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| Globalization, Modernity, and Tradition |

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# AIMS AND SCOPE

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*The Journal of the University College of the Cayman Islands (JUCCI)* seeks to create a voice for the faculty, staff, and students of the University College of the Cayman Islands as well as the wider community, in such a way as to express and catalyze the views, emotions, and values that represent and strengthen the environment.

It is our aim to reinforce and reflect the images that represent this society, its roots and its relationships with the wider Caribbean and the world, in ways that encourage excellence in research, analysis, creativity, and discourse.

*JUCCI* will be a multidisciplinary journal covering a broad spectrum of topics and perspectives. Being eclectic in nature, the journal will publish ambitious works that reflect a wide range of critical and analytic approaches. Under the supervision of an editorial board, manuscripts of exceptional academic merit on a variety of subjects are published.

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# GLOBALIZATION, MODERNITY, AND TRADITION

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LIVINGSTON SMITH

This issue of the *Journal of the University College of the Cayman Islands* examines a variety of issues in education, literature, marketing, and history. Beneath these themes, however, the issues of globalization, modernity, and tradition run their pulsing subterranean course.

## EDUCATION

Caribbean peoples, like many others, have historically known about globalization even before the phenomenon was formally recognized and described. One example of this is the region-wide resort to migration as a tool of survival, of which the current “export” of teachers trained in the Caribbean to work in the school classrooms of Britain is but the latest expression.

Paul Miller, in his article, “Survival from Within: Dilemmas, Challenges, and Opportunities in Caribbean Teacher Integration in England,” forcefully brings to our attention the experiences of such teachers. He helps us understand how they deal with issues of professionalism, identity, racism, and the lack of acceptance by some of their local colleagues. Even more critically, the article discusses the imperative of integration and suggests possible models for achieving assimilation into mainstream cultures.

The education segment of this publication is rounded out with what many might regard as an unlikely source – a graduation speech. All too often these

words of wisdom fall rapidly into oblivion as graduates march towards the door and their future lives. There are, however, exceptions, and such is the case with the speech delivered by Katrina Carter-Tellison to the 2010 graduating class. Powered by eloquence, substance, and relevance, the speech laid out the critical ingredients of success: the passionate pursuit of a vocation that one truly loves; the definition of success by the quality of one's work; the recognition that money does not necessarily make one happier; and, of course, the imperative of sheer hard work.

## LITERATURE

The ideas that make us human are drawn from mathematics, science, history, economics, and literature. This section on literature features two intriguing articles.

One wrestles with existentialism as a philosophical construct, considering how, in an environment both hostile and indifferent, human beings, themselves the products of inexplicable forces, must create meaning through their own actions and the choices they make. Jennifer Williams grapples with this theme as it emerges in the short stories of Salvador Garmendia, the notable Venezuelan author. Professor Williams's article demonstrates how Garmendia, enormously skilled in the use of literary techniques, brings out themes of deformity and decay as illustrations of the results of the transition of Venezuela from a rural to an urban society. Garmendia's stories are not only literary pieces, but also sophisticated sociological analyses of the evolution of human societies – invariably referred to as modernization and modernity – and the impact of such evolution on human behaviour.

The second article in this section, "Literary and Cultural Confrontations: Cos Causse's Contemplation of the Convergences and Divergences in the Poetry of Two Black Icons," brings into sharp focus the poetic genius of the famed poet of the Harlem Renaissance, Langston Hughes, and Nicolas Guillén, Afro-Cuban poet and once National Poet of Cuba. In her assessment of how Jesús Cos Causse compares and contrasts the works of Guillén and Hughes, Paulette Ramsay finds that Cos Causse himself shares literary, cultural, philosophical, and historical connections with other diaspora blacks.

## MARKETING

For the first time, this journal carries a report on research findings on the performance of the University College of the Cayman Islands. The research, conducted by Professor Robert Weishan of UCCI's Business Studies programme with the help of students, has implications for tertiary education throughout the Caribbean. The analysis includes issues of accreditation, perceptions of local versus overseas qualifications, and the marketing and affordability of education in the Caribbean.

The second article considers the shopping experience in the Cayman Islands as a microcosm of the wider Caribbean. In "Cosmopolitan and Ethnocentric Tensions in the Caymanian Shopping Experience," Professors Liz Wang and J.D. Mosley-Matchett find that even though there are strong forces of globalization at work that impact consumer purchasing behaviour, there are similarly strong cultural forces at play influencing how and what consumers in the Cayman Islands purchase. They agree on the need for the retail industry to put in place rational strategies that will positively influence both local and foreign consumer shopping behaviour.

## MEMORY

The two final articles deal with Caymanian memory. One explores unique factors in the genesis of Caymanian society while the other takes an intensive look at traditional Caymanian thought under the sway of the forces of modernization.

Roy Murray's "Notes on the Early History of the Caymanas" explores the processes that gave rise to the formation of Caymanian society – early settlement, economy, and slave plantations. This is an important article, especially given the upsurge in interest in early Caymanian history and society.

One focus of the second article, by Christopher A. Williams, is the dialectical processes of globalization and tradition at work in the Caymanian society and psyche. In his article, "Perpetuation, Imagination, Subjectivity, and Community: Interrogating the Effects of Caymanian Traditional Thought," he writes of the "the primacy of the traditional imagination," "active traditional

sentiment,” and “Caymanian traditional imagination” as they relate to the creation of an idealized past and nationalistic feelings, and how these are confronted by powerful forces of change.

I am confident that readers will find much in this issue that is intellectually stimulating and rewarding.

# SURVIVAL FROM WITHIN

## Dilemmas, Challenges, and Opportunities in Caribbean Teacher Integration in England

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PAUL MILLER\*

### *Abstract*

*This paper discusses findings from doctoral research completed at the Institute of Education, London on the experiences of Caribbean Overseas Trained Teachers (OTTs) working in secondary schools across London. It extends existing research in the fields of migration and identity. A dominant theme at the beginning of the decade was the loss of teachers from mostly developing countries, which resulted in a form of “brain drain.” These studies, however, did not consider the impact of teaching in England on the OTTs themselves. Nor did they consider the experiences of Caribbean OTTs in London and the strategies the OTTs devised to “manage” them. This article addresses this gap and also recommends a possible model/framework for supporting and integrating OTTs.*

**KEY WORDS:** migration, Overseas Trained Teachers, integration, teacher quality, induction

### INTRODUCTION

Debates about teaching quality and teacher identity are taking place worldwide. One view is that teachers’ voices are under-represented in these debates (Kompf 2005), whilst another proposes that teachers should be

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engaged in research into the construction of their quality, since they can then shed light on the personal and individual processes of *becoming* a teacher (Frid and Reid 2003). Teaching is regarded as a difficult job, particularly the earliest phase and especially for new teachers (Huberman 1992; Day 1999). In addition, there is some literature suggesting that teachers new to certain educational settings (e.g., teaching in a new country/culture) can also find their experiences traumatic (Graham and Phelps 2003; Bleach and Rhodes 2004; Miller 2006).

Overseas Trained Teachers (OTTs) in London have had both negative and positive experiences, some of which have undermined previously held personal values and professional positions. The experience of racism and feelings of not being *accepted* by some local colleagues led some OTTs to practise a type of existence called “survival from within.” That is, as a result of their experiences, some OTTs chose not to extend themselves beyond ethnic and racial groupings, thereby restricting their own integration.

## **OVERSEAS TRAINED TEACHERS IN ENGLAND**

The Department for Education and Skills (2007) defined an OTT as a teacher trained outside the European Economic Area (EEA) and who requires a work permit to teach in England. The historical pattern of the migration/recruitment of OTTs to England is less precise, but a number of teachers from Australia and New Zealand came to teach in England, especially London, through teacher exchange programmes administered by the British Council.

In the 1990s, the decline in influence of local authorities in England coincided with a period of rising school rolls and falling teacher numbers. Low salaries (Dolton 1990), workload, government initiatives, stress, poor pupil behaviour, and poor leadership (Smithers and Robinson 2005) were among a wider set of reasons for the loss of teachers. London in particular was affected by the shortage of teachers, which reached unprecedented levels in 2002. Vacancy rates published by the Department for Education and Skills (DfES 2002) showed just under 28,000 teachers in London in 2001 (a shortfall of about 7,000 in the primary phase and 8,000 in the secondary phase). In 2003, this position had improved somewhat and the DfES reported nearly 33,000 teachers in London, though turnover and wastage were on the rise.

An expedient approach to “fixing” the problems of wastage, loss, and poor uptake in recruitment initiatives was the recruitment of teachers from abroad. This fuelled several partnerships between local teacher recruitment and supply agencies and some local authorities/schools, under whose aegis teams travelled the world to recruit teachers well into the mid-2000s (Hutchings 2003). In addition to these partnerships, schools and local authorities undertook recruitment initiatives abroad independent of agencies.

Over 43,000 OTTs are estimated to be in the UK (Miller 2006), with England receiving more OTTs than any other Commonwealth country. Work Permits UK (December 2006) confirmed that for the period between January 1997 and July 2006 a total of 44,319 work permits and work permit extensions were issued to persons from overseas for the category that included “teacher.” During the period 1997–2006, the countries losing most teachers to the UK were South Africa, Australia, the US, New Zealand, Canada, and Jamaica respectively.

The majority of OTTs are presumed to be in London (McNamara et al. 2007). A 2002 survey carried out by NAHT (National Association of Head Teachers) found that, of the 10,454 primary teaching posts (5,199 in inner London and 5,254 in outer London) in 716 schools, 10 per cent were filled by OTTs and a further 8 per cent by teachers without UK Qualified Teacher Status (QTS), of whom most are presumed to be OTTs. Of the numbers of OTTs *correctly* identified, 13 per cent were said to be working in inner London schools and 7 per cent in outer London. In the inner London borough of Hackney, 20 per cent of all teachers were said to be from overseas (NAHT 2002, 42).

In 2007, there were approximately 11,800 OTTs without UK QTS (DfES 2007). Of these, 1,176 were on Employment Based Route (EBR) schemes such as the Graduate Teacher Programme (GTP), the Registered Teacher Programme (RTP), and the Overseas Trained Teacher Programme (OTTP) to QTS. These 1,176 accounted for only 19 per cent of all teachers on EBR courses for QTS in England. In April 2008, the Training and Development Agency for Schools (TDA) confirmed that 1,008 OTTs had gained QTS during the 2006–07 school year, but that there were approximately 11,000 OTTs in England still without QTS. There were also figures available for other parts of the British Isles.

## **INDUCTION OF OTTs**

In 2003, the Office for Standards in Education (OfSTED) reported variations in the quality of temporary teachers. OfSTED (2003, 23) also defined a temporary teacher as “any teacher on a fixed term contract or not permanently employed in a school.” Without first obtaining Indefinite Leave to Remain in the UK (ILR) from the Home Office, no OTT can be granted a permanent contract, regardless of whether UK QTS has been achieved or not. All nine OTTs interviewed in this study were still on work permits and are therefore classified as temporary teachers. Overall, OfSTED concluded, temporary teachers delivered a higher proportion of unsatisfactory or poor lessons compared to permanent teachers. Inadequate induction; poor support; lack of familiarity with the school policies and pupils; teaching outside subject areas and education phases; lack of understanding of the National Curriculum; and ineffective monitoring by schools and support were to blame.

The National Union of Teachers (2004) found the induction arrangements for temporary teachers were “at least adequate” in most schools, but that in some schools no formal induction procedures were in place. Support from senior leaders and heads of department was not always available, since it increased their workloads and reduced the time available for other responsibilities. Morgan et al. (2006) suggested the quality of OTTs was not on par with that of locally trained teachers, a view rejected earlier by Barlin and Hallgarten (2001, 70) on the basis that “lack of school support, poor pupil behaviour and unequal treatment in respect of pay” were partly responsible for any failure among OTTs.

The transition between educational settings (or from one education context to another) is fraught with difficulties and challenges, as OTTs, especially those newest to the system, can readily attest. They are generally not as prepared for the workload and the complexities of interpersonal relationships they must navigate (Craig 2002; Stuart et al. 2003; Miller 2008). Effective induction of teachers, particularly OTTs, is crucial for creating a solid foundation for optimal performance. Thorough induction is essential for all teachers, new or returning, but is especially important for OTTs, who are operating within wholly unfamiliar territory. Uncoordinated or insufficient induction of teachers, including OTTs, only leads to problems for the teacher and the

“system,” a circumstance that has been well documented (Dowding 1998; NUT 2004; McNamara et al. 2004; Bubb 2004; OECD 2005).

Hutchings (2000, 17) reported “many supply agencies offer brief, one or two day courses to those newly arrived in the UK.” However, describing the induction and orientation given to OTTs as inadequate, Bush (2005, 38) concluded that “careful induction and support reduces the potential for practice shock among teachers.” The induction arrangements for OTTs are not standardized, nor can they be. However, there is no clear leadership on what needs to be done and what can be included in a programme of initial induction. The TDA for Schools suggested that responsibility for initial induction of OTTs rests with local authorities, but they in turn suggest such responsibility lies with both local authorities and schools. Problems faced by OTTs in respect of their migration and induction experiences led the Commonwealth Secretariat to publish a Commonwealth Teacher Recruitment Protocol (2004), which called for adequate training and support for migrant teachers in host countries and for their rights to be protected.

## **METHOD**

The findings presented in this article are drawn from doctoral research undertaken in London between 2005 and 2009. The principal aim of the study was to understand the impact teaching in England has on the professional lives of Caribbean OTTs. The study focused on Caribbean teachers in London’s secondary schools. OTTs and local authority officials representing both inner and outer London were interviewed. Data collection was undertaken during 2007 and 2009. Participants were selected using a combination of convenience, purposive, and snowball sampling techniques. Twenty-seven persons were interviewed: nine OTTs; six pupils; four national policy officials from the DfES, TDA, and the General Teaching Council for England; three local authority teacher officials (one director and two recruitment managers); two headteachers; one school governor; one teacher recruitment/supply agency official; and one initial teacher training provider/university.

## FINDINGS

### OTT experiences

Like other groups of migrants, Caribbean OTTs in London have had both negative and positive experiences. Shock, loss of confidence, impairment of self-esteem, lack of support, financial constraints, not having their original qualifications accepted as equivalent, not being fully accepted as equals by local colleagues, and being abused (verbally, racially, and physically) by pupils are just some of the more negative experiences.

For the first three to six months it was stressful, to say the least. It made me wonder if I really wanted to continue teaching at all. The stress had a hard knock on my self confidence. I felt very low . . . depression, missing family, and teaching in a challenging school where support was minimal and where I wasn't seen as an "equally capable" teacher. It was tough, physically, mentally, emotionally. (St Vincentian OTT, male)

The challenges faced by OTTs did not escape local authority officials, who cited instances where OTTs experienced "de-skilling" and loss of professional status owing to out-of-field teaching. Out-of-field teaching, according to Bracey (2002), occurs when a teacher is asked to teach a subject s/he is not trained to deliver. Bracey also contends that out-of-field teaching can impair teacher motivation and undermine pupil attainment.

The Department for Children, Schools and Families (DCSF) noted some OTTs may have been lured into a false sense of security during recruitment initiatives. That is, at the point of recruitment, some OTTs were not told about issues relating the acceptability/comparability of their qualifications, that they would be described as "unqualified teachers," and about the salaries they were likely to receive.

