spark aggressive acts; or individuals may withdraw physically and/or

psychologically--the maladjustment may be accompanied by apathy, alcoholism, etc.

The second aspect associated with implementing the proposal was implied in an earlier section; it is the need to handle land tenure reform as part of a long-term development programme. The writer is aware that this feature--long-term planning appears to conflict with the fifth item paraphrased from the book Cultural Patterns and Technical Change. He, however, cannot envisage undertaking a complex long-term development programme without thorough pre-planning and preparation of a master plan. Perhaps Mead is sounding a warning against using a master plan which will be adhered to regardless of developments. However, the present writer can see no harm in preparing a master plan which is intended as a tool to help guide progress and not as a master to dictate implementation regardless of developments and costs.

With the physical redistribution of land completed it would yet be essential to pay careful attention to other adjustments occurring in the total culture. For example, it was suggested that land reform without any improvement in the level of living would be a farce. As a result, attention must be paid to such over-all development factors as population planning, and programming for some industrialization.

The need for a reduction in the gross population density in Grenada has been discussed (see p.90) and will receive the briefest treatment here. In addition to establishing land settlements in Dominica it will still be necessary to introduce

various birth control measures in Grenada. The pilot birth control programs in a predominantly Roman Catholic* Puerto Rico were orally administered contraceptives and may provide valuable lessons for a program in Grenada. A government subsidy on the drugs involved may reduce costs to the point that use could become widespread enough to provide an effective brake on population growth. Initially, the program could be launched as a localized project.

As regards industrialization there are only rather limited opportunities open to Grenada. Outside of agriculture, tourism and a very small forest products industry, the only possibilities seem to hang upon a planned expansion of the fishing industry and an effort to attract oil companies in Trinidad to sink test wells in north Grenada where the recent discovery of some shale formations suggest the possible existence of oil. These two areas of possible development to help relieve pressure on the land as a source of income have been treated in some detail in Part II.

The Extension Service and Its Organization for Contribution to the Success of the Land Tenure Reform Program

This phase of the implementation program is chosen for expanded treatment because of the present writer's special interest in extension education.

In an earlier discussion it was established that extension is an educational organization created to help people identify their needs and problems and to assist them in arriving at

*It is interesting to note that although the Puerto Rico program using oral contraceptives has been in operation for a few years and has received some international publicity, there has been no official condemnation of this method by the heads of the Roman Catholic Church in Rome.

the most promising course of action in light of their own desires, resources, and abilities." (15:7) Before presenting a list of some of the major contributions that Extension can make to the proposed land reform for Grenada it would help to clearly define the established programme areas in which the organization operates.

In the Cooperative Extension Service of Michigan there are five programme areas: (17:1)

1. Agricultural production.
2. Marketing and utilisation of agricultural and forest products.
3. Family living and home management.
4. 4-H and other youth programmes.
5. Community resource development and public affairs.

It should be pointed out that contributions by Extension need not await the actual implementation of the land tenure reform programme as the Extension Service can be used to help prepare the public for implementation of the reforms and related changes. After it has been decided to initiate a land reform programme then there would perhaps be a time lapse of about one year before the implementation of the programme. During this period the Extension Service would be in an ideal position to educate the public as to the scope and significance of the reforms being planned. A well prepared programme could do a lot to educate the various segments of the public for their responsibilities and roles when effecting the proposal got underway.

Extension's possible contributions to land tenure reform will now be presented within the frame of the five programmatic areas:

Agricultural Extension

Within the existing land use pattern of small and fragmented farms it has been near impossible for Extension to persuade farmers to adopt the basic principles of soil conservation and efficient land use. A farmer with less than one acre of farm in land capability classes IV through VII continues to clear and farm and plant root crops for food regardless of erosion hazards and crop rotation systems. When the proposed 4 - 5 acre minimum size farms are established, all the basic principles of proper land use will have to be taught over again and the preparation of farm plans for peasant farmers will become a practical proposition for the first time.

