

NATIONAL IDENTIFICATION AND
SELECTED ASPECTS OF THE CAYMAN ISLANDS CULTURE

by

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INTRODUCTION

While participating in a 1974 University of Minnesota intercultural communication workshop held in the Cayman Islands, I developed increased knowledge about these tiny Caribbean islands. And yet, the workshops' activities raised many questions, for me, which remained unanswered. What influences had shaped the Caymanian culture? What similarities might it share with other West Indian islands. What distinctions set it apart? And, what Caymanian attitudes might be delineated in regard to roles, race relations, values, national identity, folklore and communication systems? The quest for answers to these questions indicated the need for further research and compilation of data concerning the Cayman Islands.

Although there is a wealth of literature published about the West Indies in general, there exists a dearth of information about the Cayman Islands and their inhabitants.

Diverse and pluralistic islands, there are 50 or more separate states in the Caribbean area. Their political and economic impact internationally has been slight, and most islands are tied to a monoculture economy such as tourism or coffee.

Languages spoken by the 26 million West Indian inhabitants include English, French, Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch and Papiamentu. Literacy rates range from 97 percent in Barbados, to less than 10 percent in Haiti.

The West Indies has long been a troubled area. Lowenthal writes that the Caribbean "has been the most colonial of all colonial societies, and it is here that the deepest wrong was done. The mass of people--whether they followed the tradition of rejection or imitation--had no target to aim at, no ideal vision, that was not self-defeating."¹

Although its history includes a colonial society and a slave economy, the Caymans appear generally fortunate in escaping the severe problems which have faced many other West Indian states. Paul Pedersen wrote that because the Caymanians pride themselves on their racial harmony, they are more likely to distinguish themselves as Caymanian or not-Caymanian rather than by race or color.

But, Lowenthal notes that while each island society is unique, most West Indian societies share a standard Creole structure "a pyramid based on a past history of slavery and a present legacy of color, or more precisely of shade, as one indication of status among several."² While this pyramid has turned upside down in respect to politics--it remains unchanged in social and economic dimensions.

One might well wonder how the Cayman Islands fit into this pyramid, and what, if any predictions might be made for their future.

Insularity, too, is a basic facet of West Indian life. A West Indian island is a world within itself. Social institutions, economic and political affairs are structured in an island framework. Lowenthal notes that the Caribbean Sea often constrains and attenuates the social network, and the physical insularity intensifies the sense of belonging. Thus, a person who says "I am a Jamaican" or "I am a Caymanian" is usually expressing the broadest allegiance he cares about.

Certainly, the very nature of being an island helps promote a strong cultural and national identity. In regard to the latter, Lowenthal suggests that the European colonial heritage in the West Indies transcends territorial boundaries. He writes that "West Indians of all colors view themselves as more truly European than many of the Europeans they see in the Caribbean."³ For the Cayman Islands, this might indicate that while proximity to other West Indian nation states is greater; identification with Europe (specifically the United Kingdom) may be stronger.

Further research and analysis would provide deeper understanding of the Caymanians and the dynamics within their culture. Additionally, it would provide information as to how they perceive their role in the West Indies as well as in relation to the outside world. Finally, it would provide

a ready reference to those seeking knowledge about the islands.

This project will attempt to define and analyze selected dynamics of the Caymanian culture by reviewing history, folklore, language and communication systems. Specifics of national identification in terms of the West Indies, the United Kingdom and the United States will be examined through content analysis of the island's newspapers.

The Islands

A British Crown Colony, recently independent of Jamaican administration--the Cayman Islands are among the most isolated spots of the Caribbean Sea.

While recent years have seen an increasing trend toward independence and de-colonization of West Indian islands, many island states, like the Caymans, hold tightly to dependency since, for many, full independence could mean financial disaster.

One hundred fifty miles south of Cuba and 180 miles northwest of Jamaica, the Cayman Islands consist of three small islands. The largest and most populous one, Grand Cayman, is 22 miles long by 4 to 8 miles wide. Grand Cayman is separated by approximately 90 miles from the much smaller twin islands of Little Cayman and Cayman Brac.

The islands are low-lying, seldom attaining a height more than 60 feet above sea-level, except for the eastern end of Cayman Brac, which rises to 140 feet.

The Caymans are projecting peaks of the Cayman Ridge (a range of submarine mountains) and are formed of calcareous rocks such as limestone, coral sand and ironstone. Between the Caymans and Jamaica is the Cayman Trench--the deepest part of the Caribbean Sea and which reaches a depth of over four miles.

There are two seasons: A hot, rainy season from May to October, with temperatures ranging from 75 to 85 degrees F.; and a cool, dry season from November to April (Tourist Season) with 65 to 75 degrees F., and few mosquitoes.

HISTORY

Columbus to the Pirates

The Caymans have a romantic and lively history, but piecing it together is a difficult endeavor. The absence of records demands reliance on tradition, family records, legal documents and brief histories.

Inhabited by giant turtles, the lesser Caymans were discovered May 10, 1503 by Christopher Columbus returning from his fourth and last voyage to the New World. He named them "Las Tortugas" in honor of the numerous turtles sighted on sea and shore. From then until 1655, the islands were visited by Jamaican fishermen seeking turtles for food and by pirates hiding from the law. In this year, the sailingmaster on Admiral Penn's flagship refers to the islands as "Kie of Manus."

Sir Francis Drake notes in a 1586 sailing log that he "passed by the islands of Caymanas, which are not inhabited... and there are on the island great serpents called Caymanas, like large lizzards, which are edible."⁴

When the English took Jamaica from the Spanish, the Caymans became an important source of food. By 1661 the lesser Caymans had some stationary population...but no country had claimed them. Tradition acknowledges the early population as deserters from Oliver Cromwell's army in Jamaica with a sprinkling of "gentlemen adventurers" or buccaneers.

By 1662, the Jamaican governor's "Instructions" mention the Caymans as belonging to England and charge him with matters of settlement and the erection of forts. The 1670 Treaty of Madrid acknowledged the English King Charles II's right of sovereignty to all those "lands, islands, colonies and places whatsoever situated in the West Indies or in any part of America, which he and his subjects at present hold."⁵ This, of course, included the Caymans.

By this time a rudimentary form of government had been established on Little Cayman and houses built by the fishermen. These were dangerous times for the islanders as illustrated by a message sent in 1670 by one Captain Manuel Rivero Pardal acknowledging that it has he "who went on shore at Caimanos and burnt 20 houses, fought with Captain Ary and took from him a catch laden with provisions and a canon...and craves that General Morgan come out upon the coast and seek him....that he might know the valor of the Spainards."⁶

The Jamaican administration found the islands too distant and difficult to defend, and (as a later day insight into the character of its 200 inhabitants) issued a 1671 amnesty proclamation to "pardon the diverse soldiers, planters, privateers and others in the Caymanas for all their irregular actions, providing they return to Jamaica."⁷ Rather than accept the amnesty, the early inhabitants deserted the lesser Caymans in favor of Grand Cayman which, being larger, could offer more hiding places.