I suppose OTTs are made worse off financially because things haven't worked out to expectations; salaries and the cost of living are not as they imagined; promises haven't been fulfilled, so it has not been a very good experience. (DCSF, senior policy officer)

In the words of one OTT:

When you are in the Caribbean you talk about the life in London, but when you arrive in London you realize that due to the financial burdens, life is far less . . . the fact that they knew that my qualifications would not be recognized here troubles me greatly . . . They came to the Caribbean to recruit and they did not tell us about Naric [the national agency responsible for providing information, advice, and expert opinion on vocational, academic and professional skills and qualifications] and qualifications comparability before we left the country. That's bad. Not everybody would like to go back studying again . . . If I had known maybe I would still have taken up the opportunity, but under different conditions. (Guyanese OTT, female)

The experiences of OTTs are not uncommon among migrants generally (Lee 1966). Nor have the experiences of Caribbean OTTs been entirely negative. Better awareness of special education needs; being able to plan for and respond to such pupils; planning and delivering lessons based on equal opportunities and multiculturalism; accessing more continuing professional development opportunities were described as having contributed to improvements to professional practice. Some OTTs also described a process of "up-skilling."

Teaching in England has helped me to reflect . . . in a positive way on my profession, on my practice, on learning as a whole. It has had a positive impact on my overall development because I've been forced to examine every aspect of the teaching and learning process. (St Vincentian OTT, male)

[I] have learnt a lot of things professionally: new ways of approaching problems and issues . . . because my lessons are constantly observed, I am more proficient at what I do. (Jamaican OTT, female)

There has been a lot of impact. I think it has made me first of all a better teacher. A better teacher in this sense: I've gained a variety of experience. And now, apart from behaviour . . . if we talk about students with disabilities or learning difficulties, I am better informed about learning difficulties that various children have, and how to deal with those disabilities. (Jamaican OTT, male)

DCSF, local authorities, and headteachers were quick to endorse such views. In the words of the headteacher of Outer London High:

[I] would say OTTs benefit from such things as research into education, teaching, and learning; research on the brain; about learning styles and by being supported with CPD [Continuing Professional or Personal Development]. (Headteacher, Outer London High)

## Coping strategies used by OTTs

Nearly all of the nine OTTs interviewed expressed a desire to continue teaching in England, despite the negative factors they reported. Their ability to cope with the issues encountered was defined in terms of faith, goals, and a form of ethnic identity described as “survival from within.” A number of them had not visited England before, had arrived without their families, and did not know what to expect. Only one OTT had a relative living in England. However, driven by personal determination and what I have called the *impetus for survival*, OTTs combined their experiences and their minority status to form a basis of support for each other.

I can't explain it but God must be watching over me. Teaching in this country is the most challenging thing. I have come so close to losing my faith, but it is that faith in God which has kept me. I am sure of it. (Trinidadian OTT, female 1)

I know it's hard here, but I want to gather at least ten full years of teaching experience so when I go home I could go to the Education Ministry as a consultant or set up my own school. (Jamaican OTT, male)

There is the Association of Jamaican Teachers in the UK; I am a member. We are not a union, but we do meet at the Jamaican High Commission in London at least once a term. (Jamaican OTT, female)

We have had to figure out a lot of things for ourselves. That has been difficult, but I guess it's easier when as OTTs we can make mistakes together, learn from and with each other, and share advice and strategies. As a rule, my friends and I meet quite often for the “power chat.” (Trinidadian OTT, female 2)

And in the words of one OTT:

We've no family here. Our [local] colleagues really don't accept us. They only really talk to us if they are stuck for something and no-one else is around, or if no-one else can help. That's why we stick together – it's survival from within. (Guyanese OTT, female)

All the “survival” mechanisms discussed by OTTs are important. However, the idea of survival from within is based on their common minority status and experiences. For while survival from within may be practical and even expedient, such practices could reinforce perceptions of “outsiderness” and difference, which could inhibit the professional growth and development of OTTs and could see them making or even repeating simple mistakes.

These practices relate explicitly to issues of race, ethnicity, and even a Caribbean identity. In order to survive the system and to survive within, the OTTs banded together. There was no indication that OTTs were extending themselves beyond their ethnic or racial groups, behaviours that are consistent with Olson's (1986) social identity and Tajfel's (1978) relative deprivation theories of discrimination and difference.

Yet, this common-sense approach by OTTs confirms that recruiters and managers have failed in their duties to devise appropriate ways by which OTTs could become professionally integrated, or in helping them to do so (Miller 2008). In addition, this approach by OTTs reinforces the pass-the-buck approach of the TDA, local authorities, and schools described earlier, since no entity wanted to claim responsibility for the initial induction and orientation of OTTs. Nevertheless, the approach adopted by OTTs points to a potential weakness on their part, namely that they have not consciously and purposefully extended themselves beyond their racial or ethnic groups.

### **THE IMPERATIVE OF INTEGRATION: WHAT MODEL?**

Problems associated with the inadequate integration of teachers have been well documented by Hutchings and Maylor (2003), Kelchtermans (1993), Nias (1989), and Lortie (1975). Furthermore, the continued success of multiethnic societies such as England requires, more broadly, a focus on solving the migrant and minority ethnic integration dilemma in ways that fully respect the democratic and associated principles of English society. This challenge requires constant examination of the rules on *who belongs* and how their interests can be accommodated. As a net recruiter of teachers, England ought to invest, substantially, in understanding how society integrates OTTs. Such investment requires OTTs and various actors in the local and professional communities to be engaged in a partnership where England prepares the ground, foremost, for the OTTs' economic and labour market contributions.

However, economic and labour market absorption is only part of a much-needed broader integration strategy. While pursuing economic integration, OTTs must be supported by schools; teacher training providers; local

authorities; and social, religious, and cultural organizations, and be backed by appropriate national policies. Success in this process will derive its energy from the concept's dynamism in recognizing migrant teachers as "becoming," rather than as "being"; in its focus on long-term rather than short-term solutions; and in its downplaying of "us versus them" (Miller 2008).

OTTs are as good as the support they receive from recruiters and employers. For integration to occur, they should be encouraged and assisted to immerse themselves into every aspect of British life as soon as possible after arrival. OTTs are more likely to thrive in an environment that allows them to change most of their social and cultural traditions, whilst learning and adapting to important professional, cultural, and community practices and norms at their own pace. This, in turn, allows them to gradually build confidence and a sense of belonging. Any successful integration model must therefore facilitate continuous interaction and mutual adjustment through underlying policies built on equity and empathy and recognition of the pace and complexities of change.

The *assimilationist* and *multiculturalist* models of integration are well known. Assimilation, also called incorporation, is "the process by which the characteristics of members of migrant groups and host societies come to resemble one another" (Hirschman et al. 1999, 10). In effect, migrants such as OTTs are thought to be "incomplete" and their incompleteness, it is believed, manifests itself in terms of human capital (education) and language needs (Gans 1992). The one-way adoption of the host society's social and cultural norms and values, for instance, acts more as an obstruction to, rather than a catalyst for successful integration and healthy inter-group relations. It can be suggested OTTs have perceived assimilation as hostile, both in effect and in intent, and as a tool that sharpens group differences and polarizes perceptions and behaviours, rather than diminishing them.

An official policy on multiculturalism undermines unity and a sense of community, since multiculturalism advocates that society should consist of, or at least allow and include, distinct cultural groups with equal status (*Economist* 2003). Multiculturalism implies that minority cultures be allowed to express themselves, but majority cultures be constrained, and it therefore brings into sharp focus tensions about what counts as "equal status." Multiculturalism, therefore, remains anathema to social integration, since it

creates a society built on special interests. But neither multiculturalism nor assimilation appears particularly feasible at a time when England is trying to come to terms with the reality of the large-scale influx of migrant teachers, especially from within the European Union.

## **WHITHER A MULTI-AGENCY MODEL?**

The debates on teacher migration and teacher quality must begin to reflect on and evaluate how newcomers relate to and integrate into host societies. Various stakeholders must begin to examine how OTTs respond to host schools and communities, and how host schools and communities adjust and respond to them. The British government and OTTs will have to accept responsibility for any integration outcomes, and the process will require unity of purpose and steadfastness.

Can the teaching profession and can English society in general live with the consequences of a national integration policy that appears sectarian? The answer can only be no. It is at the level of schools and communities that ideas are tested, adapted, and retested. A programme of coherent suburbanization led by the government may alleviate inner-city space and housing shortages and encourage further dispersion of OTTs to medium-sized and smaller cities, the result of which may be wider population distribution and a greater contribution to social and economic regeneration.

For this to work, there must be a collective partnership between national and local governments, labour unions, trade representatives, town and city planners, human rights associations, initial teacher training providers, educationists and headteachers to assess each region's changing needs. Any worthwhile investment in integration can only lead England to expect greater social, political, and economic returns from the continued presence of OTTs. But the solution requires leveraging the resources of private and non-governmental groups. Employers, worker groups, religious groups, civic entities, ethnic and OTT associations, private foundations, high commissions, the Commonwealth Secretariat, and various community-based non-profit bodies can serve as crucial social resources for newcomer integration.

Harnessing the experiences of these groups and making use of their skills

strengthens across-the-board integration efforts and is a common-sense approach to public policy. Such cooperation is the hub of the circle with OTTs as the core. If public, private, and non-governmental bodies make a joint effort to adapt positively to OTTs, the gains to both OTTs and England can be expected to grow as integration is advanced and as OTTs begin to survive within and without.

## CONCLUSIONS

Secondary teaching in England has been recognized as challenging and difficult (Smithers and Robinson 2005). OTTs encounter both positive and negative experiences in England, which can continue throughout their tenure and can undermine or enhance their impact on the local education scene. England did not plan for the integration of OTTs and some OTTs did not adapt as well as others. Managing integration well begins with recognizing OTTs as capable of making significant long-term contributions to the UK (Miller 2007). The current practice of *passing the buck* about who is responsible for initial induction and support and integration must give way to a coordinated programme of integration that is policy-driven.

The absence of such policies can only lead to problems for OTTs and their host society. Data collection and data sharing on OTTs are crucial. Much more needs to be known about where OTTs are settling and why. The government must lead this charge. Each party to the model proposed above is operating with incomplete, limited, and often erroneous information about the other, and each continues to have a static understanding of itself in a dynamic environment. Removing the walls between OTTs and systems and communities should be a long-term political and societal goal. Integration means the coexistence of communities and the unimpeded movement between them. No aspect of this interface is more complex than the absolute requirement that, as we try to understand better the singular, we do not lose sight of the importance of the whole. That is, as we discuss teacher migration and debate strategies to successfully integrate OTTs into British society, we cannot ignore the interests and priorities of locally trained teachers and of society as a whole.

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# **EXCERPTS FROM THE UCCI COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS, 2010**

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KATRINA CARTER-TELLISON\*

## *Abstract*

*In this address, the importance of being prepared to take on leadership roles when they find you is stressed. It is also important to define personal success more broadly. Key elements in this redefinition are seeking out work one loves; working hard in one's studies; learning from life, situations, and other people, as well as through college; and recognizing how privileged one is and serving others, especially in light of the unprecedented challenges facing Cayman.*

**KEY WORDS:** leadership, defining success, traditional and non-traditional education, social commitment

My sincere congratulations to you, the 2010 graduates of the University College of the Cayman Islands. I am honoured to be speaking to you today. When my dear friend Mitch Ebanks invited me to give this commencement address, I have to admit I was a little apprehensive. I had no idea if I would have anything meaningful or substantive to say to you, a group of bright young people, many of whom were in elementary school, even pre-school, when I graduated from university. You belong to the generation that can text, work with Facebook, and manipulate all the latest technologies, while I have yet to sort out my two-year-old iPod!

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Now, I have a little experience of graduations and listening to commencement speakers – in fact, I think I have been present at more than 20 of them. All of them have one thing in common: the commencement speaker stands here and the graduates sit over there, and as soon as the speech is over you will remember absolutely nothing of what the speaker said. With that in mind, I will offer you a few short pieces of advice that you might want to take away.

Before I begin boring you with advice, I want to acknowledge that many of you have the expectation that I will elucidate the principles of leadership, or maybe debate the validity of the theory I employed to attain the leadership position I currently hold. But when I began crafting those messages, I soon realized that for \$9.99 you could buy a book at any local bookstore that would tell you more about leadership than I possibly could in the next few minutes. Instead, tonight my message will be a far more personal one – one that embodies my belief that in many cases you do not seek out leadership roles, they find you. And when they do, your responsibility is to be as prepared as you possibly can be to lead. So tonight my message will focus on that preparation

## **DO WHAT YOU LOVE**

The first piece of advice I have for you tonight is that the most important element in a successful life is doing what you love. Someone very wise once said: “Do what you love and you will never work another day in your life.”

It’s not that I am saying financial success is not important, because it is. I am not saying don’t strive for that house in South Sound (although after Hurricane Ivan we might want to rethink that prime location!). I am not saying don’t thirst for that condo on Seven Mile Beach, or the weekend house in Cayman Kai. But don’t allow these considerations to be your sole motivator. If instead, you seek work that is meaningful to you, your life will be fulfilling, whether you obtain that big house or expensive condo or not. I ask today that you begin seeking a broader definition of success, one that defines success not just by the size of your pay cheque, but by the quality of the work that you do.

It is important that you understand that an abundance of wealth does not guarantee you a happy life. Now I know all of you have seen the stories on television of the people who win the lottery or land the job that pays them enormous sums of money. They expect to be happy and they expect to be completely content. However, time and again, what we see is that their financial success does not really fulfil them, and that who they were before the money and good fortune befell them is exactly who they are afterwards.

I have to tell you that I fell into following my passion purely by accident – no one told me to. I come from a family of bankers and people who work in the financial industry, so that any idea that I would end up where I am today would have been almost comical. But I resisted the temptation to take the easy path and stayed true to what I believed would fulfil me. And you have to do this. Because, when the work gets hard – and it will – and the hours grow long – as they will – enjoying what you do can make the difference between being someone who is just exhausted, needing nothing more than a good night's sleep, and being someone who is totally and utterly depressed.

So I say to you again, do what you love, and you'll never work another day in your life!

## **THE VALUE OF GOOD OLD FASHIONED HARD WORK**

This is my second piece of advice. Yes, education is extremely important, especially today, when it seems that a college degree is required for nearly every job. But education does more than just bolster a resume: it has the power to broaden the mind, to open the heart. There is something about learning of cultures, people, theories, and ideologies that has the power to open up your world and influence your perspectives.

I am incredibly proud of your accomplishment today. You see, a lot of people, especially those who have not earned a college degree, do not realize how truly difficult it can be to find oneself constantly in an unfamiliar situation, to be in a classroom and feeling that you do not understand what the formula is or means, or how the theory works. But, graduates, you are here today because you persevered and made the sacrifices and committed yourselves to your goals. However, as I stand before you today with my

doctoral degree, espousing the virtues and transformative power of education, I say that it is good old fashioned hard work that really got me to where I am today – the kind of hard work our parents and grandparents believed in and instilled in us.

The unique role I have come to play at Lynn University has much less to do with my educational qualifications than with good old fashioned hard work. I can trace the position I now hold to the day, to the moment, when I wasn't afraid to go the extra mile. Back in 2006, my dean, now my academic vice president, got together a group of people who were considered to be Lynn's brightest and best. All of us had doctorates from very reputable institutions and all of us were well trained. There were 12 of us sitting around a table talking about what we needed to do to transform Lynn's core curriculum and, by extension, its educational reputation. The meeting lasted over two-and-a-half hours: we laid out an academic plan and a timeline to accomplish our very ambitious endeavour. When it was over, the dean thanked us all and asked a very simple question: who would be responsible for taking the notes for these regular weekly meetings? I looked around, and no-one volunteered. After a minute or so, I said "Sure," and raised my hand.

That action in that moment, when I was not afraid of hard work or to go the extra mile, is why I am standing in front of you today, with the type of career and leadership position I now have. What none of us realized at the time was that by taking notes, typing minutes, and creating the agenda, I would be spending two additional hours each week with a dean who was responsible for our careers, our salary increases, and ultimately our promotions. So, a year-and-a-half later, when she had to step aside to become the new academic vice president, she gave me, a junior faculty member, her position and chair's title. When I asked her why, she said, "Well Katrina, you're the one doing all the work anyway." So remember that while education will show you the path, hard work will give you the strength to take it.