To help the operators of the new small farms it would be important to teach them the fundamental principles applied in Dr. Jolly's small farm experiments in Trinidad. It would also help to provide additional findings from similar experiments which should be established in Guyana. In addition the Service would continue to supply all farmers with other research findings on tested plant varieties, on the control of plant and animal pests and diseases, on fertilizer applications and other features of good farm management.

Marketing

Internal marketing has been sorely neglected and there are almost unlimited opportunities for Extension to assist in

the development of an integrated and efficient system.

The land reform proposals would permit a ready differentiation of producers as a result of area and regional specialization in production. This in turn will make it possible to help organize distribution and outlet opportunities.

Again, with the establishment of a rational marketing system, a real contribution will be possible in the areas of product grading, standards, and development of approved consumer purchasing habits. In addition, production costs, commodity production and prices, and other farm economic data could be collected and analysed for release in agricultural outlook publications. It should be noted, however, that at this time there are no agricultural economists on the staff.

Family Living and Home Economics

The many problems of family living and the poor housing facilities of a majority of the large rural population make it obvious that here again is an area in which Extension can make a most valuable contribution by providing guidance in human relations, family finance, work management, home furnishings, food habits, clothing, health, and good citizenship.

If and when the 4-5 acre farms are distributed, they are intended for operation as commercial farms, not as subsistence holdings. As a result fundamental changes are necessary in the attitudes and skills of the families responsible for the operation of the new farms. New demands will be made on the families--the women and the children, as well as the men.

If as the sociologists and anthropologists say that in Caribbean societies the women are the foci of child care,

socialisation and continuity in the family, then the new farmers being reared will in large measure depend on the guidance given by the female parent. If family planning and the good health and the values of the members of the families are to make their important contributions to the success of the land reform and development proposal, then a dynamic home economics programme would seem to be essential.

However, despite ample scope for Extension education in the area of family living, presently there is no home economics staff* in the Department of Agriculture. This omission is particularly disturbing in view of the fact that home economics is basically the only extension programme area developed specifically for women, and women represent 54% of the population. Moreover, the women frequently have sole responsibility for maintaining the family as a unit for the care and socialisation of children.

Youth Programmes, 4-H

In a developing country the youth will need guidance, leadership, and training from the Extension Service to help mold them into responsible citizens and competent farmers. The 4-H programme initiated in Grenada in 1959 can make a real contribution to the land reform programme by training future farmers and homemakers for their future role as adults by way of the 4-H projects which employ the approach--learn by doing.

In addition to the sewing, cooking, livestock, and crop projects now offered, the programmes possibly could be expanded

*A few home economists are attached to the Ministry for Social Affairs.

to provide for a new focus on parent-child relations, peer group relations, and the development of an awareness of values.

Community Resource Development and Public Affairs

The lack of community cohesion has been emphasized in Part II and some of the contributing factors were itemized. In Grenada a planned community resource development programme could materially support the land reform proposal by: sponsoring adult education courses to help reduce illiteracy; promoting community consciousness by way of social clubs, fairs and festivals; promoting cohesion by encouraging the middle and upper classes to participate more in community life and thereby help increase communication between the social classes and reduce class barriers; encouraging inter-denominational harmony; organizing arts and crafts programmes and public affairs workshops; promoting group activity to help raise funds for and otherwise contribute to the building of much needed community facilities such as community halls, libraries, playfields, etc.; assisting with any and all programmes that help train community leaders.

Balanced development and redevelopment programmes result from the wise use of available resources. Thus, in addition to the social aspects listed above there are such crucial areas of community development as plans for physical and economic improvements of communities; these aspects must also receive attention in the extension programme.

Once again, however, Extension lacks the type of personnel needed to fulfill its expected role. The one officer trained

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in community development work is in the Education Department and is without supporting staff.

Reorganization of the Extension Service

The foregoing review of the possible contributions Extension could make to the putting into effect of the land tenure reform proposal leaves little doubt that the Extension Service in Grenada needs a major reorganization if it is to be equipped to make its important contribution to the successful implementation of the land tenure reform proposal.