All three islands were frequently used by pirates. Since the early settlers had few servants and slaves to stave off fierce pirate attacks...the common solution was to hide rather than fight. Many people had two houses, one on the shore and one in the swampy interior where they could safely conceal themselves for several days while pirates were on shore.

These "Brethern of the Sea" sailing under a black flag and declaring war against the whole world, used the islands when it suited them... since they might return at whim...they thought little of settling.⁸ The harbors, well protected by reefers and shoals, provided an ideal place for the buccaneers to rest and repair their boats.

Treasure Island immortalizes "Blackbeard" Edward Thatch, who periodically shot one of his crew for sheer sport...as he did one day in the Caymans.⁹ A further indication of the life during this period can be gleaned from a character in Sir Walter Scott's The Pirate, who says:

"Is he dead? It is a more serious question here than it would be on the Grand Caymans or the Bahama Islands, where a brace or two of fellows may be shot in the morning and no more heard of, or asked about them than if they were so many wood pigeons. But here it might be otherwise: So I hope you have not made your friend immortal." 10

A frequent visitor was the pirate, Neal Walker, who in 1730 plundered 16,000 pieces of eight from a Spanish treasure galleon and divided the hoard between his hide-outs on the east end of Grand Cayman and the Black River.¹¹

Wrecking (the first cousin to piracy) was an important source of livelihood for the island's early inhabitants.

And Hirst notes:

"News of a wreck anywhere within a reasonable distance causes a flutter among men, women and children with rapid despatches of sloops and schooners to the scene. Not with the idea that they may be useful in saving life, but that they may get jettisoned cargo or anything else the Law will allow them to take. Formerly, atrocities were attributed to the Caymanians when wrecks occurred on their own shores....but these charges have long since ceased."¹²

The Spanish captain, Don Juan Tieri, held a less tolerable opinion of the Caymanians' wrecking activities when he wrote the Governor of Cuba in 1797:

"The island is inhabited by a handful of lawless men who bear the name and accidentally carry on the trade of fisher folk, but who are in reality nothing more than sea-robbers. The island constitutes their lair and it is the place where they hide their ill-gotten gains." ¹³

And the Caymanians fared poorly with these Cubans, as revealed in a letter written by an American:

"Spainards frequently made descents on the west end of the island burning and destroying the houses and other property, and carrying off the inhabitants, captives to Cuba. The people have suffered a great deal from the Spainards of Cuba, who appear to entertain feelings of animosity and revenge which they take every opportunity to execute. People have been basely murdered, their vessels burnt and destroyed, or taken into their ports and crews imprisoned and vessels confiscated, even in time of peace and without preferring any charges against them." ¹⁴

Despite the enmity between the Caymanians and the Spainards, most the island's settlers appeared to be hard working, yeomen from the British isles. They made their livelihood by fishing, planting, raising pigs, buying and selling slaves, selling turtles to passing ships and by wrecking.

All the labor was performed by slaves who increased in number.¹⁵

Farming included plantations of yams, plantains, banana and other produce. Horses, cattle, goats and fruit trees were imported from Jamaica. Mahogany and other woods for shipbuilding grew in abundance. Fishing and searching for turtles were important livelihoods. Goods were made at home, and houses were built of lime plaster, hardwood posts and thatched roofs...similar to those found in Britain's Lincolnshire and Yorkshire.

News came to the island via trading ships and other vessels.

Frequent, severe hurricanes and tidal waves were a constant threat to the island's inhabitants.

Slavery

Probably the first African slaves were brought to the island in 1677, when the Dutch landed there with 500 Negroes and 28 lbs. of gold seized from the French. By 1802, a census reports 551 Negroes in a total island population of 933. And, slave matters dictated the formation of courts and local administration. The "Slave Court" dealt with all slave disorders. Punishment was often severe, since a slave rebellion represented a matter of life and death to the white free men, who were outnumbered by their black slaves.

While an American slave owner, Nathinel Glover, wrote "Slavery only existed here by name...the owners generally being overly indulgent,"¹⁶ slave court records indicate a much harsher existence.

Crimes prosecuted include practicing Obeah (witchcraft), sedition and assault. Sentences included public lashings, fines and exile from the island. William Cartwright, the first governor, earned a reputation as being particularly brutal and cruel. It was said that for the slightest offense he would order a slave whipped and then hung on the rocks in the presence of as many other slaves as possible.

In 1820, a Negro slave, named Celia, after a "slight and equivocating defense" was found guilty of uttering seditious words (inquiring of news relative to the freedom of Negroes). She was sentenced to "receive fifty lashes on her bare back in some public place at Georgetown this day."¹⁷

When Britain abolished slavery in 1833, there were more than 1000 slaves in Grand Cayman. Former owners helped them attain land to farm, build houses and begin crops. Many of the liberated slaves went to the north of the island, where there was more unclaimed land. While the whites tended to claim the rocky soil along the sea coast, the slaves were left to claim the interior land...which proved to be more fertile.

As will be seen later, this early enslavement helped produce a clear stratification between blacks and whites on the island.

The fact that so many, many present day families, black, white and colored, have the same surname can be accounted for by the tendency of slaves to take the same last name as their masters.....with a strong preference for the names of Ebanks and Bodden. Both names are of British origin, Ebanks most likely being derived from E. Banks and and Bodden from the name Bawden originating in Cornwall.

Isolation

The years 1800-1850 saw a wave of new immigrants from England, Scotland and Ireland, mostly yeomen and simple craftsmen who married local women and inherited land and possessions.

But, the inhabitants were still a lawless group according to a Jamaican merchant who wrote:

"The inhabitants in general are rather of a turbulent disposition...so much so that upon one occasion it was necessary to send down a small detachment of soldiers to assist and support the existing civil forces." 18

From 1834-1934, the islands were cut off from the outside world. The invention of steamships changed the sailing route, and the Caymans which had been an important stopping point for fresh water and turtle, were bypassed in favor of a more direct route.

A letter from this period, describes the Caymanians and their way of life:

"They are an unlettered people, but strictly honest, harmless and industrious, moral but not religious, though they know their Bible and keep Sunday as a day of rest from manual labor and a time for visiting relatives and friends." 19

By 1854 there were 385 houses on the island and a population of 1989.

A British report on the state of the island in 1887, describes the people as "fairly well-to-do, self-reliant and a loyal community." It goes on to report:

"Every head of a family has his house and a plot of land for cultivation, and houses of the laboring and peasant class are comfortable buildings, nicely thatched, often shingled and always floored. They are scrupulously clean....and no cases of actual poverty on the island. Some individuals because of sickness or old age are unable to earn a livelihood, but relatives always step in and see that wants are supplied." 20

Slow but sure progress was made during this period. The first post office was opened, currency established, roads were built and a medical office established.

Various Protestant churches established parishes on the island, and several were forced by natural disasters (hurricanes) to give up their efforts. The Presbyterian Church of Jamaica established itself firmly, and schools and education followed in the wake of the churches.