Your path does not end today, not does your education. Allow yourself to be educated not just in traditional ways, through classes and advanced degrees, but in non-traditional ways by life, by situations, by the people around you. And always remember to reach out and serve others, for by serving others you will serve yourself.

## **“GIVE BACK”**

Now, we all have to be grateful for where we are, for the lives we lead. That is especially true today, when there is so much human suffering in the world in which we live, so much pain, so many social ills and environmental disasters. I think it for this reason that we must all give back, and this is my third piece of advice for you. No matter how bad or frustrating our lives are, always remember to look around you. Look to other people living, existing on our island, who are so much worse off than we are. You now have a college degree, and you are among the most fortunate members of not just this society, but of the world.

Almost half the world lives on less than one dollar a day and 80 per cent of humanity lives on less than 10 dollars a day. More than two million children die every year because they are not immunized. One-and-a-half million children die each year because they have no access to safe drinking water. And, more relevant to tonight’s occasion, nearly a billion people entered the 21st century unable to read a book or sign their names. So you are truly among the world’s most fortunate. “And to whom much is given, much is expected.” However, we don’t need to explore South and Central America, or even sub-Saharan Africa, to find social ills and challenges. Right now, Cayman is facing probably some of the greatest challenges in all its history: crime, drugs, delinquency; unprecedented financial and immigration woes. We have many challenges and I fear there are many more to come, but how Cayman emerges from these challenges will in large part be shaped by your generation and what you choose to do.

Robert Kennedy once said: “Let no one be discouraged by the belief there is nothing one person can do against the enormous array of the world’s ills, misery, ignorance and violence. Few will have the greatness to bend history, but each of us can work to change a small portion of events, and in the total of all those acts will be written the history of a generation.” So don’t worry

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**No matter how bad or frustrating our lives are, always remember to look around you. Look to other people living, existing on our island, who are so much worse off than we are. You now have a college degree, and you are among the most fortunate members of not just this society, but of the world.**

about solving world hunger or ridding Cayman of all drugs and crime: just do your own small part and give back. Today you begin to write the history of your generation. What will that history say?

I would like to close tonight with what are my greatest hopes for you, Cayman's brightest and best: love what you do, but don't allow it to consume you; embrace our common humanity and give back, but don't feel there is nothing you can do against the world's ills; value your education, but don't forget the value of hard work; strive for excellence in everything you do. If you do all these things, leadership positions and opportunities will find you.

Graduates, follow your hearts, take risks, hope for the best, expect the unexpected, and know that tonight you begin your journey, you begin to write the history of your generation. As Mark Twain once said, "Twenty years from now you will be more disappointed by the things you didn't do, than by the things you did. So, throw off the bowlines, sail away from the safe harbor. Catch the Trade winds in your sails. Explore. Dream. Discover."

Good night, good luck, and Godspeed!

# EXISTENTIALIST THEMES IN THE SHORT STORIES OF SALVADOR GARMENDIA

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JENNIFER WILLIAMS\*

## *Abstract*

*This paper analyzes the use of language as the means by which experience is created and reflected in the short stories of Salvador Garmendia. It discusses Garmendia's concern with the existential realities of individuals living in the city of Caracas, and identifies the thematic influence of existentialism in his exploration of the alienating effects of this environment on the individual. The focus of the paper is on existentialist themes, which provide a broader, more universal interpretation of the stories, including implications for the human condition, and ensure the continued relevance of Garmendia's work.*

**KEY WORDS:** existentialism, alienation, death, human condition, urban fiction, language as technique

As a cultural movement, existentialism belongs to the past. As a philosophical inquiry that introduced a new norm, authenticity, for understanding what it means to be human – a norm tied to a distinctive, post-Cartesian concept of the self as practical, embodied, being-in-the-world – existentialism has continued to play an important role in contemporary thought, in both the continental and analytic traditions.

–Steven Crowell, *Existentialism Today*, 2010

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Human existence is an enduring theme of literature, whether the context is Caracas, Venezuela, or Buenos Aires, Argentina in the 20th century, or an island in the Caribbean in the 21st century. In 1972, Ernesto Sábato wrote:

Me interesa una literatura que indague la condición del hombre. Pero esta condición no es abstracta, universal y eterna, sino que se da en cada época, a través de cada circunstancia. Desde luego que para indagar la condición del hombre en un sentido universal, no hay otro recurso, paradójicamente, que ahondar en la existencia del hombre actual en un lugar determinado, histórica y temporalmente. [I am interested in a literature that investigates the human condition. This condition is not abstract, universal, and eternal, but occurs in every age, through every circumstance. Of course, in order to investigate the human condition in a universal sense, there is no other way, paradoxically, than to explore the existence of the modern human being in a particular place, history, and time.<sup>1</sup>] (p.37)

Sábato's words aptly describe Salvador Garmendia's overriding theme and technique. The latter's utter concern with the human condition is projected through a detailed and profound presentation of Caracas and its inhabitants in the 20th century. From a detailed examination of a particular society and a particular people, Garmendia has created a work with universal implications. Salvador Garmendia (1928–2001) has been recognized as the first Venezuelan novelist to introduce the theme of urban alienation. Prior to his work, the theme of urban life, specifically that of Caracas, was already being treated in Venezuelan fiction, but in a more descriptive and *costumbrista* or regional manner (Cardozo 1979, 29).

For Garmendia, the exploration of Caracas and the penetration into the life and characters of the city became the obsessive theme of his fiction. Garmendia suffered the crisis of having to live through the very period when Caracas was being radically transformed from a traditional, stable city to a major urban centre. He records the profound effect this experience had on his life:

Personalmente tuve oportunidad de apreciar ese paso violento de una ciudad bastante apacible y estrecha a otra congestionada, convulsa y mecanizada, y los productos humanos que originó esa transformación son sumamente visibles. Yo viví, trabajé y viví intensamente en la ciudad en esa época y ello me afectó profundamente, a pesar de que toda mi formación anterior provenía de una ciudad pequeña del interior, de vida muy tranquila y de hábitos marcadamente rurales.

[Personally, I had the opportunity to understand the violent jump from a rather peaceful and close town to another that was congested, complex, and mechanized, where the human products engendered by this transformation are most visible. I lived, worked, and lived intensely in the city at that time and it affected me deeply, even though all my previous development came from a small city in the interior, from a very quiet life and distinctly rural habits.] (Rodríguez Monegal 1968, 158)

Garmendia's presentation of the theme of urban alienation embraces his vision of the human condition, but however much he belongs to the vanguard of those who presented city life in Venezuela, he also belongs to the wider body of Latin American writers whose preoccupation in the 20th century was the presentation of urban development in their various countries. In the wake of this rupture with a rural environment came the problems of city life, some of which Carlos Fuentes noted as "Una nueva enajenación, una atomización más profunda, una soledad más grave" [A new alienation, a deeper atomization, a more profound solitude] (Fuentes 1969, 13).

Significantly, the overriding concern of these writers was not the city *per se*, but with the characters who inhabited the cities. The effect of urban life on the individual has been the subject of much sociological investigation and discussion and has become an important literary theme. Moreover, Seymour Menton has identified existentialism as one of the four movements of the 20th century Spanish American short story. He states: "The Existentialist writer presents the anguished situation of modern man who feels totally alone and useless in a world mechanized to the point of destroying itself" (Menton 1980, 255). So Garmendia comes to his narrative world bringing with him his unique perception of the human world and the existential problem, the problem of the human condition.

John Macquarrie asserts that writers whose literary works markedly treat the themes of existentialism, such as "freedom, decision, and responsibility; and, even more, finitude, alienation, guilt, death," are with reason considered "existentialist," even if they have not been directly influenced by the philosophical thinking of existentialism itself (Macquarrie 1980, 262-65). He captures the essence of the existentialist writer: "The existentialist of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries seems to be aware of a crisis, a threat, a fragmentation and alienation that are new in their chilling intensity"

(Macquarrie 1980, 263). It is in this sense that the themes of Garmendia's short stories, published in the collections *Doble fondo* [False Bottom] (1966), *Difuntos, Extraños y volátiles* [The Dead, the Strange, and the Volatile] (1970), *Los escondites* [Hiding Places] (1972), *El inquieto anacobero* [The Restless Bohemian] (1976); in his anthology *Enmiendas y atropellos* [Amendments and Abuses] (1979); and in *El único lugar posible* [The Only Place Possible] (1981), are considered existentialist.

In these short stories, Garmendia presents the thwarting of the individual as he interacts with a bureaucratic, mechanized world that depersonalizes and dehumanizes human existence. The individuals in Garmendia's stories are mainly middle-class office workers, and their world is that of 20th century, urban Caracas. This article focuses on Garmendia's use of language in the exploration of his existentialist concerns. The qualities of human existence he depicts are compellingly conveyed through his use of language in detailed description, the crafting of images and symbols, and the creation of atmosphere.

Rodríguez Monegal observes the pre-eminence of language among Garmendia's narrative techniques: "Pero cualquiera sea la técnica general que Garmendia utilice . . . la unidad básica de visión está garantizada por el lenguaje" [But regardless of the general technique Garmendia uses . . . the basic unity of vision is affirmed by language] (Monegal 1968, 301). Commenting on the unity between language and vision in Garmendia's writing, he states: "esa íntima unión entre el lenguaje y la visión, entre la palabra que dice y el ojo que mira . . ." [that intimate connection between language and vision, between the word that verbalizes and the eye that perceives . . .] (Monegal 1968, 306).

In his acknowledgement of the vital role language plays in his fiction, Garmendia indicates that technique does not transmit prior experience, but creates the experience it communicates. He declares:

. . . el novelista deba manifestar su creación sólo confiada a las posibilidades del lenguaje, entendido éste no como medio comunicante de una experiencia anterior, sino como creador en el mismo momento de producirse, de las acciones en el tiempo y en el espacio novelesco. [. . . the novelist must express his creation committed only to the possibilities of language, understanding it not as mode of communicating previous experience, but as creator at the very moment of being produced, from the actions in novelistic time and space.] (Garmendia 1960, 12)

In order to create experience through his use of language, Garmendia relies heavily on description, but it is a description of the demeaning and degrading qualities of people, objects, environments, and situations. Several scenes are crude and shocking. An example of this is his portrayal of the people in a nightclub indulging in a surfeit of emotional and physical pleasures, as they feverishly strive to escape the boredom of their lives. The narrator describes the scene just before closing time:

Veo que un hombre de espesos bigotes, bien embalado en un traje de buen paño, clava su dentadura orificada en el hombro de su compañera; otro, más próximo a la vejez, al menos por lo que se colige de la calva, empieza por unos senos descollantes; este mastica pacientemente una mano, aquel se deja dentellear la espalda, mientras la silenciosa pareja se roe mutuamente los dedos. No hay otro ruido ahora que el de dentaduras y chasquidos. [I see that a man with a thick moustache, stuffed into a suit of fine cloth, sinks his gold-filled false teeth into the shoulder of his companion; another, closer to old age, at least from what is deduced from his baldness, begins with some prominent breasts; the latter patiently chews a hand, the former allows his back to be nibbled, while the silent couple gnaw at each other's fingers. There is no other sound now but that of the clicking of dentures.] ("Horas de esparcimiento", *Los escondites*, 37-38)

The details given of the physical appearance of people convey ideas of degraded human beings: "dentadura orificada" (gold-filled false teeth, a recurring image of inauthenticity) and "la calva" (baldness, a sign of the process of ageing, suggesting disintegration and, eventually, death). This impression of degradation, however, is accentuated by the physical actions and crude sounds being described, conveying the dehumanized state of many individuals.

The focus is on the demeaning aspects of the physical sensations of smell, touch, sight, taste, and hearing: people are presented in most embarrassing moments, in ugly postures, and with unappealing mannerisms and appearance. Characters are curious, abnormal, eccentric, peculiar, bizarre, extraordinary, and exceptional, yet they represent attributes Garmendia considers typical of many city dwellers. In his view, they are stunted, deformed, diminished. Stripped of spiritual essence, these individuals are shown to be merely instinctive and animal-like. Through image-laden descriptions, Garmendia presents his perception of their dehumanization and degradation.

The physical description of Don Guiseppe (“Toc-Toc”) [Knock, Knock] in *Doble fondo* is distasteful: the details suggesting his movement, his colour, his speech, are repugnant. In this description, one gets an understanding of the persistence with which Garmendia loads detail upon detail to create a specific atmosphere or impression of a person, and of the way in which every detail is perforce a negative one. The narrator-protagonist’s description conveys his own feelings of inferiority, insignificance, and degradation, even as he communicates the overbearing nature and equally degraded personality of Don Guiseppe, the boss:

. . . unos duros bigotes de cerda blanca donde brillan pequeñas porciones de saliva, no han dejado de temblar cada vez que Don Guiseppe gruñe y esgarra con esa manera suya de hablar, pantanosa, casi ininteligible, a medida que se pasea de un escritorio a otro y uno lo sigue de reajo sin dejar por ello de trabajar; lo ve inclinarse, torcerse como un tubo de goma rojo quirúrgico como el color de su piel, sobre la giba de Cuasimodo de Don Ramiro, el contador . . . [. . . a tough white-bristled moustache where small beads of saliva glisten, shakes incessantly every time Don Guiseppe grunts and clears his throat with his peculiar manner of speaking, garbled, almost incomprehensibly, as he passes from one desk to another and one follows him out of the corner of one’s eye without interrupting one’s work; one sees him lean forward, twist like a red rubber surgical tube like the colour of his skin, over the hump of the hunchback Don Ramiro, the accountant . . .] (p. 59)

The sounds of grunting and clearing his throat suggest those of an animal, and the narrator-protagonist’s description of don Ramiro’s revulsion as Don Guiseppe’s saliva sprinkles the back of his neck highlights the revolting aspects of the latter. Garmendia’s use of language here is very effective, as the term “chispas,” which literally means “drops,” in this context suggests “sparks” of cold saliva involuntarily splashing on Don Ramiro’s neck: “. . . y ya uno comienza a sentir en la propia nuca, como debe sentirlo en ese momento el viejo jorobado, las chispas de saliva frías junto con el vaho de encías podridas que baña el escritorio” [. . . and now one begins to feel on one’s own neck, as the old hunchback must be feeling it at that moment, the sparks of cold saliva mixed with the stench of rotting gums that washed over the desk] (p. 59).

Again, the language used focuses not just on the specific, ugly details of the character, but has other thematic implications. Apart from indicating that Don Guiseppe has bad breath, the words “vaho” [stench] and “podridas” [rotting]

intimate the decomposition associated with death. Here also is the ever-recurring detail of the “jorobado” [the hunchback], indicating deformity and disfigurement in the midst of life, symbolic of death as an ever-present feature of human existence. In the story “La muerte y el titiritero,” [Death and the Puppeteer] (*Los escondites*), the protagonist, death personified, is a hunchback, “algo gibada” [somewhat hump-backed] (p. 91).

The focus on the degrading aspects of humanity in the descriptions and the use of specific images of deformity and decay are vital to Garmendia’s perception of the world and of humanity, insistently revealing his main thematic concerns. Jorge Ruffinelli observes that the reality presented by Garmendia “constantemente se transforma asimismo en carrona . . . se está convirtiendo a cada momento, en detritus, acabamiento” [constantly transforms itself into carrion . . . moment by moment it is being changed into excrement, death] (Ruffinelli 1973, 1). He further states that it is from this image of disintegration that Garmendia’s narrative is generated: “Pienso que a partir de esta imagen, y aunque ella no esté siempre presente, es que se genera la narrativa de Garmendia” [I think that Garmendia’s narrative is generated from this image, even though it is not always present] (Ruffinelli 1973, 1).