In analysing an organizational plan it must be remembered that organization is not an end but a means. Different executives working on the development of an organizational chart for Extension can probably offer a number of fairly efficient alternative charts; only one such chart is tendered in this study. The chart (see page 127) covers the entire Department of Agriculture but only the Extension Division is treated in detail. The structure has been developed in compliance with the following administrative criteria:

1. Management by objectives is paramount.

The objectives in the five programme areas have been listed in the previous subsection. Where there are key objectives there should be provision for an adequate concentration of quality and quantity of personnel and other resources to assure success.

Recommendations of the President's Council

A historical review of the President's Council
on Social Security is the subject of the first
chapter. The Council was established in 1935
to advise the President on matters relating to
the Social Security Act. It has since that
time made many important contributions to the
development of the Social Security program.

During the past
few years the Council
has been particularly
active in its
work.

CHART SHOWING PROPOSED ORGANIZATION OF THE EXTENSION SERVICE.

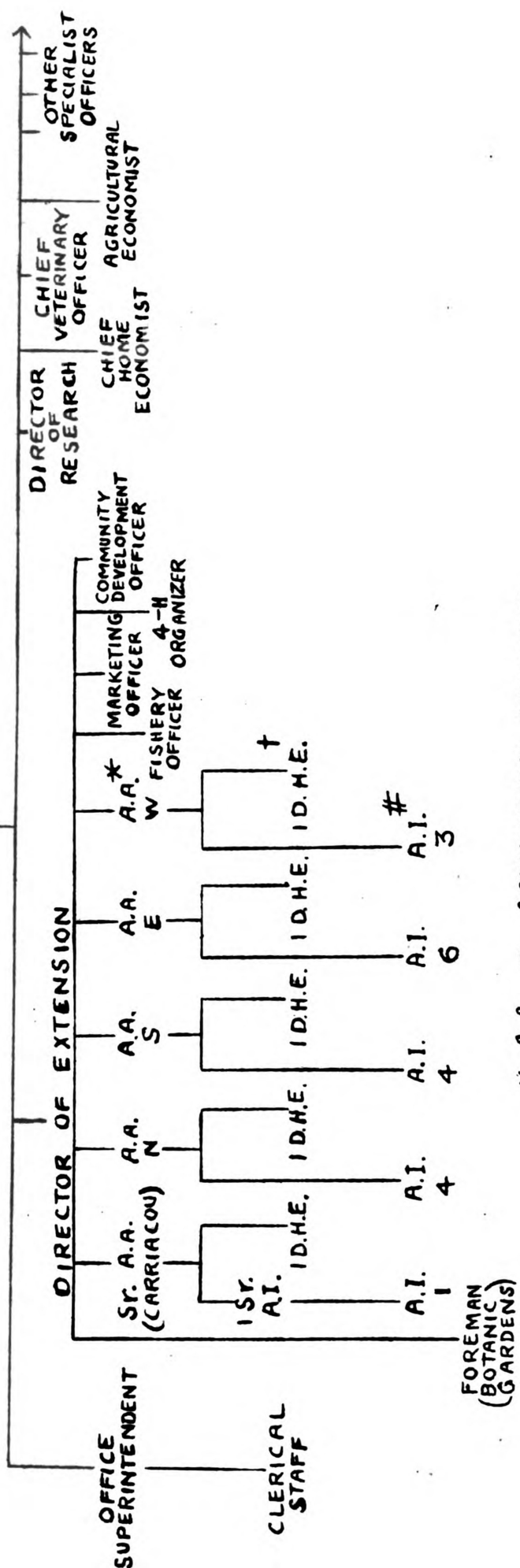
MINISTER FOR COMMERCE INDUSTRY AND TOURISM

PUBLIC RELATIONS
EDITORIAL
FINANCE
PERSONNEL

PRINCIPAL SECRETARY

DIRECTOR OF AGRICULTURE

ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR OF AGRICULTURE



* A.A. = AGRICULTURAL ASSISTANT
 † D.H.E. = DISTRICT HOME ECONOMIST
 # A.I. = AGRICULTURAL INSTRUCTOR

One factor that will have considerable influence on the success of the land tenure reform programme is the efficiency of the operation of the newly created small farms. This fact alone makes it advisable to create an Agricultural Economics Division. It would be the duty of the Agricultural Economist to collect and analyse data such as farm production costs and resources, farm income, the farm commodities, etc. for inclusion in an agricultural outlook bulletin.