Caymanians of this period were basically hard-working, moral and religious. They were a strong, hardy bunch, and there was little illness. Many lived to be over 90 years of age, and Hirst writes that men and women over the age of 70 continued to do the same day's work as they had when they were younger. Dentistry was practiced by a number of people who were "expert extractors" and nursing was left in "the hands of any old black or white woman procurable." 21

Life's greatest nuisance was the mosquito, which "renders life a torture for man and beast...every house has a smoke fire from 4 p.m. and everyone sits close to it, enveloped in a blinding smoke that makes one's eyes smart...other forms of insect life also abound and are intensely disagreeable." ²²

The late 1880's saw considerable emigration to Nicaragua and Honduras, following turtle fishing and other forms of employment. There are still strong Caymanian communities in these countries.

Similarly, Florida colonies were started when Caymanians went to work on the Florida East Coast Railroad (1912). And by 1906, as many as 1,500 Caymanians out of a total population of 5,000 were sailing in merchant marines of various countries. Renowned for their seamanship, the money they sent home to their dependents was an important factor in the islands' economy...as would also be the wide experience they gained in traveling throughout the world.

1935 mark^s the advent of cable and wireless in the Cayman Islands, symbolizing communication links with the outside world. Telephones, air travel, newspapers and banks would follow. Tourism would begin to promote Grand Cayman as the "most perfect bathing beach in the West Indies." By 1950 clubs, hotels and restaurants began to appear, and in 1959 women were given the right to vote. The islands would soon become popular as a tax haven, with more than 100 banks represented in George Town and bankers outnumbering shopkeepers. ²³

Modernity

Radio, telephones and airplanes helped bring the Cayman Islands into the 20th century. A growing expatriate community and interested investors did their share to bring modernity to the Caymanians. In a 1970 census, the islands had a population of 10,249,* in which children constituted 39 percent, women 34 percent, and men 28 percent of the population. Racial characteristics were:

Negro	2,647
White	1,980
Mixed	5,487
East Indian	31
Others	104

*Figures do not include men at sea

Its debut into the 20th century has been a sudden rather than gradual one, and the islands' inhabitants remain basically conservative. A 1972 letter from the islands' college president, describes "a major problem we have with American students in their unwillingness to understand, and to conform to, the complex setting in which the college is located--the island is basically conservative and rigid, in spite of appearances to the contrary. Our dormitory has stricter rules than many American students are used to or are willing to accept."

Indeed, 1974 intercultural workshop participants found that casually strolling into stores wearing halter tops, shorts or swimsuits--was not to be smiled upon.

Conservatism extends to family life, and it is frowned upon for a married or single woman to enter a bar, even if accompanied by husband or escort. Women are expected to stay home with the children, while it's perfectly acceptable for husbands to visit the islands' bars and socialize with other women there.

Drug use or smoking marijuana is a very serious offense in the Cayman Islands.

Religion and family values are given strong community emphasis. White, sandy family burial plots are carefully tended, rimmed with sea shells and artificial flowers. Letters and verses in memory of deceased friends, cousins, nephews and closer relatives are frequently printed in the local newspaper.

Caymanians are relaxed and friendly by nature, warm and hospitable. It is considered discourteous to drive past some one walking along the road without offering them a ride.

National pride is another strong value. Caymanian students politely refused to participate in a group discussion where a former Caymanian, who had renounced his citizenship in favor of becoming an American citizen, was a member.

Culture could be defined as a cumulative deposit of knowledge, values and beliefs of a large group of people. It can be seen as manifesting itself in patterns of language and thought and in forms of activity and behavior.²⁴

The Caymans' unique history of Anglo-Saxon settlers, West African slaves, sea-farers and the insularity of island life combine to produce a unique cultural heritage through tradition, language and folklore.

Language

Kohlman's study of the dialect of Grand Cayman found dialects differ between the different islands and between communities on each island. She confined her study to the dialect of Grand Cayman--making no distinctions of sub-dialects.

The Cayman dialect is a product of the way of life of the islanders, their background and their isolation. An English dialect, it retains characteristics which have diminished in standard American or British English. The island's years of isolation helped retain these characteristics. Kohlman also found that Cayman English shares some features with other West Indian dialects.

The dialect is decidedly English in phonology, syntax and lexicon.

Kohlman notes that the extreme isolation of the island has caused the retention of certain features that have disappeared from other English dialects. An example is the undistinguished v and w sounds which are often interchanged, a transposition found in earlier English dialects as in dialogs presented in Dickens' novels. The v's in such words as invited, several and have and w's in words such as worship, we, work, wish and want seem to be a common phoneme.²⁵ Retention of the broad English a is seen in words such as bangle or marry; r's in words such as sermon, Bertha and return are not pronounced by many Caymanians, and Kohlman cites many important characteristic vowel sounds.

Perhaps the most distinguishing characteristic is the intonation pattern. For single polysyllabic words the primary stress often falls on the final syllable, such as: showcáse, limeáde, Novembér, talkíng, grandfathér and concért.

The sentence final intonation pattern shows a rise in pitch, with final stress usually stronger than the preceding, or of equal strength in both declarative sentences and questions:

Examples are:

²She'll¹ be coming² Friday¹, ³too.

²I don't³ know.

²He 'do² that about¹ four times³ now.

A number of omissions occur in the dialect of Grand Cayman, not found in standard English. Noun-determiners and prepositions are also sometimes omitted leaving only the noun of the prepositional phrase. Examples are:

When I get Spotts little rain come down.
(When I got to Spotts, a little rain came down)

I am going town

I got thinking about Stanley

Other noun-determiners, such as your, his, her are often spoken in the subjective form. Caymanians often use constructions such as "What he name?" or "But how you mama is?"

Verb forms often do not follow agreement of subject and verb as in standard English, with results such as:

We goes in small boats

I thinks I can do it

You knows the meaning of it

A variety of other dialect differences occur, including the practice of inserting -en before -ing, as in fishening and groanening. If one wishes to ask what is wrong with someone, he asks, "What do you.?"²⁶ In commands, so is often added after the verb, as in: Run so and bring my shoes.

Kohlman traces the unique second person plural usage unna spoken /ʊnə/, which is still used by younger people, to the Old English dual personal pronouns uncit, unc, unker, etc.

Frequent nautical expressions indicate the seafaring background of the Caymanians. Examples are: She has gone leeward (west). He glanced to the starboard (right).

Terms which describe aberrant personal qualities, include: "Shame-face," a shy person; "Fufu," someone slightly crazy; "Too fool," someone unreliable; and "Nash," someone weak, sickly or coddled.

Physical ailments are described in simple terms. "She has been 'punishin'" (suffering) because she is "sick by the foot."²⁷ The local newspaper reported "a motor went sick just prior to landing.."

Common expressions include: John is running Mary (they are going steady); Come to look for (to court a girl); and She smelled my neck (she demonstrated affection).

Kolhman notes "that in certain seasons of the year land crabs swarm from the bush and from their holes under the stone walls that serve as fences, so plentiful that their rustling in the dry almond leaves makes quite a loud noise."²⁸ From this facet of the islander's life comes the expression "Every crab from the bush--" meaning 'everybody.'