Garmendia’s concern with disintegrating reality is revealed in his use of language to reflect his existentialist concern with death. The temporality of human existence, the loss of consciousness and vitality in death, are reflected in the constant presence of images of decay and disintegration in the descriptions of aspects of old age. Several stories include old people, even by way of reference. The revulsion felt towards death is conveyed in the very features of death that are feared. The colour yellow is often used to suggest dryness and decay, implying the loss of vigour. The idea of a skeleton, in several references to bones or a bony appearance, also portrays death, in that the flesh (youth) has gone.

The story “La extracción” [The Extraction], (*Doble fondo*), presents someone of about 40 years who is perceived as an old man. Garmendia often employs this technique in his short stories: the presence of death and decay is discerned in the midst of life and glossy new surroundings. The narrator explains why he refers to the man as old:

. . . porque su exterior, al revés del muchacho, pone en relieve, al primer golpe de vista, los materiales diversos que lo componen, la textura, el acabado de todos los

rasgos desde el cabello seco y ceniciento, la tez de madera lijada, las manos delgadas y nudosas que crujían al moverse, hasta los dos centímetros de la espinilla que asoman entre la media ligeramente escurrida y el borde del pantalón. [. . . because his exterior, unlike the boy's, highlights at first glance the different materials that compose it, the texture, the surface of all the features from the dry, grey hair, the skin of sandpapered wood, the thin, gnarled hands that creaked when they moved, even the two centimetres of the shinbone sticking out between the slightly run stocking and the edge of his trousers.] (p. 88)

The use of the terms “seco y ceniciento” [dry and grey] and, in a further description of the man, “aquel rostro huesudo, seco y amarillento” [that bony, dry, and yellowing face] (p. 89), highlight features associated with the disintegration and decomposition of death.

The technique of using contrast to emphasize thematic comment appears in this story in the contrast between people. Here the old man is contrasted with a teenager, the symbol of youth and physical and intellectual promise in Garmendia's short stories. Even as the teenager symbolizes potential, the tragic implication is that this promise will not be fulfilled: given the condition of human temporality, he will merely wane and ultimately die. The teenager is described in terms that highlight his youthfulness, potential, and attractiveness (as opposed to the repugnance attached to Garmendia's descriptions of old age). The narrator observes: “Aquel muchacho desconocido irradia la atracción típica de los adolescentes, cuya piel, cuyas facciones recién modeladas, tibias aún, parecen imantadas y atraen poderosamente nuestras miradas” [That unknown boy radiates the typical attraction of adolescents, whose skin, whose recently moulded features, still warm, seem magnetized and powerfully attract our glances] (p. 87).

The story “La muerte y el viajante” [Death and the Traveller] (*El único lugar posible*) presents other images of old, stunted, or deformed people. The narrator-protagonist, as he walks in the plaza, observes:

A mi lado caminaba un jorobadito, personaje de estatura menos que adolescente, no obstante que acarrea las facciones de un viejo duras y amarillentas y perfectamente desarrolladas. Esta porción humana que se inclinaba bajo el peso de una giba de contornos rocosos . . . [Beside me walked a humpbacked dwarf, someone shorter than an adolescent, who had the hard, yellowish, perfectly developed features of an old man. This piece of humanity that bent under the weight of a hump of rocky contours . . .] (p. 53)

In the same story, a little boy observes an old lady “que cada mañana se sienta a remendar sus ropas a la puerta de su vivienda . . . Su nariz es un pedazo de barro tostado y cubirto de cáscaras.” [who every morning sits to mend her clothes at the entrance to her house . . . Her nose is a piece of parched clay covered with husks] (p. 55). The emphasis on the details of ugliness and deformity stands out in the description of the old lady. Her life is taken up with meaningless, routine activities – not much different from that of the modern urban dweller or office worker Garmendia presents in his stories.

In addition to the image of old age, Garmendia presents that of an empty shell, suggesting a skeleton, revealing the emptiness and discarded nature of the ultimate state of humans and things. The building in “1.30 p.m.,” (*Doble fondo*), is “este fatigado cascarón flotante” [this weary floating shell] (p. 106), and again, “este corpachón enfermizo devorada por la carcoma” [this sickly hulk devoured by woodworms] (p. 108). Decay is presented in this story, as in others, as the main undercurrent of life or objects. What is seen superficially is usually polished, attractive: the writer makes us perceive the latent features of reality, where corruption and death lie in wait.

The frequency with which the images of a deformed person occur is striking, but most persistent and symbolic are those of the mannequin and the dwarf. Jorge Ruffinelli identifies “el maniquí” [mannequin] and “la materia deformada o envejecida” [the deformed or aged material] as basic symbol groups that reflect “las frustraciones sociales y colectivas, la sicología del hombre urbano.” [social and collective frustrations, the sociology of the urban man] (Ruffinelli 1973, 2). While it is true that the deformed or stunted person is associated with Garmendia’s use of images to portray the dehumanization of mankind, the constant reference to old people seems to be more closely associated with the theme of death – a visible manifestation of its presence even in the midst of life. Yet it is not only in death that one loses one’s individuality and personality: Garmendia portrays the contemporary individual as dehumanized, inauthentic, and conforming, having lost the spiritual essence of his or her humanity.

The mannequin suggests several related themes bearing on the inauthentic, conforming nature of the modern individual. It also conveys the dehumanized state of human beings in the 20th century, where the loss of humanity, selfhood, and individuality are all conveyed by the lifeless, artificial figure of

the mannequin. The mannequin has the physical form of a human being, but it lacks the qualities of mind and spirit that would make it human were it alive. The human being, on the other hand, endowed with mind and spirit, has so thoroughly suppressed the inherent characteristics of his or her humanity that the result is tantamount to being a mannequin.

In “Noche, 9.30,” [Night, 9:30], (*Doble fondo*), the attraction of the horror tent is a man whose face has been mutilated in an accident, but the narrator’s description of him portrays the emptiness and inflexibility of a dummy figure: “. . . tieso y duro – creo que si lo tocara con los nudillos en el pecho daría un sonido hueco –, y soldado con la rigidez de un maniquí de sastre” [. . . stiff and hard – I think that if I were to touch him on his chest with my knuckles it would make a hollow sound –, and welded with the rigidity of a mannequin in a tailor shop] (p. 49). He is later referred to as “el maniquí viviente” (p. 50), — a vivid image applying to many of Garmendia’s characters. The announcer in the tent is referred to derogatively as “hombrecillo” [little man] with “dentadura orificada” [gold-filled dentures] (p. 49). He, too, is presented as debased and lifeless: “Adivino que se tiene en pie sobre unos huesos apolillados y unas carnes de bagazos frías y completamente deshidratadas” [I guess that he is standing on some worm-eaten bones and flesh of cold and completely dried remains] (p. 49).

In “Estrictamente personal” [Strictly Personal], (*Doble fondo*), Tobías sees his reflection in the mirror: “. . . su rostro paralizado, seco como una cáscara, mirándose a sí mismo con esos ojos quietos y apagados” [. . . his face paralyzed, dry as a husk, looking at himself with those quiet and lifeless eyes] (p. 41). The impression of people as having lost their vitality and their humanity is most powerfully present in the image of the mannequin, and those images related to the idea of artificiality and dehumanization, such as “seco” [dry] and “cáscara” [husk]. The image of the husk points to the debasement of the individual, like something devalued and worthless, to be discarded, suggesting a mere shell where the inner substance, the person’s selfhood and humanity, is gone. This indicates the inauthenticity of people and the emptiness of the existence of human beings in the modern world. It is also significant that the quality of artificiality is often associated with the eyes. Here, passivity and even a suggestion of the effect of death are alluded to in the terms “quietos” [still] and “apagados” [lifeless].

In the story “Maniquíes” [Mannequins], (*Doble fondo*), the description of the dismembered, rigid mannequins describes the urban dweller and, by extension, refers to a generalized perception of contemporary human beings. The narrator-protagonist of the story describes them as “estos seres falsos” [those false beings] (p. 70), and claims they have a “terrible rigidez” [terrible rigidity] (p. 71). Again, human beings are seen as inflexible as dummy figures, but the phrase also depicts the vapidness of the modern individual, identifying him or her with the death-like posture of rigor mortis. The description which follows presents these perceptions, which echo each time the image of the mannequin is repeated:

Los he visto desmembrados, confundidas sus partes en el piso de la vitrina, mientras el decorador, la boca llena de alfileres, realiza un nuevo arreglo. Sus miembros, por supuesto, son huecos; la pasta bajo el barniz rosado es fría e innoble; un amasijo tosco de virutas y trapos machacados, pero todas las piezas se acoplan a la perfección, y una vez vestidos y aderezados comienzan su imperceptible juego. [I have seen them dismembered, their parts mixed up on the floor of the shop window, while the decorator, mouth full of pins, makes a new arrangement. Its members, of course, are hollow; the paste under the pink glaze is cold and base; a rough jumble of chips and rags, but all the pieces fit together perfectly, and once dressed and adorned they begin their imperceptible game.] (p. 71)

This account conveys ideas about the conformity and lack of individuality of the modern individual in the arrangement of the pieces in “un nuevo arreglo” [a new arrangement] and “todas las piezas se acoplan a la perfección” [all the pieces fit perfectly], while “huecos” [hollow] implies the emptiness and artificiality of the figure. The “imperceptible juego” [imperceptible game], added to the image of external attractiveness, conveys the fact that life goes on “normally” like a game in which one must play the part according to the rules. One has to conform, but underneath the veneer, underneath the pretence, the reality is a sham.

Just as these mannequins are unreal creations that externally seem to be real, so is the contemporary individual – hollow and inauthentic in his or her dehumanization, but pretending authenticity in routine activities, rationalism, technology, and scientific developments. Garmendia seems intent on portraying modern individuals as being as rigidly inhuman as the mannequin, in terms of their loss of individuality, their conformity, their loss of identity

and selfhood, their debased humanity. Here there is a reversal of ideas, in that the mannequins are lifeless, yet they are hiding life: that is, the narrator feels that they are only pretending to have no life and if he watches them closely, he will see “cierta vibración sutil que emana de su terrible rigidez” [a certain subtle vibration that emanates from their terrible rigidity] (p. 71). Humans have life, but they live like mannequins, hiding or stifling their true selves, their spontaneity, creativity, individuality, and authenticity.

The inauthenticity and dehumanization of people are also depicted in the description of the mannequin dressed as an office worker. The terms in which he is described are ambiguous, presenting as they do both the mannequin and the typical office worker:

Una de esas manos tiasas se posa en mi hombro en este momento, y al volverme veo a uno de ellos con su cara de molde, sus hombros rectos, su rígida pulcritud de oficinista. Viste un lustroso traje de confección cortado a la última moda. De un botón de su chaqueta – son pequeños botones dorados– , aún cuelga la etiqueta con la marca de fábrica, mientras en la solapa sigue prendida una tarjeta con el precio: oferta especial, rebajada. [One of those stiff hands settles on my shoulder at that moment, and on turning around I see one of them with his cookie-cutter face, his shoulders erect, his rigid office-worker neatness. He is dressed in a shiny suit cut in the latest style. From one of the buttons of his jacket – they are small golden buttons – the label with the brand name still hangs, while on the lapel is still fastened a card with the price: special offer, reduced.] (p. 71)

In these stories, the office setting has been used as an effective example of one of the many situations in the contemporary world where persons are dehumanized, their uniqueness and individuality stifled, their essential value as human beings reduced: hence the symbolic value of the expression “oferta especial, rebajada” [special offer, reduced]. Garmendia persistently reveals the artificiality, or, in some cases, the corruption, that exists below the surface.

In “Personaje I” [Character I], (*Difuntos, extraños y volátiles*), Mauricio, who lacks a firm personal identity, is described as a hollow shell, an effective image of what Garmendia sees as another form of human disintegration. Mauricio is thus described: “Mauricio . . . tenía la mirada de otra persona: me hacía pensar en un enano nervioso que se asomaba a cada instante por sus cuencas . . . en realidad toda su figura era como una cáscara . . . Una cáscara dura que debía esconder algo” [Mauricio . . . seemed to be someone else: he made me think of

a nervous dwarf that constantly appeared by his river bed . . . in fact his entire figure was like a husk . . . A hard husk that must be hiding something] (p. 121). That “something” suggests the crushed vitality of the human spirit.

Garmendia’s existential concern with the dehumanization of the human being; the corruption of things and people by the process of time; the absurdity and meaninglessness of existence that is routine, monotonous, and inauthentic; reality that is chaotic, irrational, and threatening to the spirit of the individual, is deeply embedded in his use of language and selection of images. In the technological age of the 21st century, these conditions have only been exacerbated and Garmendia’s existential concerns retain their manifest relevance.

## NOTE

1. English translations of Spanish quotations are the author’s.

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# LITERARY AND CULTURAL CONFRONTATIONS

## Cos Causse's Contemplation of the Convergences and Divergences in the Poetry of Two Black Icons

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PAULETTE A. RAMSAY\*

### *Abstract*

*One of the main objectives of Afro-Hispanic writing is to highlight the many achievements of blacks and the numerous ways in which they have contributed to the development of their societies. For his part, the Afro-Cuban poet, Jesús Cos Causse (1945–2007), has established as a distinctive feature of his literary oeuvre engagement with the achievements or legacy of outstanding diasporan black icons such as Marcus Garvey, Langston Hughes, and Nicolás Guillén. Engagement involves the author's recognition and celebration of the accomplishments of outstanding black figures and their efforts to validate their Afrocentric cultural heritage. This Cos Causse does in an attempt to erase the misleading identities given to him and the general Afro-Hispanic community to which he belongs, to redefine himself in keeping with Afrocentric values, and, as a result, to attain a sense of liberation and firm knowledge of himself as a black Cuban.*

**KEY WORDS:** Jesús Cos Causse, Afro-Hispanic writing, Afrocentric values, identity, black icons

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I've known rivers:

I've known rivers ancient as the world, and older than the  
flow of human blood in human veins.

My soul has grown deep like the rivers . . .

–Langston Hughes, “The Negro Speaks of Rivers”

I have, let's see,

I have what I had to have.

–Nicolás Guillén, “Tengo”

Cos Causse was a poet and journalist who published more than eight collections of poetry, some of which have been published in both local Cuban and international magazines. He was the recipient of awards in several important literary competitions in Cuba, and his collection of poems, *Con el mismo violín* (1970) [With the Same Violin<sup>1</sup>] won the poetry prize in the 26th of July Competition in 1970. Undoubtedly, Cos Causse's poetry has made a rich contribution to the Cuban literary landscape, not only because of his prolific output, but also because of the diversity of themes his poems treat. These include family relationships, place and belonging, Caribbean unity, romantic love, the allure of the Caribbean and Cuban landscape, Caribbean history, and the celebration of his African-derived heritage.

Cos Causse has also served in Cuban diplomatic missions in Jamaica and other English-speaking Caribbean territories, and several of his poems reflect his familiarity with the Anglophone Caribbean. He, along with a group of his Afro-Cuban contemporaries including Gerardo Fullea León, Georgina Herrera, and Nancy Morejón, belong to the generation of Afro-Cuban writers that followed Nicolás Guillén and Marcelino Arozarena, who had made a unique contribution to Cuba's literary output. At the time of his death, Cos Causse was the director of international affairs at Casa del Caribe and the vice president of the Union of Cuban Writers and Artistes (UNEAC) in Santiago de Cuba.