2. H. A. Simon says:

A general theory of administration must include principles of organization that will insure correct decision-making, just as it must include principles that will insure effective action. (11:1)

The importance of the decision-making system is recognized. The proposed reorganization chart provides for a team of four persons to control the bulk of decisions--the Director of Agriculture, the Associate Director, the Director of Extension, and the Director of Research.

3. With responsibility goes authority.

If the Director of Extension is responsible for the success or failure of the extension programme, that same officer should have authority over all Extension line personnel--hence the addition of the Marketing Officer, 4-H Organizer, and Community Development Officer to the Extension staff.

4. Peter F. Drucker writes:

The most important team task in any business is the top management task. In scope, as well as in its requirements of skills, temperaments and kinds of work, it exceeds any one man's capacity...well organized companies do not have a one-man "chief executive." They have an executive team.

It is therefore of genuine importance that management understand what team organization is, when to use it and how. Above all, it is important that management realize that in any real team each member has a clearly assigned and clearly defined role. (4:138)

Administrative theory emphasizes the need to keep routine decision making away from the top executive. L. E. Griffiths says:

If the executive is personally making decisions this means that there exists malfunctioning in the decision process. The executive then needs to correct the malfunctioning. (3:46)

The size of the staff of the Department of Agriculture increased rapidly after the 1955 hurricane but to date the executive staff has not been increased. The new chart provides for an Associate Director of Agriculture to strengthen the top team. This new position seems necessary not only because of the large increase in staff and work, but also due to the fact that in 1958 the Head of the Department of Agriculture assumed an additional responsibility as Chairman of the Agricultural Rehabilitation Board. The appointment of an Associate Director would reduce the work load on the chief executive.

Other important principles used as criteria included:

5. Limited span of control for management personnel
6. As few management levels as possible. (4:203)
7. Training and testing of future top managers. (4:204)

With regard to the extension field staff here are some covering remarks....It is recommended that the present number of Agricultural Instructors be reduced by 8, and 5 District

of general importance that management
of general importance is, even to
above all, it is important that
as that in any case, and
only continued and directly defined

heavy expenditure the need to keep working
from the top executives. H. H. Williams

in general, it is important that
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(15)

state of the Department of Agriculture
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of been involved. The new department
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principles need to be established
of control for management personnel
(15)

of control for management personnel
(15)

be extending their staff and some
it is recommended that the present number
to be reduced by 5, and 5 added

Home Economist have been added. In addition, a Chief Home Economist has been added to the list of specialists.

The proposed reduction in the number of Agricultural Instructors seems logical in face of the fact that in the United States each agricultural extension officer normally has a clientele of about 1,000 families. Even with the proposed reduction, members of the field staff will only have an average clientele of 500 rural families each. To compensate for the reduction, the Instructors would be expected to place new emphasis on training selected farmers to assume more active roles as leaders.

It is conceded that the reorganization chart provides for a number of specialists officers to report direct to the top two executives of the Department of Agriculture. This is not a particularly desirable feature, but is proposed, even if only as a temporary measure, because the very limited resources of the island would hardly permit the appointment of more than the three new senior officers already recommended--an Assistant Director, an Agricultural Economist, and a Chief Home Economist. Further, the present practice of direct reporting by specialists is well established and a change at this time could produce some dislocation at a time when other and more important changes should be introduced. Perhaps in about five years time when the proposed land reform and development programs was well established, consolidation of the specialists divisions should be effected by the creation of a position of Chief Specialist Officer to whom the other specialists would

report. The appointment of a Chief Specialist would permit changes in organization that could lead to a clearer separation of staff and line personnel.

To conclude this statement on reorganization, opportunity is taken to mention the fact that in the United States there is currently much consideration of the idea that extension education should be transferred from the Department of Agriculture to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare because extension is basically an educational function.