"You'll be satisfied when you get a mouth full of sand" (when you're buried) is a common expression stemming from the fact that sandy ground is sought for graves--since the rock is too hard for digging.

"I heard it on the marl road" (means hearing a rumor), and stems from the islanders' habit of strolling the roads talking with each other for their evening entertainment.

Other common folk sayings include:

As fast as lightening over Cuba

Cow knows where weak fence is
(A bully is careful whom he tackles)

He doesn't have his head for his hat alone
(He's smart)

Greedy choke puppy
(Don't take more than your share)

Go bite your own color
(Said to mosquitoes)

If you can't get Harry, you get his jacket
(Be satisfied with what you get)

Unusual given names are common among Caymanians.

Male names include: Winsome, Lorraine, Alvey, Earlyn, Odley and Tidyman. Feminine names include: Thrillee, Peachie, Lolloleen, Clodeen, Lavonida and Brunella.

Folklore

Caymanian folklore contains both obeah (witchcraft) and duppies (ghosts or wraiths) which are of African origin.²⁹ While the first is too difficult to find records of, Fuller has collected a wide range of duppie accounts. He notes that he included only the most believable and substantiated stories in his selection.

Duppies are wraiths (an apparition of a living person in their exact likeness just before death) or ghosts (which take the form of a person, a shadow, bright light or immaterial body). According to Fuller, duppies are on the wane because first, the increasing modernization of the island is ruining their haunting places; and more importantly, the modernization is distracting Caymanians' minds in such ways that they no longer care to communicate with spirits.

According to Fuller, mental telepathy was rampant on the island when he arrived in 1939. He thinks modernization has curtailed mental telepathy and that it has caused the islanders 'to lose the peaceful relaxation and spiritual attainment necessary to become aware of duppies along with the sensitivity to perceive spirits.'

Headless duppies are quite common--the spirits can be helpful, malicious or neutral.

One strong superstition is the fear of being carried away by duppies. In the past, men carried grains of corn with them when going out at night and dropped a grain at a time to distract and prevent the duppies from "carrying them away."³⁰

Many tales claim that duppies can appear day or night and beckon to a person to follow them. Some people are powerless and are carried away--others, who might be in the company of people who can't see the beckoning duppies, are safe and not compelled to follow.

Superstition also holds that if an islander carries a flask of rum with him and a duppy begins following him--he can get rid of the duppy by spilling a drop or two of rum behind him once in a while.

Fuller says a phobia exists concerning the death of a person on the island, and most men, women and children will not go out of their houses from dusk to sun-up for a period of three days following a death in their vicinity. The fear, of course, is that if they do--they'll meet the dead person's spirit.

Also, few Caymanians will remain alone at home at any time--particularly at night, Fuller claims. Some will not even enter their houses late at night--unless someone else accompanies them.

Duppies can take the shape of cats, cows, pigs, and people. The can change from one form to another, a cat turns into a dog, a man into a woman and then to a hog--according to legend.

Many older, isolated people claim to have spoken with duppies of their dead relatives.

A typical duppy story follows, this one about a malicious duppy:

"A man at East End was lying in bed under an open window on a very hot night when a duppy stuck his head in and demanded a drink. When the recumbent man told him he didn't have any liquor, the duppy began arguing with him, insisting that he did. The owner of the house became angry and cursed the intruder. The result was a blow across the jaw so severe, that, 'It knocked him unconscious.'" 31

Another common duppy theme is that of changing form:

"I was riding along headed south on Church Street. I was opposite Rayal Bodden's house when suddenly something appeared in the road straight ahead of the car. At first I thought it to be a big dog then I saw that it was a very young child staring at me but before I could apply my brakes, it began scooting down the center of the road faster than any child could possibly have run even if facing in the direction it was traveling. That shook me a bit but when, about three hundred yards later, it happened again it really scared me. Then several minutes later that same child appeared for the third time but this time instead of scooting down the road it shot in through a gate to my left. I wasn't too surprised later to learn that the child who lived in that house had died." 32

Social stratification

While the Caymans have avoided the racial strife of many other West Indian islands, there are still clearly drawn lines between blacks and whites.

While ^(the island is) only one hundred sixty square miles, residents of Grand Cayman's separate areas did little intermingling until recent years. The lack of roads meant some communities could only be reached by boat, and some people never traveled as far as ten miles from their homes during their lifetimes.

Kohlman notes some areas of Grand Cayman have tended to be predominantly white or colored, but says "it has never been possible to make any clear racial distinctions."³³ She notes the dialect mirrors this condition because the term Negro is rarely heard, at least by Caymanians talking about Caymanians. People are described by the terms black, brown, dark, light or white. She adds "for the most part no denigration implied, but the terms simply serve a descriptive function."³⁴

Lowenthal, on the other hand, categorizes the Caymanian society as one "differentiated by color but not stratified by class."³⁵ According to his data, Cayman whites do not marry non-whites, and inbreeding accounts for much deaf-mutism, tooth decay and other genetic defects. Occupational differences also distinguish the races: colored Caymanians are mostly peasant farmers and fishermen; whites are seamen, who emigrate for many years and return to the island with their savings.

The seafaring tradition and fiscal links with the United States have made many white Caymanians prosperous. Lowenthal says that despite the economic disparity between white and non-white--the Caymans lack the hierachical ideology of larger West Indian territories. White Caymanians are close to the sea, if not to the soil, and are not considered an elite group which abhors manual labor.

Doran, 1959, notes the maintenance of some 30 percent white population from 1800 to the present is a significant difference from other West Indian islands. At this time, the white element of the population was more or less a closed breeding unit--while random mating occured in other segments of the population. Miscegenation, frowned upon culturally, is significant and takes a clandestine form between white males and colored or black females.³⁶ This is certainly a point in common with other West Indian island societies where relationships between white women and black men are frowned upon, but more or less condoned between black women and white men.

Doran also notes "the colored (mixed black and white) population is definitely on the increase at the expense of the two basic racial element."³⁷

Distribution of race on the islands is of some importance. Little Cayman had a continuous proportion of 75 percent whites to non-whites, and the Prospect district of Grand Cayman had about 60 to 70 percent white population at the time of Doran's study. Deaf-mutism (caused by a pair of recessive genes) is highest in these areas, with 23 per 1,000 reported in the Prospect district and 74 per 1,000 reported in Little Cayman.

Because of emigration and the number of men away at sea, there is a disproportionate amount of females to males. In 1960, Cayman Island females outnumbered resident males by four to three. This imbalance in population is a common feature shared with other West Indian islands. According to Lowenthal's data, extra-residential mating involving single women is sanctioned in the Cayman Islands.³⁸

Kohlman notes that intermarriage over many years has caused confusion in identification because of the duplication of names. A partial solution is the practice of calling a married woman (whose given name is the same as that of one or more women) by her first name and her husband's first name. For instance, Lina Jackson, wife of Farrell Jackson, is called Lina Farrell or sometimes Mrs. Farrell to differentiate between her and Lina Jackson, wife of Hugh Jackson.³⁹

And, as noted before, because slaves commonly took the same name as their masters, today many families on Grand Cayman share the same last name. Most common surnames are Bodden, Ebanks, Watler, Jackson, Bush, Thompson and frequently, Coe, Hurlston, Eden, Merren, Parson, Wood and Arch.