In this essay, I analyze two poems Cos Causse devoted to two great black literary and cultural icons, Langston Hughes and Nicolás Guillén. My purpose is to discuss the extent to which Cos Causse presents these black icons as contradictions of the negative perceptions of Afro-derived people in Cuba, Latin America, and the Caribbean in general. At the same time, I interrogate

the extent to which the poems go beyond presenting us with the realities of black successes, but also lead us to consider the convergences in and divergences between the lives of both poets. Indeed, the comparisons and contrasts in the Afro-Cuban and Afro-American experiences in general and as they concern the two writers in particular seem to have implications for how we come to terms with ways in which these two poems may present a kind of dialectic.

My arguments draw on broad postcolonial theories that address issues of cultural and ethnic identity and promote opposition to the imperial agenda seeking to subjugate certain groups of people. Postcolonial theory also promotes the reclamation of the past as a means of self-definition and self-representation. The poetry of Cos Causse, including the two poems studied in this essay, may be characterized as literary writing that rejects “the discourse of colonization” and advances the political and cultural independence of people who have been dominated by others (Ashcroft et al. 2002). The two poems were written in overt recognition of the importance of Guillén and Hughes.

The poems “Homaje a Guillen” [Homage to Guillen] (1975), and “Langston Hughes, Marinero” [Langston Hughes, Sailor] (1987) present images of Guillen and Hughes respectively that are at the same time intriguing, complex, and celebratory. The fact that Cos Causse crafted such multifaceted images of these two men in the poems suggests that he was tremendously impressed and perhaps even influenced by their significant literary production and the contributions they made to their respective societies through their creative work.

## **REAL LIFE CONVERGENCES**

Despite the differences in their national contexts, there were convergences between the lives of Guillén and Hughes, many if not all of which are well-known. Both Guillén and Hughes translated each other’s works and produced non-literary writing, including journalistic prose, but regarded themselves firstly as poets with a special mission to advance in their writing a “discourse of empowerment” intended mainly for blacks. Both were exemplary in their poetic mission, with both contributing significantly to the Negro Vogue of the

1920s and 1930s, Hughes to the Harlem Renaissance and Guillén to the *Negrista* and Afro-Antillean movements. Both writers placed blacks centre stage in their poetry, rejected the internalization of Eurocentric hegemonic colour hierarchy and racial stereotyping, and affirmed black identity. Their poems exhibit a similar development through different phases, becoming more socially committed and radical, and eventually, when they both became involved with different political movements, integrating poetic vision with political activism and socialist inclinations.

They both exhibited deep sensitivity towards Afro-religious forms, which are integral to African-derived cultural forms in the black diaspora. Both drew on different black cultural forms: Hughes on “jazz and blues as resource for much of his work” (Tracy 1993, 69) and Guillén on Cuban *son* and other black Cuban forms. Additionally, they shared a keen interest in Africa and in the mixed heritage of blacks – Hughes was interested in the mulatto theme and Guillén appealed for a mulatto Cuba. It is fitting then that Cos Causse should single them out as two great black literary icons whose achievements in both cultural and literary spheres merited attention in his poetry.

### **“LANGSTON HUGHES, MARINERO” [LANGSTON HUGHES, SAILOR]**

In the poem “Langston Hughes, Marinero” [Langston Hughes, Sailor], Cos Causse joins several other writers, including Gwendolyn Brooks and Ted Jones, in producing poetry in dedication to Langston Hughes (Bourne 1997). In his poem, Cos Causse depicts Hughes as the adventurous sailor. It is possible that Cos Causse’s poem may have been inspired by Hughes’ own first poem, “The Negro Speaks of Rivers” (1921), a poem which is viewed by many as one of his greatest and one which definitely marks an important stage in his early political development. Arnold Rampersad, renowned critic of Hughes’s works, describes this as his “first great poem,” which remains his “bench mark poem” (1993, 14). Perhaps the association of the poet with water mentioned in this early poem inspired Cos Causse to also paint a picture of the poet on water. Perhaps Cos Causse simply wanted to reflect on an important period in the writer’s life when he lived and worked as a seaman and wrote poems at sea (Bourne 1997). Whatever the inspiration, it is fitting to depict Hughes as a

sailor, for it reveals Cos Causse's familiarity with the writer's works and awareness of the centrality of the sea and the river in his poetry. Indeed, Hughes's last poem, "Flotsam," presented an image of the poetic persona sailing on the sea. Moreover, in keeping with his fascination with the sea and with water, Hughes entitled his autobiography *The Big Sea* (1940).

Undoubtedly, this mode of registering his esteem for the poet is an important indicator of his embracing Langston Hughes's philosophy and his use of his poetic skills for political ends. For, with this poem Cos Causse not only honours the life, work, and memory of a great African-American writer, but also, by dedicating this poem to him, makes a clear statement about the Afrocentric voice and focus he wants to give his own poetry. Indeed, Cos Causse seems interested in highlighting the importance of this black writer's works to his own development as a black-conscious Cuban, similar to the way in which he leads his readers to confront the literary and cultural importance of Hughes's works.

The image of Hughes as a sailor on the sea in a "fantasy boat" is a multifaceted metaphor that evokes images of various aspects of Hughes's life as a poet and a black-conscious writer. The sea represents life with all its various experiences – times of turbulence, peace, and uncertainty; the boat, a boat of fantasy, represents his poetry – the medium through which Hughes sought to reinterpret and redefine life for himself. The poet, like the sailor, explores/investigates the unknown – reinterprets different life experiences, mysteries, and finds solutions to problems. The sailor finds food, new directions, new routes; the poet finds answers to questions, queries complex issues, and poses solutions. In keeping with the fact that the sailor does many things, Cos Causse metaphorically points to the many roles Hughes performed: social activist, historian, poet, playwright. Indeed, Cos Causse also presents Hughes, who knew the turbulence of racism in the United States, as one who not only used his poetry, his imagination, to help redefine reality for blacks, but also as one who sought real solutions to the problems facing blacks.

### Langston Hughes, *Marinero*

Marinero a bordo. Navega en un barco  
de fantasía.  
¿Navega en el mar o en una fuente?  
¿Busca un puerto

o la esperanza? ¿Será ese faro la infancia  
que espera?  
Navega, marinero, la ruta es la vida, entre  
las olas. Clava el ancla y el corazón cerca de estos arrecifes. Lanza  
las redes en estas profundidades desconocidas y hala . . .

Desde la cubierta el crepúsculo es una  
inmensa plantación,  
un lamento del cielo, un pedazo de algodón  
ensangrentado.  
Hasta en las soledades marinas el amor  
nos rodea.  
Al final de la ruta siempre encontraremos  
una mujer y la muerte.

¿Quién canta a babor esos blues?  
¿Quién canta estribor esos spirituals?  
El mundo parece un globo negro y la  
tierra se repite.

La poesía es nuestra Rosa de los  
Vientos.  
Navega  
Y cruza la tempestad, marinero: no habrá  
naufragio  
(Jesús Cos Causse, *Balada de un tambor y  
otros poemas*, 39-40)

### Langston Hughes, Sailor

Sailor on board. Sailing in a fantasy boat.  
  
Is he sailing in the sea or in a spring?  
Is he looking for a port or for hope?  
Is that beacon the childhood for which he longs?  
  
Sail on, sailor; life is the course, between the waves.  
Drop your anchor and your heart by those reefs.  
Cast your nets into those unknown depths and pull . . .

From the deck the crepuscule is an immense plantation,  
A lament from the sky, a piece of bloody cotton.  
Even amidst the solitude of the sea love surrounds us  
At the end of the course we will always find a woman and death.

Who sings those blues at portside?  
Who sings those spirituals at starboard?

The world looks like a black balloon and the earth turns.

Poetry is a Rosa de los Vientos.\*

Sail on

And weather the storm, sailor: no calamity will befall you.

(Jesús Cos Causse, *Ballad of a Drum and Other Poems*,  
39–40)

(\*Rosa de los Vientos, literally a compass rose, appears here to be a saint that protects the fortunes of sailors at sea.)

With this sailor metaphor, therefore, Cos Causse emphasizes that Hughes was a pioneer. Just as this sailor sets out to find adventure and to brave treacherous waters to discover the possibilities the sea holds for sustenance, for charting new courses, and for discovering new places, Hughes, who began to write at the time of the Harlem Renaissance, was a pioneer. He was among the first to attempt to correct the negative ways in which white America perceived black America by writing poetry for blacks that survived without the approval of white America. He was one of the first black authors to search for authenticity in black creative writing. Langston Hughes, the sailor in Cos Causse's poem, is an explorer, just as Hughes the writer was.

Sailing is not only a job, it is a form of recreation providing an escape from the problems of life. Poetry functions in the same way: the escape into the world of the imagination provides a balm and relaxation. The suggestion that the sailor is attempting to recapture his childhood implies the search for this peace and escape from the challenges and vicissitudes of life. Cos Causse seems to parallel this possibility for finding peace or calm on the sea with Hughes's acclaimed penchant for passivity, even when he obviously experienced anger. The claim has been made that his poetry was calm even as he wrote about situations that could evoke intense anger, just as the sailor has to maintain

control so as to not lose his boat in tempestuous seas. According to Rampersad (1993, 62):

Hughes is aware of black history, a lot of which has to do with exploitation, slavery and so on. But that anger is subsumed, it's concealed, and Hughes is able to move from it, to transcend it and to deliver his art towards the service, towards the production of images of affirmation rather than images of anger . . . The passivity is what I take to be most natural in Hughes.

One of Hughes's important contributions to the Harlem Renaissance was his insistence on literary forms that drew on black folk forms, such as the blues and Negro spirituals, rather than on white literary forms. This defining trait is alluded to by *Cos Causse* in the lines, "Who sings those blues at portside?/Who sings those spirituals at starboard?" In so writing, *Cos Causse* underlines how Hughes's works were distinctively black and one important way in which Hughes created a picture of freedom – of being unencumbered by the day-to-day concerns of routine life. The image of Hughes on the sea symbolizes the way in which Hughes was committed to the liberation of humankind in general and of blacks in particular. The sailor must have a purpose or he will be tossed about on the sea. Hughes's poetry undeniably had a purpose and the image *Cos Causse* creates conveys this sense: it is the image of a sailor determined to steer the course, despite the challenges the sea may hold and the faraway lonely places for which he must sail.

At another level, the image of the poet whose poetry was nurtured by the ideals of the Harlem Renaissance as a sailor on the seas, is a poignant contrast to the first journey of the African to the new world, in bondage, at the will of others. Hughes the sailor is free to direct his own boat in any direction, in metaphorical reversal of everything that obtained in the treacherous Middle Passage. On this boat, Langston Hughes the sailor, the New World black, is in charge, steering with the confidence that he is protected by the saints that protect sailors at sea. The hope of hearing the blues – that is, of being connected to his Afro-derived culture at portside – keeps him going. This aspect of Hughes's poetry undoubtedly highlights its unity of focus, and links it with the thinking of other Afrocentric Caribbean writers such as Nicolás Guillén. It is also an image consonant with postcolonial ideas on human freedom. The image of the sailor brings into focus thoughts of liberty and the possibility of charting individual routes and exercising individual agency. The poem is,

without doubt, a fitting tribute to Hughes and the spirit of freedom with which he was associated.

### **“HOMENAJE A GUILLÉN”[HOMAGE TO GUILLÉN]**

In this poem to Guillén, Cos Causse highlights the pervasiveness of the former’s poetry in Cuba, its blackness, its centrality to Cuban identity, and its Caribbeanness. He explores the extent to which Guillén’s poetry is of national and regional importance and, as a consequence, suggests that it points to the cultural frame within which he parallels his own paradigm of living and writing. Moreover, he reconstructs his experience with Guillén and his works to focus on a particular cultural context as a means of dismantling the master discourse that holds Eurocentric poets and poetry as the models to be celebrated by all, regardless of ethnic or cultural differences (Ramsay 2001).

#### **Homenaje a Guillén (1975)**

Guillén es Cuba: es imposible acercarse al corazón  
de caracol  
de nuestra isla, sin antes atravesar (contemplando  
las palmas,  
cortando las cañas y escuchando algún son) la  
poesía intensa  
de Nicolás Guillén, mano a mano con el  
pueblo.

Si Guillén canta, Cuba canta en su canto; si  
Guillén ríe,

Cuba ríe en su risa: si Guillén llora, Cuba llora  
en su llanto:

El son las maracas Cantaliso, Papá Montero, La Mujer de Antonio,  
el yanqui, el soldado, Jesús Menéndez. Y el  
pueblo peleando.

Recuerdo mi primer encuentro con el poeta,  
estaba estudiando y

la profesora decidió a final de clase leer el  
inolvidable poema

cubanísimo y musical, de profunda nostalgia

antillana: UN LARGO  
LAGARTO VERDE. A partir de esa experiencia  
se hizo más grande  
mi acercamiento a esta tierra entrañable: Cuba  
sola navegando,  
entre palmas y olas, Cuba sola mar adentro y mar  
afuera, sin sol,  
desamparada, lejos de la luna, entre palmas y  
olas, Cuba sola navegando  
Y es que nuestra patria estuvo sangrando siempre  
en la poesía,  
En las palmas desterradas de Heredia, que luego  
fueron espejo  
Y sufrimiento del campesino en las décimas del  
Cucalambré, y  
estas mismas palmas después armas de combate  
en la obra de Martí  
y en Guillén agonía la luz y palma de pie  
En la ELEGÍA A JESÚS MENÉNDEZ esas cañas  
que alzan las manos desesperadas,  
que van y tienen, son el pueblo frente a su sangre  
derramada,  
en la sangre de Cuba frente al látigo, al plomo,  
al capitán.  
(“Homenaje A Guillén,” *El último trovador*, 31–33)

### Homage To Guillén

Guillén is Cuba: it is impossible to fathom the  
snail-like heart  
of our island, without exploring (contemplating  
palms trees,  
cutting cane and listening to a *son*) the intense  
poetry  
of Nicolás Guillén, hand in hand with the people.

If Guillén sings, Cuba sings in his song; if  
Guillén laughs  
Cuba laughs in his laugh; if Guillén cries, Cuba  
cries in his sobs:

He is the Cantaliso maracas, Papá Montero, the  
Mujer de Antonio,  
the Yankee, the soldier, Jesús Menéndez. And  
the people fighting.  
I remember my first encounter with the poet. I  
was studying and  
at the end of class the teacher decided to read  
the unforgettable  
poem, A LARGE GREEN LIZARD, with its intense  
Cubanism, musicality and profound Antillean  
nostalgia.  
This experience strengthened my bond with this  
beloved land:  
Cuba alone sailing, abandoned: far from the  
moon,  
between palms and waves, Cuba alone sailing,  
And the fact is that our country was always  
bleeding in poetry  
In the uprooted Heredia palm trees, that later  
were the mirror  
And suffering of peasants in the Cucalambré  
ballads, and  
Later these same palms became weapons of  
combat  
In the work of Martí  
And in Guillén agony, light, the downtrodden  
In the ELEGY TO JESÚS MENÉNDEZ these stalks stretch their  
hands out in desperation,  
waving, they are the people facing their spilled  
blood,  
The blood of Cuba against the whip, lead, the captain.