In Grenada, the separation of the Extension Service from the Department of Agriculture would go a long way to disassociate Extension from the regulatory functions handled by the Department of Agriculture. If Extension were attached to the Ministry for Social Affairs which includes the Education Department, the island's total education programme could be more effectively coordinated. It should also be remembered that both the Community Development Officer and the Home Economists employed by government are presently already in the Ministry for Social Affairs. However, despite the possible desirability of such a shift of the Extension Service from the Department of Agriculture to the Ministry of Social Affairs, such a shift does not seem immediately feasible in view of the complex problems involved and no further treatment is given to this possibility in this paper.

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PART VI: SUMMARY, LIMITATIONS, CONCLUSIONS,
AND IMPLICATIONS OF THIS STUDY

Summary

A study of an important problem—land tenure—of the people of Grenada has been undertaken. A library review of the problem has been made and the problem has been tackled as a management problem. The study proceeded through the various problem solving stages such as: a statement of the problem, a comprehensive review of related factors, an analysis of the alternatives and the selection of a fairly complete proposal intended as a possible solution of the pressing problem.

The purpose of the study, the nature of the problem and the procedure adopted have been outlined in Part I. The Grenada setting, Part II, embodied a rather exhaustive review of general factors related to the land tenure problem and Part III concentrated on the specific characteristics of the problem.

The study has shown that in Grenada there is a scarcity of good cropland accompanied by a very marked concentration of land ownership. Other factors contributing to the economic need for land tenure reform were listed and include: absentee ownership, inefficient land use, and unsatisfactory levels of capital accumulation in Agriculture and over-all development.

The social considerations reviewed emphasized the disparity in size between plantations and peasant holdings, the plantation system and paternalism as a factor contributing to reduced self-reliance and initiative, the arresting influence of the existing social structure, and the tendency of the plantation system to contribute to low wages and labour unrest.

In Part IV it has been pointed out that a land tenure reform proposal would most likely involve a significant modification of the plantation system. To establish a basis for the development of a proposal for Grenada, a fairly comprehensive review has been made of recent land tenure reform experiences in other countries. The study included references to features of the land tenure reform programmes in Puerto Rico, Mexico, Egypt, England, Finland, Poland, India, China, Taiwan, and Japan.

Part IV also included the development of a comprehensive land tenure reform proposal for Grenada. The proposal incorporated over 40 items presented for the most part in a framework of six categories:

1. Land consolidation,
2. Land settlement and colonization,
3. Proposals to make opportunities in use of land more secure and rewarding,
4. Landlord and tenant relations,
5. Cooperative farming, and
6. Land redistribution.

Part V, the last chapter of the body of the thesis, has been devoted to a discussion of factors related to the implementation of the land tenure reform proposal. Considerable emphasis has been placed on the following: the need for careful planning, and opportunities for the Extension Service to contribute to the success of the land tenure reform proposal. The study included a proposal to revamp the existing Extension service and a chart showing proposed organization for the Extension Service has been presented with some accompanying remarks on factors which contributed to inclusion of some undesirable features in the reorganized administrative chart.

Limitations of This Study

The study has been handicapped by some limitations, the most obvious of which are those arising out of the fact that it has been restricted to a library study undertaken away from the scene of the problem. Not only has the writer found it difficult or impossible to check some factors which needed further study, but his academic advisers with one or two exceptions have had no first hand knowledge of West Indian society.

Another important limitation arises out of the fact that although there is an increasing amount of social and anthropological research being undertaken in the West Indies, much of the sociological data used in this study referred to studies made not in Grenada, but in other units of the West Indies Federation and in more culturally removed neighboring areas. In addition, much of the sociological data is qualitative

rather than quantitative—a limitation which will probably characterize sociological research in the Caribbean for some time to come.

Conclusions

The following conclusions are based on the results of the study and are presented under four headings: social factors, economic factors, socio-economic factors, and factors directly associated with government—legislation, action, etc.

Social Factors

1. That the plantation system seems to make a significant contribution to social disorganization in Grenada.
2. That a comprehensive land tenure reform programme can make major contributions to improvements in family organization and community cohesion.
3. That land reform can help increase human dignity and self-reliance in citizens.
4. That land tenure reform programmes are of such a nature that serious mental health consequences may be experienced and that persons developing a land reform proposal should bear this in mind.