Most of these are of Anglo-Saxon derivation. Many have interesting origins such as the name Bush. According to tradition, the surname Bush comes from one Christopher Charles who deserted from an English warship in the mid-1700's.

To avoid capture by British seamen, Charles established his home in the island's tangled interior bush and raised a large family. They were called the "bushers" by the islanders and in time the name changed to "Bush."

But a "bush child" means an illegitimate child (derogatory) on the island as against an "outside child" also illegitimate but not scorned.

COMMUNICATION SYSTEMS

Informal

Before radio and newspapers, news traveled the island informally. George Town had a town crier who would walk through the streets announcing approaching events such as weddings-- although word of mouth was just as rapid and accurate.

Invitations to picnics and other gatherings were circulated in the form of a petition, taken to every person listed for an indication whether he could attend. Fuller gives an example. The first page usually contained some statement such as, "On the evening after the day of the arrival of the Goldfield (sailing vessel) there will be a picnic at the Yacht Club (nonexistent beach shack) and you are cordially invited to attend."⁴⁰ A list of persons invited followed.

Today, informal news sources are still important. The interpersonal flow of communications, takes place either by word of mouth or by telephone. Residents from the East End of the island, who work in George Town during the day, bring news home each evening concerning the day's events in the city.

The island has a good telephone system and information from different areas of the island is easily relayed this way.

According to newspaper editors, if Caymanians need to be apprised of an important event (such as schools being closed) on a day when no newspapers are published, church ministers are told and it is announced in churches on Sunday. Parishioners pass the message on to neighbors, and by Monday the island is informed.

A second, informal news source, used by citizens and newspaper editors, is eavesdropping on newscasts picked up from radio stations in Miami, Cuba and other places. This is common practice on most Caribbean islands.

Formal

The island has two weekly newspapers, the Caymanian, founded in 1956 and the islands' first newspaper (circulation 3,500); and the more recent Cayman Compass (circulation 3,500). Both papers are published by the Cayman Free Press, Ltd., owned by Caymanian, Billie Bodden and American, Reid Dennis.

In addition, a monthly news magazine, the Northwester, is available as well as several semi-annual commercial publications. The United Church publishes a monthly religious newspaper, Gospel of the King.

The only other significant news source is a small FM college radio station, which broadcasts six hours daily of music with interspersed newscasts, read directly from the Compass or the Caymanian.

The Cayman press freedom is uninhibited and the papers do not give the appearance of being highly political. The relationship between the Compass, Caymanian and the Northwester is an interdependent, harmonious and reciprocal one. Desmond Seales, a Trinidadian, owns the Northwester as well as the only public relations firm on the island. He depends on the newspapers to carry advertisements channeled through his firm, and they, in turn, depend on his advertisements. Co-operative efforts include the interchange of news, photos and consolidated efforts to secure reasonably priced news print.

One of the primary ^{functions} both editors of the Caymanian and Northwester mentioned for their publications is that of bringing racial issues along with the deepening divisions between expatriates and Caymanians out into the open, 'keeping the community informed as to inherent dangers in these issues and providing a public forum to help build community solidarity.'

The British expatriate editor of the Northwester, Jim Graves, particularly blamed current problems on 'the British insular, colonial mind and agitating Jamaicans, who are pushing for nationalism and carry a racial chip on their shoulders.'

It would appear, too, that growing American communities on the island (exclusive beach houses, whose owners, with more than a touch of ethnocentrism, hang out carefully lettered signs proudly hailing their origins, such as: Wallaces, Trenton, N.J., U.S.A.) are not helping matters.

While Billie Bodden was not available for comment, both Reid Dennis (Caymanian) and Jim Graves (Northwester) said they thought international ^(news) ~~was~~ unneeded in the islands' publications. Dennis thought Caymanians could 'care less about world news' and Graves saw no purpose in local publications devoting space to world news. It should be noted that both men are expatriates, and according to Graves, 'one of the beauties of the Caymans is not being faced by news.'

World news is available by subscribing to off-island publications such as the Jamaica Daily Gleaner or the Miami Herald.

National Identification

Lowenthal has noted that the West Indies were early and thoroughly Europeanized. It was suggested in the introduction that in light of this colonial heritage, Caymanian identification may be stronger with the United Kingdom than with its West Indian neighbors as a whole, although the latter are certainly geographically much closer. Specifics of national identification in terms of the West Indies, the United Kingdom and the United States were examined through content analysis of the island's newspapers.

As newspaper editors had indicated their evaluation of the relative unimportance of world news and their reluctance to include it in their publications, it was assumed that local papers would carry a great deal of news concerning solely the Cayman Islands. The foreign news which is printed would take on added importance in terms of editorial judgement.

Hypotheses

It was hypothesized that news coverage concerning other West Indian nation states, would indicate strong Caymanian identification with fellow Caribbean islands. Conversely, lack of news coverage about West Indian nation states, would indicate a weak identification. It was further hypothesized that if the Cayman Islands (a British Crown Colony) identified strongly with either the United Kingdom or the United States, newspapers would reflect this by devoting more space to articles concerning these countries.

Method

All locally available copies of the Caymanian (Grand Cayman's first, and oldest weekly newspaper) were included in the sample. Twenty newspapers, specifically seven copies for 1972 and 13 copies from 1973, were available locally. These were sufficiently scattered and varied throughout the months and weeks of the year, as to be judged adequate to constitute a random sample.

The sample universe was defined as all front pages of these twenty newspapers. Measurement included counting photos, and counting and measuring column inches of stories under each category. While it was deemed unnecessary to measure Caymanian news in terms of column inches to determine national identification, it was decided to measure column inches including jumps (stories continued on the inside) of news stories relating to the United Kingdom (the West Indies) and the United States. News photos were briefly scanned in terms of subject and image, and news stories scanned in terms of content.

Categories

News Stories

- Caymanian** - News of events on Grand Cayman, including legislative events, activities of the governor, and all stories where Caymanian involvement was primary.
- West Indies** - News of significant events in the West Indies, including news of other West Indian nation states and subjects of these states--also related events either originating on Grand Cayman or on neighboring islands.
- United Kingdom** - News of significance concerning activities of the British government or its subjects, originating on Grand Cayman or elsewhere and including British visitors to the island.
- United States** - News of significance concerning activities of the United States government or its subjects, originating on Grand Cayman or elsewhere and including U.S. visitors to the island.

News Photos

- Caymanian** - News photos of Caymanians or Caymanian events.
- West Indies** - Photos of West Indians or relating to West Indian nations, either originating in the subject's home state or in the Cayman Islands.
- United Kingdom** - Photos of British subjects and events related to Britain, originating in Britain or in the Cayman Islands.
- United States** - Photos of U.S. subjects and events related to the U.S., originating in the U.S. or in the Cayman Islands.