Nunca la poesía de Guillén ha dejado de cantar  
con la voz del pueblo,  
de gritar, de luchar, de sonar, de sufrir, de arder  
con la voz del pueblo  
Poesía que cuida cada pedazo de la patria, cada  
guitarra abandonada,

cada sinsonte silencioso que pasa. Poesía que  
baila en el solar  
con los rumberos, amiga de caído, candíl, azúcar,  
bongo para esa mulata.  
Y está bien este homenage en su 70 Aniversario,  
de verlo vivo y jovial  
caracol, con su palma  
y son y otra palma.  
("Homenaje A Guillén," *El último trovador*, 31–33)

Guillén's poetry has never stopped singing with the voice  
of the people,  
Crying, struggling, dreaming, suffering, burning  
with the voice of the people  
Poetry that cherishes every corner of the country, every  
abandoned guitar,  
every silent mockingbird that passes. Poetry that dances  
in the courtyard  
with the rumba musicians, is a friend of the fallen,  
candy, sugar, a bongo for the mulatta woman.  
And this homage in its 70th anniversary is fitting  
to see it alive and vibrant  
Arm in arm with the people, in its island with the snail's  
heart, with its palm tree and *son* and another palm tree.  
("Homage to Guillén," *The last minstrel*, 31–33)

Cos Cause highlights the similarities between Guillén's life and his poetry and political developments in Cuba, implying that a broad understanding of the essence of being Cuban is integrally bound up with an understanding of Guillén's poetry. The poem draws attention to aspects of Cuba's physical geography to suggest that Guillén's poetry provides multiple images of the Cuban landscape – sugar cane, palms, and music. The persona seems to suggest, moreover, that all aspects – the mood, tone, and sentiment – of Guillén's poems reflect the mood of Cuban society. Guillén is able to understand different periods in Cuba and different kinds of people, because he has been so involved in all spheres of Cuban history and life (Irish 1976, 346).

The poet establishes firmly how integrally connected to every aspect of Cuba's political life Guillén is and creates, moreover, a sense that Guillén's poetry holds a special appeal to the writer because of the way in which it implies his closeness to the Cuban people and what is important to them. The mention of the *son*, a musical form associated with protest and suppressed for some time in Cuba, points to a popular form used by Guillén in some of his early poetry and emphasizes his identification with Cuba's marginalized population. The reference to the *son* also draws attention to the salient manner in which Guillén's poetry captures and privileges Afro-derived aspects of Cuban culture. Cos Causse celebrates the way in which Guillén validated this popular form by showing that it effectively communicated a message with which he, as a black Cuban, can identify. Moreover, Cos Causse underscores the possibilities that African-based creative forms provide for resourcefulness and creativity in Caribbean writing, as Guillén demonstrated in the adaptation of the *son*. According to Irish, "Guillén's use of the *son* showed how he has brought to his poetry, his own style, inventiveness, taste and awareness of the evocative power of the word" (Irish 1976, 335).

Through the focus on the presentation of his first encounter with Guillén's works, Cos Causse is able to defend his decision to praise and extol the strong nationalist elements in Guillén's works and its connections with the broader Caribbean, as well as give authority to the claims he makes about Guillén (Ramsay 2006, 342). The expressions of admiration for his country Cos Causse discovered in Guillén's poetry also strengthened his own love for his country, Cuba. This representation of Guillén as his model and validator of Cuban culture is truly remarkable and is pivotal in the development of a discourse of agency:

Recuerdo mi primer encuentro con el poeta,  
estaba estudiando y  
la profesora decidió a final de clase leer el  
inolvidable poema  
cubanísimo y musical, de profunda nostalgia  
antillana: UN LARGO  
LAGARTO VERDE. A partir de esa experiencia  
se hizo más grande  
mi acercamiento a esta tierra  
("Homenaje A Guillén," *El último trovador*, 31)

I remember my first encounter with the poet. I  
was studying and  
at the end of class the teacher decided to read  
the unforgettable  
poem, A LARGE GREEN LIZARD, with its intense  
Cubanism, musicality and profound Antillean  
nostalgia.  
This experience strengthened my bond with this  
beloved land.  
("Homage to Guillén," *The last minstrel*, 31)

A central aspect of the discourse which Cos Causse's poem points to is the ways in which Guillén's poetry belongs to Cuba and to all Cubans. This includes Cos Causse's allusion to different aspects of Cuba's history, struggles, and triumphs that are identifiable in Guillén's poems. One example is the period of republican independence during which the United States exercised tremendous power in the political and economic affairs of Cuba, intimated by the reference to "el yanquí, el soldado." The period of revolutionary struggles is implied by the reference to "Jesús Menéndez. Y el pueblo peleando" (Ramsay 2006, 343).

Cos Causse focuses on one of Guillén's very popular poems, "Un Largo Lagarto Verde" (1957), inspired by Cuba's shape on the map of the Caribbean – a long green lizard – and included in the collection *La paloma de vuelo popular* (1958). This seems to be a deliberate strategy to underline the extent to which Guillén's poetry has fostered a deeper understanding of Cuba's political struggles and helped to redefine Cuban history and identity. For it is this collection that definitively unveils the development of Guillén's preference for revolutionary change to address sociopolitical problems. In keeping with the central concerns of the collection, the poem calls for the termination of imperialist control of Cuba, and evokes the economic situation in which sugar was king (Ellis 1983). The implication is that this poem helped to awaken a particular awareness and shape a revolutionary consciousness in Cos Causse, as well as an understanding of his country's evolution through different historical and sociopolitical periods. This is interesting, since Cos Causse's poetry does not speak directly of the revolution. His celebration of Guillén's revolutionary poem, however, seems to echo his own position, as one of support and adulation.

Cos Causse emphasizes the nationalist and regionalist concerns in Guillén's poetry as being important for forging a serious redemption of self through an understanding of Guillén's mission as a black person. Guillén's commitment to Cuba and the developments in Cuba are implied in the comparison with José Martí. Cos Causse points to the way in which Guillén's poetry reveals his assumption of the role of Cuba's national consciousness and his awareness of the suffering of the Cuban people. In this there are similarities with José Martí, who used his verse to make serious comments on the sociopolitical environment of the time (Ramsay 343). Cos Causse shows his grasp of the range and intensity of Guillén's poetic works and is also able to demonstrate an awareness of how Guillén's poetry reveals his preoccupation with the injustices, dilemmas, and challenges of pre-revolutionary Cuban society.

Guillén's poem is an elegy lamenting the murder in 1948 of Menéndez, an Afro-Cuban trade union leader who worked feverishly with and for Cuban workers against oppression by demanding better wages for sugar plantation workers, and for change and justice for the masses of the Cuban population. This episode is regarded as an important marker of the political upheavals and struggles of the Cuban underprivileged classes in the 1940s. The portrayal of Menéndez is informed by an essentially Marxist outlook, and captures Guillén's revolutionary spirit and implies his embracing of Jesús Menéndez's dream for a better Cuba. Of this poem by Guillén, which is boldly highlighted in Cos Causse's poem, George Irish writes that the poet puts his finger on the sore spot of the nation and of the region when he places all these issues in their true historical-economic perspective. The work and dreams of Jesús Menéndez are not personal, but collective and proletarian, not insular but regional (Irish 1976, 333). This seems to be the claim Cos Causse is also making about Guillén's works.

The celebration of the poem suggests Cos Causse's valorization of Menéndez's Marxist position and his work among Cuba's working class. He joins Guillén in celebrating Menéndez's fight against oppression. Indeed, Cos Causse recognizes the regional and timeless applicability of the poem and subtly suggests his own commitment to the revolutionary goal of Jesús Menéndez and his denunciation of injustice. This bold praise for the poem also speaks not just for Cubans, but for oppressed people throughout Latin America and the Caribbean. This allows Cos Causse to extol Guillén's poetry

for its faithful and steadfast commitment to speaking passionately on behalf of Cubans and expressing their joys, pain, and suffering, thus becoming, like Guillén, the voice of the people. Furthermore, it is a voice that is unceasing in writing with the voice of the people to express the struggles, dreams, hopes, and concerns of the ordinary folk:

Nunca la poesía de Guillén ha dejado de cantar  
con la voz del pueblo,  
de gritar, de luchar, de sonar, de sufrir, de arder  
con la voz del pueblo . . .  
("El Homenaje A Guillén," *El último trovador*, 32)

Guillén's poetry has never stopped singing with the voice  
of the people,  
crying, struggling, dreaming, suffering, burning  
with the voice of the people . . .  
("Homage to Guillén," *The last minstrel*, 32)

## CONTRASTING IMAGES: DIVERGENCES IN THE POEMS' MEANINGS

Taken as a whole, the image in the poem of Hughes the sailor on a metaphorical journey from slavery to freedom is a vindicating one. However, when we consider certain of its elements individually, the poem presents a dialectic when contrasted with the poem to Guillén. The poem to Hughes is, in other words, the more paradoxical of the two and seems to offer a more ambiguous perception of the journey of Afro-Americans through the black experience than of the equivalent journey by Afro-Cubans.

For the poem to Guillén is definitive and makes firm claims about him, with a range of direct evidence to support them, while the poem to Hughes functions through several questions and statements that are commiserative rather than declarative. Hughes the sailor is encouraged to persevere, while Guillén is lauded for having accomplished so much. Moreover, Guillén is depicted as being more linked to the community, while Hughes is symbolized as a lonely sailor on a fantasy boat. Perhaps the poet wants to highlight how two different approaches may be used to achieve similar ends. Guillén, perhaps because of his strong Marxist outlook, served in a more communal way.

Hughes's work was more individualized, even though he may have had similar results in reaching a wide African-American audience, helping to raise black awareness of self and in the class struggle as much as Guillén did in Cuba. If one were to take these two implications seriously, then there would be a need to interrogate or suggest how *Cos Causse* can justify this implied distinction, which, of course, results in a more problematic view of the two poets. Perhaps, then, consideration of the central divergence between the Afro-Cuban and Afro-American experiences is necessary.

There is a commonly held view that in his journey towards self-liberation, Guillén's experience with the Cuban Revolution allowed him self-affirmation. According to Benítez-Rojo, "Under Castro, the black sons of Caliban receive official recognition as Cuban citizens by a Communist regime that legitimates itself by pronouncing the former slaves, masters of their island." (Benítez-Rojo 1966, 104) In fact, Guillén himself declared and celebrated the extent to which the black Cuban has made significant strides towards self-liberation under the Castro government in the poem "Tengo" (1959), quoted in the second epigraph to this essay. Guillén's acclaim as national poet of Cuba also attests to the fact that he succeeded in achieving recognition for Afro-Cuban writing.

The contrasting view is advanced that Hughes, under imperialist, racist America, was never given official national recognition in the way that the Caribbean Guillen was, as America remained essentially racist and officially segregated until his death (Ellis 1983). Perhaps it is that decisive sense of anchorage that is missing in the poem to Hughes. Indeed, *Cos Causse's* poem, on this level, bears a close resemblance to Hughes's own last poem "Flotsam," which depicts the persona on a "sea going nowhere." Ellis has argued that at the end of Hughes's life, "this sensitive man who was obviously joyful and pathetically free in his creativity was battered, bruised and unfulfilled." He also characterizes "Flotsam" as weary blues, the poet's homeland not having afforded him the anchor he sought over four decades of writing (Ellis 1983, 157).

Additionally, the Langston Hughes sailor in the poem is for the most part an unknown persona. This image is a direct inversion of Hughes's own poem, "I've known rivers," which suggests a confident, self-certain person. *Cos Causse's* persona is at the same time known and unknown – ambiguous. The idea that Hughes the person also remained a mystery to many is supported

by Henry Louis Gates (1993, 14), who makes the following powerful pronouncement:

Hughes knew *everybody*, although almost no one knew him, or was able to penetrate the veils and masks that the truly vulnerable fabricate to present public personae to the world. Hughes public faces – despite the fact that he sought and found refuge in his beloved Harlem, he was certainly our most public, speaking in one week alone to some ten thousand people – were crafted in such a way that his human substance could not be perceived from among his carefully manufactured shadows.

This is not to suggest that *Cos Causse* viewed Hughes as a failure. Indeed, his significant role in redefining African-American identity is indisputable. But if we take a hard look at the end of the careers of both writers, we would have to admit there was definitely a more celebratory finale for Guillén in Cuba. According to Monica Kaup (2000, 105), “Hughes poetic career ends on a negative note in an America that, unlike Guillén’s Cuba, never became officially his: a nation officially segregated until the 50s where the idea of inter-racial amalgamation was never part of the nationalist discourse.” Indeed, Hughes’s last poem before his death in 1967 speaks to the idea of homelessness or a wandering spirit.

## **STRUCTURAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE POEMS**

The structural differences between the two poems undoubtedly help to underscore the claim that *Cos Causse* wants to draw attention to the ways in which Langston Hughes and Nicolás Guillén are divergent in their works and lives. The poem dedicated to Guillén is more than twice the length of that to Hughes. These differences mirror Guillén’s much longer life in comparison to Hughes. The former poem also unfolds in longer sentences. The tone of the poem to Guillén is one of confidence, as a proud poetic persona celebrates the life of Guillén. The tone of the Hughes poem on the other hand is not definitive but mainly operates by piling up different questions. The metaphorical representation of Hughes as a sailor on the sea and in port is limited compared to the sweep of the Guillén poem, which takes us to different places and settings and projects images of Guillén in various places throughout

Cuba. The syntactical differences and the difference in rhetorical tone help to problematize discussion of Cos Causse's treatment of the two icons, and underscore that they were similar but also different.

## CONCLUSION

The poems dedicated to Hughes and Guillén present two types of celebration that serve to affirm Cos Causse's racial and philosophical connectedness with these writers. He therefore confronts us with the links he has to the general literary tradition of asserting racial pride, redefining black identity, and recognizing the achievements with which these writers are associated. Cos Causse affirms the fact that both Guillén and Hughes had a keen interest, as he himself does, in resolving the tensions over issues of identity. They both depicted blacks as a people with a history and tradition of accomplishment, which is similar to what Cos Causse attempts in his own works.

Throughout the poem to Hughes, Cos Causse emphasizes that this link is not restricted to Cuba, but crosses national and geographical boundaries to include other writers and black people who are part of a community that needs to assert its Afrocentric identity and establish a sense of liberation. The double-layered meaning of the poem to Hughes does not contradict this, but serves to remind us that while there is this connectedness between black people in different parts of the black diaspora, this community is still not monolithic. The poem to Guillén, we argue, underlines the fact that even if "the sons and daughters of Caliban" in Cuba have been vindicated under the revolution, there is still a need to address lingering misconceptions and to hold up black achievements in an attempt to redefine the image of blacks in Cuba. After all, racial unity in Cuba is not a linear and completed journey, but an ongoing process.

Finally, Cos Causse shows that he not only understood the convergences between the two writers, but also the divergences. In showing their equally multifaceted lives, he celebrates their similar but different achievements. Guillén, the more combative, urgent, and communal poet, shared many of the same aspirations held by Hughes, the placid, multi-talented, multifaceted poet. Both occupy places of pride in the celebratory records of Cos Causse because

both seemed to understand the significance of highlighting the unifying elements of the Afro-Caribbean and Afro-American experiences.

## NOTE

1. All translations are the author's.

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# HOW MARKET RESEARCH IS HELPING REFORM THE UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF THE CAYMAN ISLANDS

New Management Strategies for Tertiary Education and  
Caribbean College Administrators

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CAMILE JACKSON, YOLIZA MCCOY, PAULA POWELL,  
MICHAEL WOOD, GISELLE WEBB, AND NICOLA WILLIAMS\*

## *Abstract*

*Over the last decades, the number of Caribbean tertiary education providers has grown rapidly, giving many more people access to college and university. The mission of UCCI is to provide accessible and affordable high-quality career-oriented tertiary education to as many residents of the Cayman Islands as possible. However, university education is neither compulsory nor free, so students will choose those institutions that best meet their needs. Clearly, private and (more expensive) overseas tertiary institutions also*

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The authors compiled the report on which this article is based in spring 2010, when they were enrolled in the University College of the Cayman Islands's Independent Studies in Management class and/or Management Internship class. They worked under the guidance of Prof R.J. Weishan.