Economic Factors

1. That inefficient land use is a problem in Grenada.
2. That agricultural credit and marketing opportunities appear grossly inadequate in Grenada.
3. That production of food crops and livestock need to be increased and that land tenure reform can make important contributions to a programme intended to increase production of agricultural products for both the local and export markets.

4. That land tenure reform can have a significant beneficial effect upon capital accumulation in agriculture.

5. That land tenure reform can reduce the great disparity that presently exists between the incomes of landlords and peasants.

6. That the economic fortune—success or failure—of the proposed small commercially oriented farms would largely determine the success of the entire land tenure reform proposal and as a consequence this phase of the programme should be given special attention.

Socio-economic Factors

1. That a real land tenure problem exists in Grenada.

2. That the concentration of land ownership in Grenada is very high relative to concentration of land ownership in many other countries, and that a land tenure reform programme offers opportunities to reduce concentration of ownership and absentee ownership of agricultural land.

3. That land tenure structure and reform have received major attention in many countries in recent years and that the indications are that numerous countries in the Caribbean area and in Latin America are either in the process of implementing reforms or will be initiating reforms shortly.

4. That Grenada and many other units of the West Indies Federation can expect significant changes in land tenure structure.

5. That the peasant is living in a world of growing expectations and that there is a definite indication that

no elected government will exist for long unless it comes up with realistic answers to the peasants' problems.

6. That land reform by evolution can be much less costly both in social and economic terms than reform by revolution.

7. That a land tenure reform programme would make new demands of a social and economic nature on family units.

8. That programme implementation can be helped by providing for considerable participation by rural leaders operating through rural committees.

9. That cooperative principles and activities can make valuable contributions to a land tenure reform programme.

10. That land tenure reform can be used to further agricultural development in Grenada and that as agricultural development is intimately related to industrial development it can be assumed that a successful land tenure reform programme would have a beneficial effect on over-all development of Grenada.

Factors Directly Associated with Government—Legislation, Action, Etc.

1. That a workable land tenure reform programme needs to be supported by legislative measures which fall into two broad categories, (1) laws that outline the policy of government as regards land reform, and (2) laws that provide for the establishment of the required administrative machinery to implement policy.

2. That the Land Settlement and House and Garden Lot programmes attempted in Grenada are no answer to the social and economic problems that beset the society, and that perhaps the settlement of rural families in overseas land settlements could be seriously considered.

[illegible]

3. That land redistribution of itself is no answer to the land tenure problem. Redistribution of rights in land, would more probably have the desired results if supported by new and vastly improved opportunities in at least five spheres: agricultural credit, marketing, extension education, security of land tenure, and cooperative activity. Also that an upward revision of the basic land tax may make a contribution to the reform programme.

4. It appears that if land tenure reform is to be efficiently carried out, the organization within the education system needs considerable improvement and a strengthening of extension education would seem rather vital.

5. That standard practice disapproves of the use of the Extension Service as a regulatory body in action programmes.

6. That the Extension Service can make major contributions to the success of a land tenure reform programme by integrated and planned activity in all five recognized programme areas of extension work: agricultural production, marketing, home economics, youth development, and community development.

7. That there appears to be a positive correlation between the existence of a plantation system as a major institution in a society and the form of government chosen or desired by the society.

8. That over the long run, a major land tenure reform programme may contribute to peace and good government in Grenada.

9. That a comprehensive land tenure reform programme needs considerable pre-planning and efficient organization if it is

to be implemented with a minimum of social and economic dislocation.

Implications

It must be remembered that those who develop and initiate programmes should be ready to live with and accept the consequences of their decisions. It would not be realistic to attempt to compile a list of all of the implications arising out of the hypothetical implementation of the land tenure reform proposal outlined in this thesis. However, because the proposal if implemented would introduce a number of far reaching changes into the culture, it is important to pay considerable attention to the implications of the proposal. It is a desire to give due recognition to this basic management principle—with authority goes responsibility—that the following list of implications is included. The implications are presented under headings that correspond with those used for listing the conclusions.