Results

As was expected, the majority of news stories carried on the front pages of these twenty papers concerned Caymanians. Of 57 front page stories, 49 stories were included under the Caymanian category; 6 under the United Kingdom category and 2 under the United States category. No stories were found that could be included under the West Indian category. However, one story (included under the Caymanian category because Caymanian involvement was primary) mentioned the visit of the president of Costa Rica, and a second story mentioned the Cuban embassy demanding two minor children on Grand Cayman be returned to the custody of their Cuban father.

News Stories:

United Kingdom - 6 stories, total of 83½ column inches, most stories continued on the inside of the newspaper.

Stories included: British development aid to the Caymans; Britain's entry into the EEC; A meeting of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association in the Caymans; A visit by Prince Charles; Transfer of a British policeman in the Caymans to Hong Kong; and A visit by two British Members of Parliament.

United States - 2 stories, total of 22½ column inches, no stories continued on the inside of the newspaper.

Stories included: Richard M. Nixon's victory in the 1972 presidential election; and The Devaluation of the U.S. dollar.

As can be noted, British news appeared to have wider scope and impact, ranging from EEC membership to the transfer of a British policeman. U.S. news was given significantly less intensive coverage.

Of 17 news photos counted on front pages, 12 were included under the Caymanian category, 3 under the United Kingdom category and 2 under the United States category. No news photos were used on the front page which pertained to West Indians or related events in neighboring West Indian islands.

News photos under the United Kingdom category tended to be more favorable in terms of subject, image and outline, than those under the United States category.

United Kingdom - 3 photos, 2 concerning Prince Charles and 1 of the 2 visiting Members of Parliament.

Cutlines include: "Charlie is my darling;" "Inspects Honour Guard;" and "Members of Parliament....highly impressed with the Cayman people."

United States - 2 photos, 1 concerning a U.S. citizen who was an escaped prisoner from the George Town prison and was being sought by police; and 1 concerning the visit of James Hoffa and his wife.

Cutlines include: "Likes Caymans - convicted Ex-teamster James Hoffa and wife." No outline for other photo.

From newspaper content analysis, the Cayman Islands appear to identify more strongly with the United Kingdom, and news photos and news stories indicate a favorable image. Less news is included about the United States, and the image appears less favorable. No news coverage concerning West Indians or events related to neighboring West Indian states appeared on the front page, and would indicate a weak identification inspite of greater proximity.

CONCLUSION

The Cayman Islands have a unique, cultural heritage manifested in terms of tradition, language, folklore, values and customs. Influences which have helped shape the culture include British and West African settlers, the seafaring tradition of the islanders, nearly a century or isolation and the very nature of being an island.

The Caymanians are basically a conservative people adhering to strongly established community values, and identifying more strongly with their European colonial heritage and the United Kingdom than with the emerging nation states which constitute its West Indian neighbors. Some features it shares in common with other West Indian islands though, include a standard Creole structure, a colonial heritage and an imbalance in the ratio of females to males in the island's population.

Racial stratification is clearly defined on the island and while this does not appear to manifest serious problems at this time; there is some evidence of growing tensions between the expatriate community and the Caymanian community. Indeed, it would be naive to assume that the Caymanians will not be affected to some degree by the nationalism and violence obvious in other parts of the Caribbean. However, beyond this, it is difficult to make predictions for their future in this area.

FOOTNOTES

¹David Lowenthal. West Indian Societies (London: Oxford University Press, 1972), p. ix.

²Ibid., p. vii.

³Ibid., p. 265.

⁴Neville Williams. A History of the Cayman Islands (Portsmouth: Grosvenor Press, 1970) p. 3.

⁵Ibid., p. 10.

⁶George S. S. Hirst. Notes on the History of the Cayman Islands (Jamaica: The P. A. Benjamin Manf. Co., 1910), p. 20.

⁷Ibid., p. 24.

⁸A History of the Cayman Islands, p. 15.

⁹Ibid., p. 14.

¹⁰Notes on the History of the Cayman Islands, p. 33.

¹¹A History of the Cayman Islands, p. 16.

¹²Notes on the History of the Cayman Islands, p. 34.

¹³A History of the Cayman Islands, p. 30.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 30.

¹⁵Notes on the History of the Cayman Islands, p. 35.

¹⁶A History of the Cayman Islands, pp. 42, 43.

¹⁷Notes on the History of the Cayman Islands, p. 206.

¹⁸A History of the Cayman Islands, pp. 30, 31.

FOOTNOTES (Continued)

- ¹⁹Ibid., p. 40.
- ²⁰Ibid., p. 62.
- ²¹Notes on the History of the Cayman Islands, p. 286.
- ²²A History of the Cayman Islands, p. 67.
- ²³The Financial Times, February 9, 1973, (London: Waterloo Web Litho Ltd.), p. 14.
- ²⁴Larry A. Samovar and Richard E. Porter. Intercultural Communication: A Reader (Belmont: Wadsworth Publishing Company, Inc., 1972), p.
- ²⁵Aarona M. Kohlman. The Dialect of Grand Cayman (Unpublished master's thesis, Iowa State University, Ames, Iowa, 1969), p. 15.
- ²⁶Ibid., p. 22.
- ²⁷Ibid., p. 31.
- ²⁸Ibid., p. 35.
- ²⁹Ibid., p. 24.
- ³⁰Bob Fuller. Duppies Is (Grand Cayman: Caribbean Colour, Ltd., 1967), p. 22.
- ³¹Ibid., p. 55.
- ³²Ibid., p. 14.
- ³³The Dialect of Grand Cayman, p. 35.
- ³⁴Ibid., p. 35.
- ³⁵West Indian Societies, p. 78.

FOOTNOTES (Continued)

³⁶Edwin Doran, Jr. "Inbreeding in an Isolated Island Community," Journal of Heredity, 1952, Vol. LIII, p. 265.

³⁷Ibid., p. 265.

³⁸West Indian Societies, p. 219.

³⁹The Dialect of Grand Cayman, p. 39.

⁴⁰Duppies Is., p. 6.