*have important roles to play in future development. In this study, the authors conducted a follow-up survey of all past UCCI business studies graduates. The data show that while UCCI continues to be viewed as inferior by many local employers and prospective students, it succeeded in meeting the expectations of 95 per cent of its graduates. The data also demonstrate that the UCCI students get very good value for their educational investments and that their degrees immediately enhance their career prospects and open the doors to postgraduate studies and greater professional opportunities.*

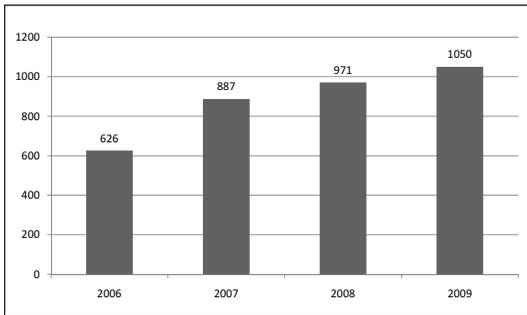
**KEY WORDS:** tertiary education, Cayman Islands, UCCI, business studies, market research, cost/benefit analysis

### **ASSESSING THE MARKET FOR TERTIARY EDUCATION IN THE CAYMAN ISLANDS**

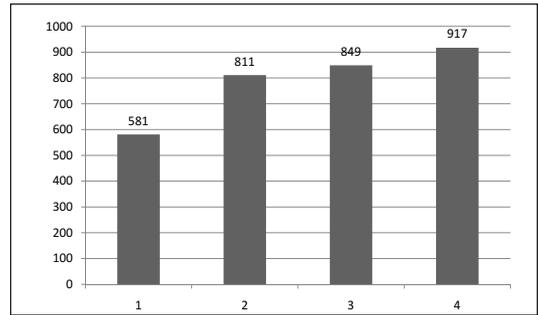
Over the last few years there has been increasing interest among youths and adults in the Cayman Islands in acquiring a four-year year college degree (Bachelor's). The dramatic downturn in the global economy and recent changes in the local job market have motivated many more Caymanians to explore the worth of a degree from the University College of the Cayman Islands (UCCI).

Tables 1–6 illustrate just how significantly student enrolment at UCCI has increased in each of the last four years. While these increases have been at every level (certificate, Associate, and Bachelor's degrees), the most dramatic rate of growth has been in Bachelor's degree programmes. Each year, more Caymanian students enter the Bachelor's programmes at UCCI and more Bachelor's degree graduates leave UCCI. This consistent and significant growth in student enrolment will probably only accelerate during the next two years because of the effects of the global recession.

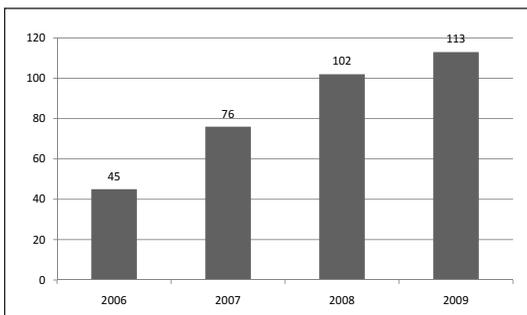
Limited money has forced most Cayman citizens, as well as the government, to tighten their fiscal belts. More than ever, Caymanians are willing to rethink the costs/benefits of going overseas to earn a Bachelor's degree. They, like people all over the world, are looking for "value" in tertiary education. At every level of Cayman society, parents and individuals are looking for quality tertiary education that can provide them with the competencies they need to compete in a global economy, but at the most affordable price possible.



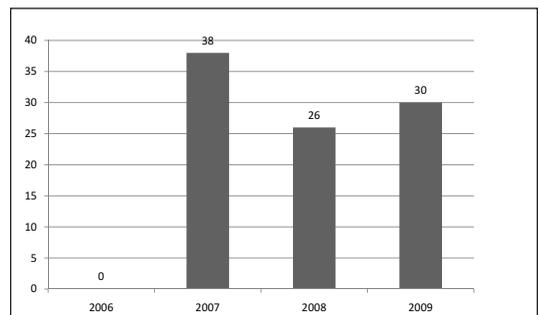
**Table 1:** Total students enrolled at UCCI



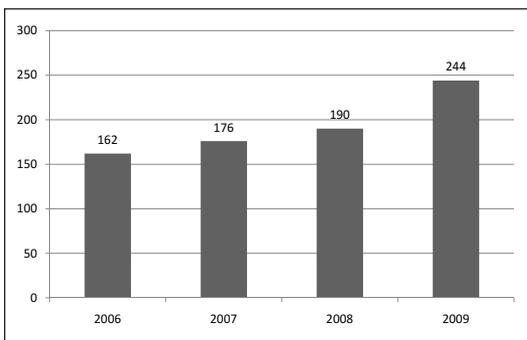
**Table 2:** Associate degree students



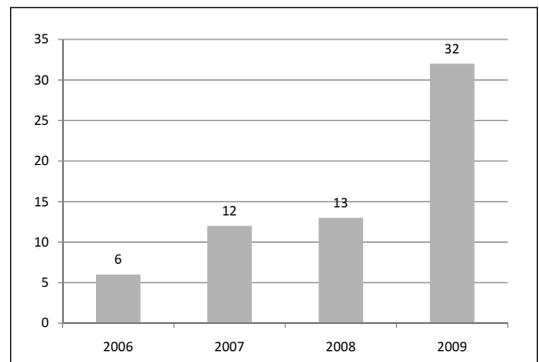
**Table 3:** Students enrolled in Bachelor's degree programmes



**Table 4:** Postgraduate students



**Table 5:** Total graduates  
(Graduates shown from actual year of graduation)



**Table 6:** Bachelor's degree graduates  
(Graduates shown from actual year of graduation)

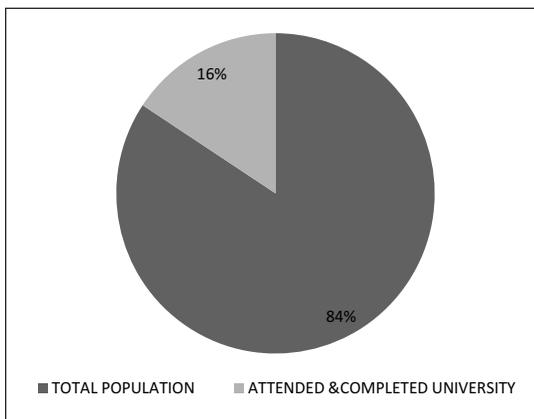
Sources: UCCI Registrar's Office, February 2010

In anticipation of the future increases in enrolment at UCCI, the Department of Business Studies initiated the current investigation into the impact of a UCCI degree on the post-college lives of the most recent graduates. By surveying our Bachelor's degree graduates, we sought to gain insights into the different perspectives on the quality, utility, and worth of a UCCI education. In surveying the employers of recent UCCI Bachelor's graduates, we aimed to uncover the economic and social benefits of a UCCI degree. More specifically, this study attempts to assess the return on investment (ROI) of a UCCI Bachelor's degree in business studies for the individual, Cayman society, the local economy, and the Cayman government.

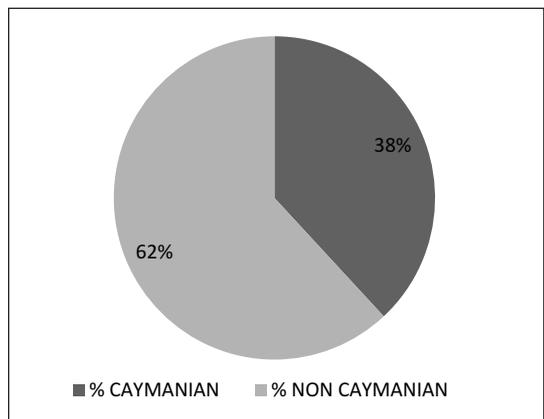
Based on the Economic and Statistics Office's statistical compendium of the Cayman Islands (ESO 2008), in 2007 8,322 of the islands' 44,616 residents had attended university.

Furthermore, the statistics indicate that 18.65 per cent of the population is university educated (including Associate degree students). Of this total, 38 per cent are Caymanian and 62 per cent are non-Caymanian. (see Figures 1 and 2 below). It is therefore important for Caymanians to improve their education attainment just to keep control of the Cayman economy.

It appears that the cost of education is not a major impediment for the Cayman Islands, as increasing numbers of financial assistance programmes are being offered annually. Despite this, the programmes have not attracted all the



**Figure 1:** (ESO)Educational attainment and status, 2007 (Percentage of Population University Educated)



**Figure 2:** Educational attainment and status, 2007 Percentage of Population in Cayman that attended University

Caymanians who could apply. Furthermore, of those who have taken the opportunity to attend local institutions, many have not completed a degree or remained eligible for financial aid due to poor academic performance. Their failure to complete college can often be attributed to the poor quality of public secondary education and/or the lack of support and encouragement from family, employers, and community.

Moreover, not everyone is academically inclined, and tertiary training for such careers as machinists, chefs, or electricians that do not require a four-year degree is also important. It is more and more critical these days for support personnel to have more than the ability just to read and write or a high school diploma. Modern businesses need many more employees who understand the dynamics of technical equipment as well as how to use the constantly improving technology. However, locals with these technical skills are becoming a rarity in the Cayman Islands. Plumbers and electricians must undergo apprenticeships and usually require some technical school training to be certified, but few Caymanians choose these careers or realize the importance of developing training programmes in these vocational and technical areas.

The most critical element influencing the attitude of young Caymanians towards education today lies in the fact that most of their parents and grandparents received only a secondary education. Parental educational attainment and parental influence and expectations for children strongly affect children's educational aspirations and achievements. In turn, parental behaviour is related to social class: the higher the class, the more likely parents are to expect and positively influence the child to attain a higher education.

It is also important for Caymanian society to recognize that education not only increases income and career opportunities, but also fosters lasting relationships with others by creating a sense of civic responsibility and social awareness. Better educated individuals show increased participation in voting, increased altruism, and a greater appreciation of social diversity. This, in turn, can lead to a decrease in crime and poverty and may even obviate social unrest.

Overall, a college degree or university education is very important to the people of the Cayman Islands as it enables them to help sustain the economy, foster growth, become more productive, and compete in the global labour market. Based on the evolving global economy and labour market, it is imperative to develop human capital in Cayman just in order to survive. This

leads us to the second part of our investigation, namely the comparative costs and benefits of a degree from UCCI and other tertiary education options within the Cayman Islands.

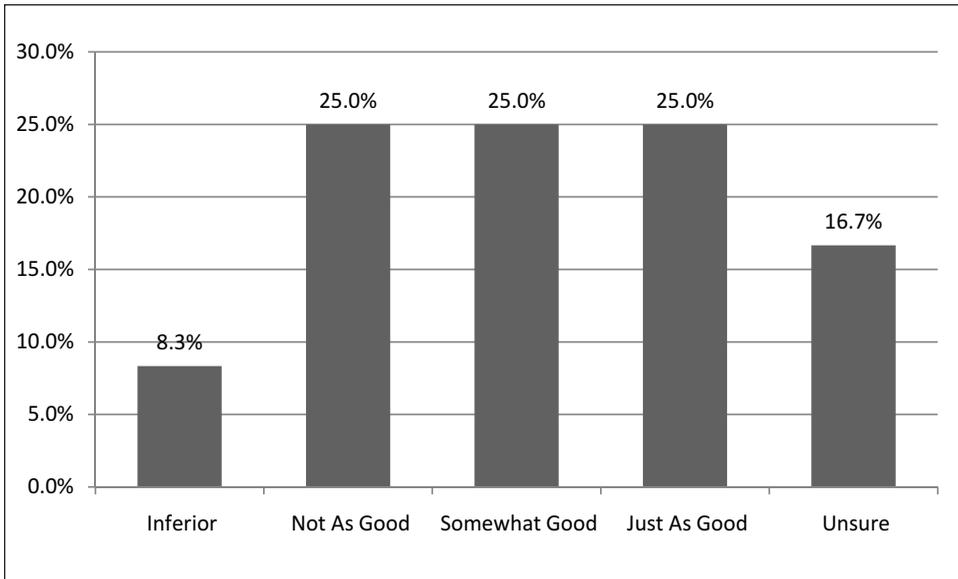
### **UCCI'S MISSION, UNIQUE POSITION, AND SPECIAL FUNCTION IN THE TERTIARY EDUCATION MARKET IN THE CAYMAN ISLANDS**

Over the past few decades, the number of educational facilities available on the Cayman Islands has grown. The government spends CI\$40+ million every year on educating its citizens, and high school education is now free to all those who want it. The government also grants hundreds of scholarships to students who choose to attend college either locally or abroad.

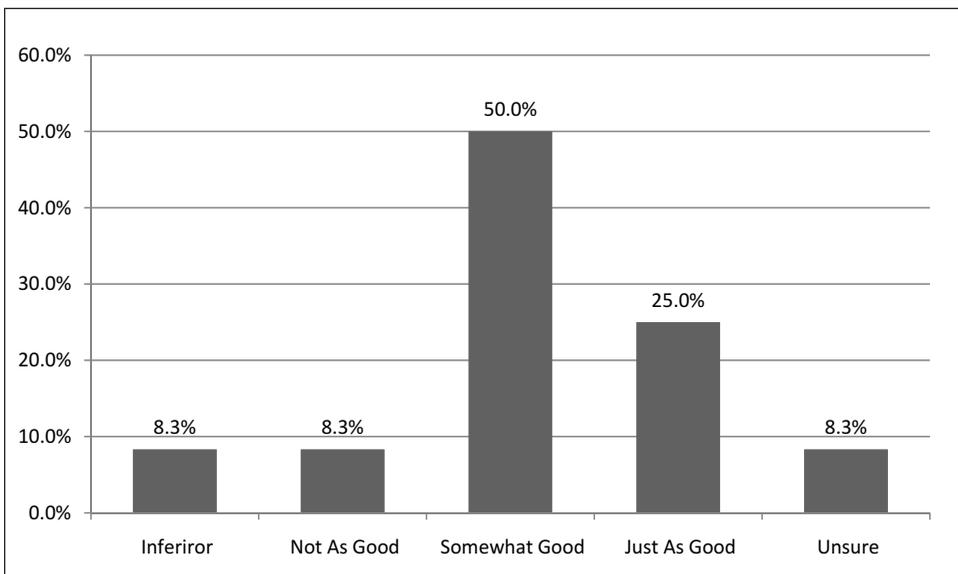
There are several tertiary educational institutions on the Cayman Islands. However, UCCI, as the only university on the Cayman Islands fully supported by the government, is in a unique position. Before students can be awarded a government scholarship to study overseas, they must first attend UCCI for a minimum of two years and earn the equivalent of an Associate degree. This can present difficulties for those students who are financially challenged but do not wish to obtain a degree in one of the limited career fields that UCCI offers. It also represents a hardship for students seeking training for technical or vocational careers, since few career specialties in technical areas are offered at UCCI.

UCCI also needs to improve its public image: many business employers on the Cayman Islands do not see it as providing an acceptable education and prefer students with an overseas education. As from the last quarter of 2009, UCCI has begun to improve its image by designating a new president and board of directors. Today, most people on the Cayman Islands believe that UCCI is heading in the right direction. Maybe this is the start of a sustained improvement in UCCI's public image.

Tables 7 and 8 present data gathered during the team's graduate follow-up study. Several UCCI graduates permitted research team members to contact their current employers. While the number of employers sampled is small (12 employers out of 43 UCCI graduates surveyed), the data give us a glimpse into the attitudes of many Cayman employers towards the quality of education at



**Table 7:** How would you compare education from UCCI with that of average US university graduate?



**Table 8:** How would you compare education from UCCI with the average Caribbean university graduate?

UCCI. Some of these impressions are outdated or reflect previous negative publicity, while other employer opinions are not grounded in fact and are based on a lack of information about recent changes at UCCI. Whatever the explanation, the negative impressions demand attention by UCCI officials and suggest UCCI must do more to educate and inform the general public and especially Cayman employers.