Social Implications

1. Implementation of the land tenure reform proposal would probably permit significant progress to be made with the reduction of undesirable social characteristics which arose out of slavery, the plantation system and poverty of the peasants. There would probably be increasing evidence of improvements in family organization, and community cohesion would be enhanced.
2. Social distance between the various classes in the society would be reduced and the peasants would probably develop

new concepts of self-reliance and human dignity as the relative and absolute social status of this group improved.

3. Because the land reform programme would introduce a number of changes in the culture, there would be some threat to social organization, but provided these responsible paid adequate attention to the psycho-social needs of the various segments of the society there would be every likelihood that undesirable mental health consequences could be largely avoided.

Economic Implications

1. Implementation of land tenure reforms would probably lead to the establishment of greater economic efficiency in the agricultural industry resulting from more efficient land use and soil conservation practices and the creation of an efficient marketing system.

2. An increased and more reliable supply of local food stuff would probably lead to an increase in nutritional and health standards. The increase in agricultural production would reduce the importation of imported foods—a factor that would have both social and economic implications arising out of the people's capacity to help resolve their problems.

3. Capital investments and accumulation in agriculture would be given a new impetus. More and better farm structures would arise and mechanical equipment would be more widely used.

4. Subsistence farming by the peasants would be replaced almost completely by commercial farming on most small farms.

5. The income level of peasants would rise appreciably and

2. The second section addresses the challenges faced by organizations in managing their data. It highlights the increasing volume of information generated by modern businesses and the difficulty of storing and retrieving this data efficiently. The author suggests that investing in advanced data management technologies can help overcome these challenges and ensure that information is readily accessible when needed.

3. The third part of the document focuses on the role of leadership in driving organizational success. It argues that effective leaders must be able to inspire and motivate their teams, set clear goals, and make strategic decisions. The text provides several examples of successful leaders and their approaches, offering valuable insights for aspiring managers.

4. The fourth section discusses the importance of continuous learning and development for individuals and organizations alike. It suggests that in a rapidly changing world, staying up-to-date with the latest trends and technologies is crucial for maintaining a competitive edge. The author encourages organizations to invest in training and development programs for their employees.

5. The final part of the document concludes with a call to action, urging readers to take the principles discussed in the previous sections and apply them to their own organizations. It emphasizes that success is not achieved overnight and requires a commitment to ongoing improvement and innovation.

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5. The income level of peasants would rise appreciably and

the present great disparity in income between the landlords and the peasants would be reduced significantly.

Socio-economic Implications

1. Implementation of comprehensive land tenure reforms would lead to important changes in the land tenure structure including major changes in the plantation system and a significant reduction in the concentration of ownership of agricultural land. Absentee ownership in Grenada would also be reduced.
2. The early adoption of land tenure reforms would save the island from possible damaging social and economic dislocation which is so typical of societies affected by revolts by the underprivileged classes.
3. Considerable attention would have to be paid to the education and training of members of the family unit to help them adjust to the new demands that would be made on them; demands that it is desirable they would meet with confidence and competence.
4. The emphasis on cooperative principles and activities would result in an increase in group activities, particularly on farms and in rural community life. More value would be attached to achievements that maximize group satisfactions and rural leaders would probably play a greater part in the development of the country.
5. Agricultural and over-all development would probably proceed at a steadier and quicker pace, and the accompanying improvement in the level of living would lead to increased opportunities for upward mobility of the peasants and contribute to a swelling of the ranks of the middle class.

Implications Directly Involving Government

1. A comprehensive land tenure reform programme would involve government in commitments that would tie up much of its resources, both human and non-human. The programme would be an 'up by the boot straps' operation and would have to be given the careful planning and serious application that such a major task requires.
2. Ministers of Government and their supporting planning staff would become involved in new problems of staff reorganization and training. Special attention would probably have to be given to major changes within the Department of Forestry and Lands, the Education Department and the Extension Division of the Department of Agriculture.
3. Recognition should be given to the fact that a land tenure reform programme probably would be linked to grants of financial assistance from the United States and that other units of the West Indies Federation and the Federal Government would be interested and/or involved in the outcome of the programme. It would be important that those responsible for implementing the programme remember that whereas the fruits of success are many, the costs of failure would be almost unbearable.

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