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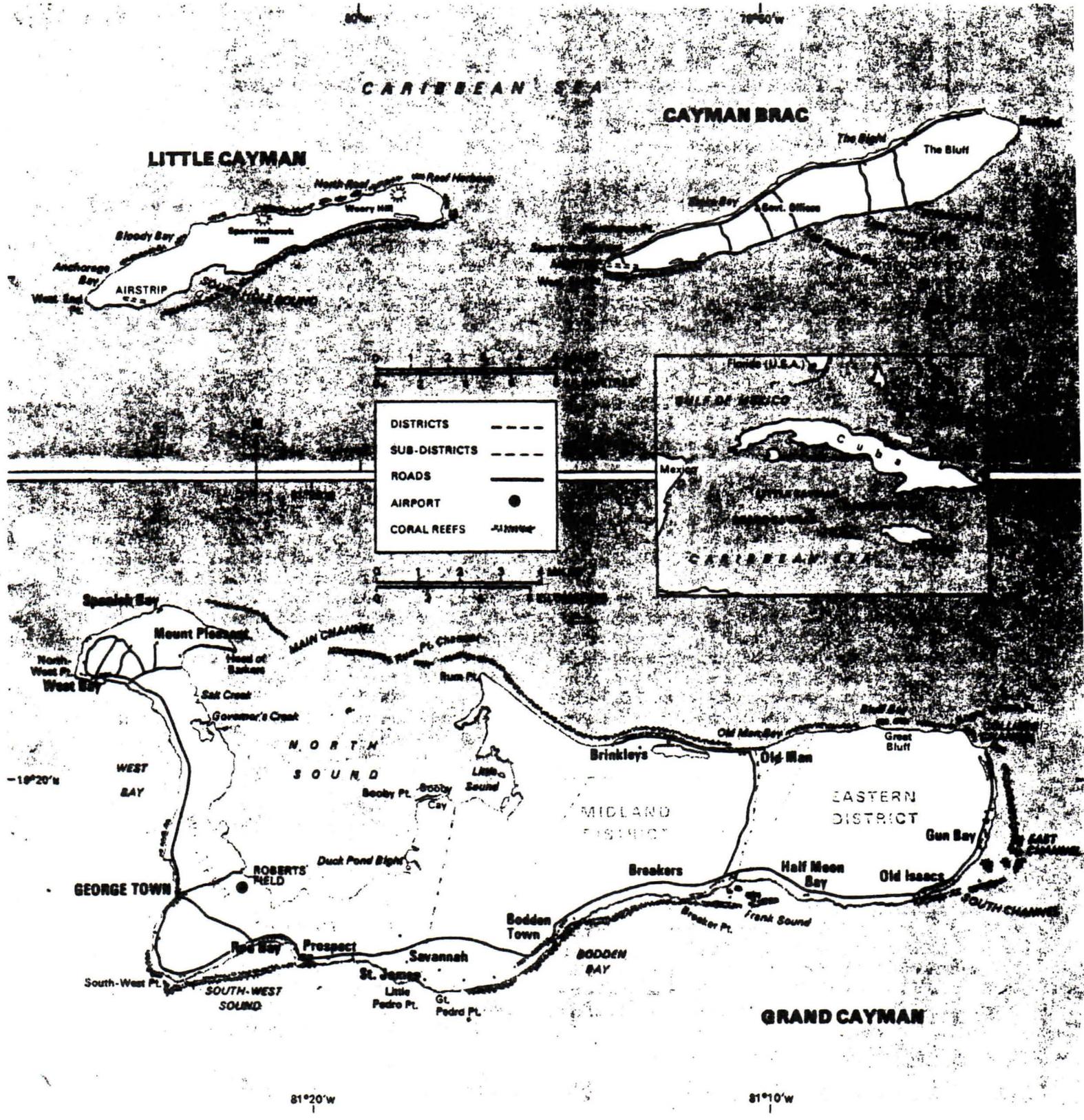
March 1974 - Jim Graves, Editor, The Northwester, Grand
Cayman, B.W.I.

March 1974 - Reid Dennis, Editor and Co-Owner, The Caymanian
Weekly, and The Compass, Grand Cayman, B.W.I.

Content Analysis Data

<u>Argyrian Weekly</u>	<u>News Stories</u>			<u>News Photos</u>				
	<u>Cay.</u>	<u>W.I.</u>	<u>U.K.</u>	<u>U.S.</u>	<u>Cay.</u>	<u>W.I.</u>	<u>U.K.</u>	<u>U.S.</u>
8/3/72	1				1			
10/12/72	4				2			
11/8/72	3			1-4 3/4"				1 Hoffa
11/22/72	2							
12/14/72	4				1			
12/7/72	5				1			
12/21/72	2			1-12 3/4"	1			
1/4/73	2			1-15"	1			
1/18/73	1				1			
2/8/73	2				1			
2/15/73	2			1-17 1/2"				
4/5/73	3				1			
4/12/73	3							
4/19/73	4							
4/26/73	2				1			
5/3/73	3			1-16 1/2"				
5/10/73	2				1			
7/19/73	3			2-27 3/4"			2-Prince Chls	
7/26/73	3						1 Crime	
8/3/73	3			1-11 1/2"			1-M.P.'s	
<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
20 Issues	49	0	6	2	12	0	3	2
Total			83 1/2"	22 1/4"				

Cayman Islands



Caribbean Islands



Atlantic Ocean



APPENDIX C

APPENDIX D

Catalog of Mass Communication in the Caribbean Area

BARBADOS:

Population: 250,686 Literacy Rate: 97% Colleges: three

Newspapers: There is one daily newspaper, Advocate News with a total circulation of 18,864. There are four weeklies published.

Broadcasting: Caribbean Broadcasting Corporation, a commercial system, broadcasts six hours of television daily, plus two full-time radio stations. There are 15,000 television sets. Radio sets number 60,000 with an additional 60,000 listeners receiving broadcasts in the Windward Islands.

Cinema: There are eight theatres including two drive-in theatres. 4,700 seats are available (1971, 20 seats per 1,000 inhabitants, annual attendance: 1.1 million)

BRITISH COLONIAL TERRITORIES:

BAHAMAS - total area: 5,386 square miles Population: 170,175 (1967 est)

Newspapers: There are two daily newspapers. The liberal, Tribune, (f. 1903) edited by Sir. Etienne Dupuch, with a total circulation of 10,000; and, the Nassau Guardian (f. 1844) with a total circulation of 7,550. There are also three weekly newspapers including the Freeport News.

Broadcasting: Bahamas Broadcasting and Television Communications, government owned, broadcasts two channels. There are 50,000 (1968) radio sets. American television programs are received in the Bahamas. In 1968 there was no national television service but a station was being built.

Cinema: There are seven theatres including two drive-in theatres. 4,000 seats are available (1971, 22 seats per 1,000 inhabitants).

¹Unless otherwise noted, data in the Catalog of Mass Communication Media is from the following sources: The American 1973 Annual (An encyclopedia of the events of 1972), Broadcasting Yearbook 1973, Editor and Publisher International Year-Book 1972, Europa Yearbook, Vol. II, 1969, and the UNESCO Statistical Yearbook 1972.

BERMUDA: - total area: 20.65 square miles Population: 52,000 (1968)

Newspapers: There are two daily newspapers, the Mid-Ocean News (f. 1911) with a total circulation of 6,000; and the Royal Gazette (f. 1828) with a total circulation of 12,000. There are also two weeklies published here.

Broadcasting: Two commercial broadcasting companies, Bermuda Broadcasting and Capital Broadcasting transmit four radio stations (including one FM) and also two television channels. Radio receivers number 14,000 and there are 16,000 television sets.

Cinema: There are four theatres. Total seating capacity equals 2,200 seats (1971, 41 seats per 1,000 inhabitants).

BRITISH VIRGIN ISLANDS:

Total area: 69 square miles Population: 8,950

Newspapers: There is one weekly newspaper, the Island Sun.

Broadcasting: One commercial radio station operates here, and a television station is being planned.

CAYMAN ISLANDS:

Total area: 100 square miles Population: 11,500

Newspapers: There is one weekly, The Caymanian, published here. A monthly religious newspaper, Gospel of the King, is published, and also a news magazine (monthly) the Northwester.

Colleges: one - International College of the Cayman Islands

MONTSERRAT: Total Area: 39.5 square miles Population: 14,706 (1968)

Newspapers: There is one weekly newspaper, The Mirror.

Broadcasting: There are two radio stations: Radio Montserrat, government owned, and Radio Antilles, commercial, which broadcast in English, French and Spanish. Television is received from Antigua (Leeward Islands Television Service) by booster station.

ST. VINCENT:

Newspapers: There is one weekly, independent, The Vicentian, with a circulation of 25,000. There are also three monthly government publications.

Broadcasting: Broadcasting service is received from the West Indies Associated States.

CUBA: Area: 189 square miles - Telephones: 291,264

Population: 7.5 million - Language: Spanish -Colleges: Three

Newspapers: Havana has four dailies: Granma, the communist organ with a total circulation of 327,000; Juventud Rebelde, the communist youth organ with a total circulation of 68,000; El Mundo, a morning paper, circulation 158,000; and La Tarde, an evening paper. There are eight other dailies on the island (most don't publish on Monday). There is an abundant array of weeklies, monthlies and periodicals.

Press Associations: Union de Periodistas de Cuba and the Union of Writers and Artists (UNEAC) which publishes Gaceta de Cuba, a literary magazine, fortnightly.

News Agency: Brensa Latina - government controlled.

Foreign Bureaus: AP, Bulgar Tele Agency, Czechoslovak News Agency, Novosti Press Agency (APN), UPI, and Tass

Broadcasting: Radio Havana Cuba operates 16 stations broadcasting in Arabic, Creole, English, French, Guarani, Quecha, Portugese and Spanish. There are 17 other radio stations, and radio receivers number 1,325,000 (1968).

Television National operates 13 stations and there are 575,000 television sets.

Cinema: There are 444 theatres including one drive-in, other data not available.

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC:

Total area: 18,816 square miles; Population: 4,600,000 (1972 est)

Population Density: 231 inhabitants per square mile

Annual Rate of Increase: 3.4%; Language: Spanish

Telephones: 47,400 (1971); Per Capita Income: \$272 (1968)

Newspapers: There are eight daily newspapers including Listin Diario, (f.1889) a morning paper with 35,000 circulation; and El Porvenir (f. 1872) the oldest national daily.

Broadcasting: Radio and Television are under the supervision of a government body. There are 76 commercial radio stations with 155,000 listeners (1968). There are two commercial television stations operation, Television Dominica and Rahnintel Television, which provide three channels, and two relays. Television sets number 77,000 (1971).

Colleges and Universities: Seven

Cinema: There are 96 theatres (1961) providing 41,800 seats (14 per 1,000 inhabitants).

HAITI: Total area: 10,714 square miles Population: 5,500,000

Language: French Literacy: Less than 10%

Per Capita Income: \$75 per year Colleges: One

Newspapers: There are six dailies.

Broadcasting: Among radio stations, there are four religious and twelve commercial stations operating. Radio sets number 83,000 (1970). Tele Haiti, a private commercial company, at present holds monopoly rights on television transmission. There are 10,500 (1971) television sets.

Cinema: There are 27 theatres including one drive-in, providing 22,900 seats (1964, 2.7 seats per 1000 inhabitants).

JAMAICA: Total area: 4,232 square miles; Population: 2,100,000 (1972)

Language: English Telephones: 71,823 (1971) Colleges: One

Newspapers: There are two dailies, both under the same ownership: The Daily Gleaner (f.1834) with a circulation of 65,813, and the evening Star with total circulation of 61,365. There are many periodicals published.

Press Association: Press Association of Jamaica with a membership of 90, and publishes the annual Press & Radio.

News Agencies: Reuters is represented.

Broadcasting: There are two broadcasting corporations: Jamaica Broadcasting Corporation is a publically owned, statutory corporation which is designed to transmit quality programming both on radio and television. The educational broadcasting service includes daily 20-minute telecasts and 15-minute radio programming with a 'broad social purpose.' Radio Jamaica Ltd (subsidiary of Rediffusion Int. Ltd-London) is a commercial company providing island-wide communication and public service 136 hours weekly. Radio sets number 450,000 (1969) and television sets number 70,000 (1971).

Cinema: There are 49 theatres including two drive-ins, with total seating capacity of 40,400 seats (1969, 20 per 1,000 inhabitants).

PUERTO RICO

Area: 3,435 square miles; Population: 2,712,033; Telephones: 333,738;

Per Capita Income (1969-70): \$1,427 Colleges: Four

Newspapers: There are four dailies, all independents, the oldest of which is El Dia (f. 1909) published in Ponce with a circulation of 29,800. The other three dailies are published in San Juan. Also many periodicals are published.

Press Agencies: AP & UPI

Broadcasting: Broadcasting is commercially owned except for government owned radio and television stations transmitting educational broadcasts. There is a communication satellite (COMSAT) station in Cayey. There are 66 commercial radio stations, 12 commercial TV stations, and one each radio and television owned by the government. There are 400,000 television receivers (1967) and 1,600,000 radio sets.

Professional Associations: Broadcasters Association of Puerto Rico

Cinema: There are 106 theatres.

TRINIDAD & TOBAGO:

Newspapers & Broadcasting: Three dailies and many periodicals. Three commercial broadcasting companies operating, and one communication satellite. TV sets number 43,000 and radio sets (1968) 169,000. Caribbean Press Association - founded in Trinidad, 1947.

WEST INDIES ASSOCIATED STATES: Antigua, Barbuda, St. Kitts, St. Lucia
Dominica, Grenada (now independent);

Newspapers & Broadcasting: There are four dailies and eleven weekly newspapers. There are two radio stations and one television station, broadcasting in the area.

US VIRGIN ISLANDS: Four dailies and one weekly. There are three commercial radio stations, and one commercial TV station: (31,000 radio sets and 12,000 TV sets).

FRENCH ISLANDS: Guadeloupe, French Guiana, Martinique, and Reunion. There are six dailies and nine weeklies published here. Broadcasting is through the Office de Radiodiffusion Television Francaise (ORTF) which broadcasts television and radio programs, usually a set amount of hours daily.

Netherland Antilles & Surinam:

Population: 213,192

Language: Dutch is the official language, although Spanish and English is widely spoken. The local dialect is Papiamento (a mixture of Dutch, Spanish, Portugese, English and African)

Newspapers: There are six dailies (three in Dutch, two in Papiamento, and ~~one~~ one in English) and also several weeklies.

News Agency: Algemeen Nederlands Persbureau
Reuters
UPI

Broadcasting: There are nine commercial ^{radio} broadcasting companies, and include both commercial and religious programs. Broadcasts are in Dutch, Papiamento, English and Spanish. There are two commerical TV stations. Radio receivers number 111,000 (1968) and television receivers number 29,000 (1968).

Cinema: There are eleven theatres with a total number of 11,000 seats available (1966, 33 per 1,000 inhabitants).