## **UCCI AND OTHER TERTIARY INSTITUTIONS ON THE CAYMAN ISLANDS**

Education has progressed rapidly on the Cayman Islands over the last decade or so. However, there is still a lack educational facilities to meet all the growing needs of the country, for instance in vocational training.

In an effort to gather information on local tertiary institutions we conducted research into and contacted the following five major institutions on the Cayman Islands that offer tertiary education. (See Table 9)

### **University College of the Cayman Islands**

UCCI caters to new school leavers and mature students, offering both day and night classes from 8:30am to 9:30pm.

UCCI boasts a large student population, 1,050 in 2009. Its curriculum has expanded to include a wide variety of courses such as Master's, Bachelor's, and Associate degrees as well as certificate programmes, professional programmes, as well as executive programmes. In addition, UCCI offers many certification programmes, including accounting technician, computer technician, hospitality, and construction technology.

However, one major drawback of UCCI is that its Bachelor's and Associate degrees are not accredited, with the exception of the Bachelor of Education. This shortcoming does not seem to affect enrolment, since students are aware their credits can still be transferred to other institutions in the US.

**Table 9:** Comparison of Tertiary Institutions on Cayman Islands

	UCCI	ICCI*	UWI**	CI Law***	SMU-Vet****	SMU-Med****
Books (est. CI\$100 per book) (CI\$)	4,300	3,600	Materials included in tuition	1,500	2,940	2,100
<b>Fees (CI\$)</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>660</b>		<b>3,082.68</b>	<b>4,570.80</b>	<b>5,677.52</b>
Tuition (CI\$)	16,230	13,680	9000	18,075.00	52,175.80	35,380.20
Avg cost per class (CI\$)	600/165	380	300			
<b>Total est. cost with fees and books included (CI\$)</b>	<b>20,585</b>	<b>17,940</b>	<b>9,000</b>	<b>22,657.68</b>	<b>59,686.60</b>	<b>43,157.72</b>
Accredn	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Semesters per year	3	4	3	3	3	3
Credits required for BS	130 cr/43 classes – avg. 3 credit per class	180 cr/36 classes – avg. 5 credit per class	36-38 classes	12 modules		105 credits/23 classes for basic science programmes
Class times daytime – 8:00 am- 5:00 pm	yes	no		yes	yes	yes
Class times evening – 6pm onwards	yes	yes	yes/online focused	no	no	no
Days		Mon-Thur	Mon-Fri	Mon-Fri	Mon-Fri	Mon-Fri
No. students enrolled in 2008 in BS	135	190-200	15	104	100	400
Caymanian			2	81	1	0
Non-Caymanian			13	43	99	400
Govt aid	yes CI\$2.8 million	yes CI\$70,000 grants		yes	no	no

\*ICCI: International College of the Cayman Islands  
 \*\*UWI: University of the West Indies Open Campus  
 \*\*\*CI Law: Cayman Islands Law School  
 \*\*\*\*SMU: St Matthew's University, School of Veterinary Medicine and School of Medicine  
 UCCI, ICCL, UWI all offer Master's, Bachelor's, and Associate degrees.

## International College of the Cayman Islands

According to ICCI Dean Scott Cummings,<sup>1</sup> the following distinguishes ICCI from other island institutions: it is a small private alternative to the large government institutions such as UCCI and CI Law.

ICCI caters to mature students who work full-time. This results in a different learning environment, as most students have been out of school for over five years and are now seeking to further their education. They thus have needs different from those of the younger student population of UCCI, which enrolls many recent high school graduates. ICCI offers most of its classes from 5:30pm to 10:05pm.

With regard to accreditation:

ICCI is a Senior College Accredited by the Accrediting Council for Independent Colleges and Schools to award associate degrees, bachelor's degrees and master's degrees. The Accrediting Council for Independent Colleges and Schools is listed as a nationally recognized accrediting agency by the United States Department of Education. Its accreditation of degree granting institutions also is recognized by the Council for Higher Education Accreditation. ([www.CHEA.org](http://www.CHEA.org))

ICCI also offers students the opportunity to attend seminars in Miami. Dean Cummings also noted that the new UCCI President Roy Bodden sees the importance of tertiary institutions working together.

## University of West Indies Open Campus

Campus head Robert Geofroy and his administrative assistant Orland Desdunes<sup>2</sup> reported that UWI open campus offers students on the Cayman Islands the same educational programmes as the Mona campus in Jamaica. These include Master's, Bachelor's, and Associate degrees, diplomas, and certificates, some of which are not offered at any other facility on the islands (i.e., Bachelor of Nursing, certificate in criminology and entrepreneurship, as well as diploma in social service, gender, and development studies).

UWI open campus programmes are offered online, and some sessions are telecast, normally on weekdays between 4:30pm and 9:45pm at the latest. The campus serves students who work full-time and want to further their

education. The facility is fully equipped with computers to cater to students without access to computers or the internet.

It was also noted that Caymanians have easy access to the UWI programmes on account of the fact that the Cayman Islands government contributes to the UWI programme as part a formal agreement between it and the UWI board. Even so, according to Geofroy, Caymanians do not take full advantage of the opportunity to attend any of the universities in the Caribbean, as US schools appear to be more appealing, based on the shopping opportunities and glamour. He felt that lack of marketing and lack of awareness of what the unit offers plays a role in the low enrolment by Caymanians.

### Cayman Islands Law School<sup>3</sup>

CI Law offers the professional practice course during which students train for their articles and sit the bar examinations. There is also an LLB accredited through the University of Liverpool.

The data show that CI Law continues to see increased enrolment at the school, a reflection of the changing times. More Caymanians are pursuing white collar professions (lawyers, doctors, etc.), seeing them as being the most lucrative and having the most influence.

LLB graduates have their degrees conferred on them by the University of Liverpool. This means they can (provided they complete the required foundation modules, including European Union law) obtain an internationally transferable legal qualification in the Cayman Islands. Such graduates are able to pursue legal professional qualifications in England and Wales (and certain US jurisdictions) and register for postgraduate legal studies throughout the common law world.

### St. Matthew's University

SMU includes a School of Medicine and School of Veterinary Medicine. The college has the following accreditations and affiliations:

- The World Health Organization lists St. Matthew's in the World Directory of Medical Schools (<http://www.who.int/hrh/wdms/en>).
- The Educational Commission for Foreign Medical Graduates officially recognizes St. Matthew's University School of Medicine ([www.ecfm.org](http://www.ecfm.org)).

- The government of the Cayman Islands has fully chartered St. Matthew's.
- The accrediting body for St. Matthew's University is the Accreditation Commission on Colleges of Medicine (ACCM). The US Department of Education recognizes the ACCM as using accrediting standards similar to the accrediting body for medical schools in the US. In 2007, the ACCM granted St. Matthew's University accreditation for six years, which is the longest accreditation period available under its protocol.
- The FAIMER International Medical Education Directory (IMED) of the Educational Commission for Foreign Medical Graduates (ECFMG) lists St. Matthew's University in its listing of approved medical schools.
- St. Matthew's is licensed by the Commission for Independent Education, Florida Department of Education (<http://www.op.nysed.gov/medforms.htm#viewthelistingofapprovedschools>).

Students accepted into SMU must have a minimum of 90 undergraduate credits and sit the Medical College Admission Test (MCAT). They will become doctors after completing four to five years of medical training. SMU's programme is split into five cores: Core 1 and 2, basic sciences; Core 3, clinical sciences and clerkship rotations; and Core 4 and 5, when the student chooses the electives in which they will specialize. Students complete only Core 1 and 2 locally and have to complete clinical sciences in the US or UK.

The SMU tuition and fees in Table 9 are for the completion of the basic science programme, which requires students to do 105 credit hours/23 classes in basic sciences. SMU's Director of Student Services Jan-Michael Maw<sup>4</sup> noted that Caymanians are offered a full scholarship, which covers all expenses, for this programme. However, Caymanians have not taken up this opportunity. He remarked that SMU has made joint efforts with UCCI to offer a streamlined programme in future to enable students to meet the undergraduate entry requirements for SMU.

Figure 3 shows that UCCI is more expensive than ICCI and UWI, and it is the only one whose Bachelor's degree programme is not externally accredited (with the exception of the BEd). Overall, the other two tertiary institutions would thus give a better return on investment. However, many Caymanian students use UCCI to gain entry into the college mainstream and then transfer their credits and attend US universities, as they understand the importance of obtaining a degree from a recognized or accredited institution.

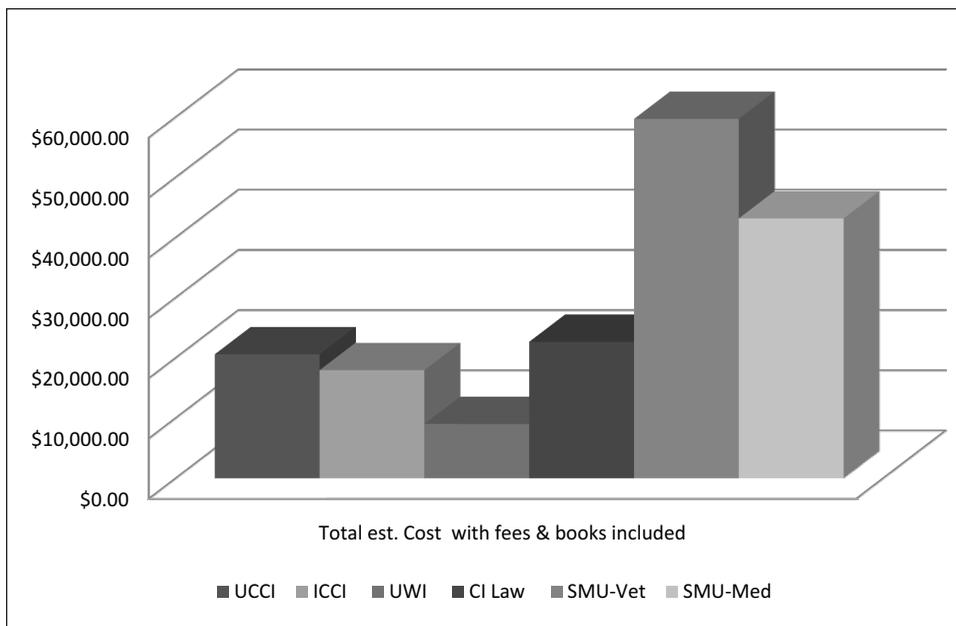


Figure 3: Local Institutions Comparative Sheet

Note: Costs are per student.

## Other Training Institutions

There are also smaller facilities on the islands, such as Innovative Management and Professional Training (IMPT), which provide professional development training in business skills such as customer service, management, budgeting, and computer training. IMPT also offers internationally recognized training programmes in the following areas:

- ACCA Certified Accounting Technician (CAT)
- ACCA Qualification (Chartered Accountant)
- ICSA Certificate in Business Practice
- ICSA Certificate in Offshore Finance and Administration
- ICSA Diploma in Offshore Finance and Administration
- Certified Professional Secretary (CPS)
- Certified Business Professional (CBP) seminars

## **COMPARATIVE COSTS AND EDUCATIONAL BENEFITS OF UCCI AND A US COLLEGE**

Despite recent efforts to improve and promote UCCI's Bachelor's degree programmes, many students from the islands still travel abroad to get a tertiary education with greater perceived value and quality. The government of the Cayman Islands awards approximately 320 scholarships annually to students wishing to study overseas. Each overseas scholarship is for CI\$20,000 per year per student, for an annual total of CI\$6.4 million.

The government also gives out approximately 650 scholarships per year to students to study at UCCI. The total figure for local grants is significant, approximately CI\$3.9 million annually, but the actual cost per scholarship is significantly lower than for scholarships to study abroad, namely approximately CI\$6,000 per year. Thus public expenditures on overseas scholarships are roughly 40 per cent higher than on local scholarships and benefit only half as many Caymanian students.

Three foreign universities are favoured by most students from the Cayman Islands, namely the Florida Institute of Technology, Florida International University, and the University of Tampa. The costs of attending any of them are significantly higher than for UCCI, averaging about CI\$30,000 per year just for tuition. At UCCI the same Caymanian student would pay CI\$9,000, about a third the amount. Given the level of the Cayman government's overseas scholarships, on average Cayman students studying abroad need to find an extra CI\$10,000 per year, and this extra money does not include such additional costs of studying overseas as travel home, room and board, medical insurance.

UCCI students are for the most part enrolled in Associate degree studies and/or certificate programmes. The much smaller number of Bachelor's degree students at UCCI is often the result of limited finances or of family obligations that keep students from going abroad. Most UCCI Bachelor's degree students are slightly older, many are working, and many are also raising children. That's why UCCI schedules its courses and classes late in the day or during the evenings. Still, in the minds of too many Caymanians UCCI is seen as a last-resort college offering, at best, a second-choice education.

However, the quality of education at UCCI is just as good as that offered by many similar colleges overseas. In most of the degree programmes UCCI offers, the course syllabuses are identical to those in foreign universities and the programme content is universal. That is why UCCI credits and UCCI degrees are recognized and accepted by more than 100 accredited tertiary institutions in the US, UK, and Canada. The current UCCI faculty is highly educated (many with doctorates), and many UCCI lecturers have extensive business experience from working in major global corporations. Most of the UCCI faculty have previously taught at other more prestigious tertiary institutions overseas. The textbooks used at UCCI are the same as those used in American universities and the small class size is an advantage for students at UCCI.

However, to compete more effectively with the overseas universities, UCCI would have to offer many more degree programmes, but the small population of the Cayman Islands makes that strategy far too costly. Despite these fiscal limitations, UCCI has over the past several years begun to offer many more degree programmes, including the new Bachelor's and Master's degrees in education; the Bachelor's degree in IT; a Master's programme in human resource management; and an MBA. However, business studies at UCCI is still predominately at the Bachelor's level, with most students studying accounting, marketing, finance, economics, or management. Considering that the Cayman Islands is the fifth-most important offshore financial centre in the world, that emphasis seems quite appropriate.

The Cayman Islands government needs to put in place more stringent requirements regarding its overseas scholarships. It should encourage more Cayman students to use the available tertiary education facilities on the islands and should require Cayman students on government scholarships to attend UCCI unless the course they choose is unavailable at UCCI. This policy is reasonable because the quality of education gained from UCCI is equivalent to that of most of the overseas tertiary institutions attended by Cayman students, and at less than one-third of the cost. This arrangement will also allow Cayman students to remain at home while studying, keep their jobs, and reduce the educational costs incurred by both the Cayman government and the Cayman students.

UCCI also needs to look to forming closer relationships with local Cayman employers. The government requires as a matter of policy that all companies

operating in the country develop the talents of their Cayman employees. Every local business must submit its annual business plans, which must demonstrate how the firm intends to prepare its Cayman employees for more responsible positions and promote them into such positions. This policy is designed to reduce Cayman's dependency on expatriate professional employees as well as to ensure that there are plenty of well-paid jobs available to all the citizens of the Cayman Islands.

UCCI therefore needs to better coordinate its degree programmes with these business plans so that local companies could make greater use of UCCI in developing their human capital. Conversely, local firms should offer their employees many more scholarships for co-op type courses/programmes in which careers and education can be advanced simultaneously. Such initiatives would not only help to finance tertiary education for many more Caymanians, but would also require UCCI students to gain much-needed practical career experience. UCCI should integrate the world of work more closely with the degree programme in which the student is enrolled. UCCI students would thus be able to take the necessary courses and to apply classroom theory in the real world.

## **EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT, POTENTIAL CAREER INCOME, ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, AND SOCIAL INTERACTION IN THE CAYMAN ISLANDS**

The pillars of the Cayman economy are tourism, financial services, and real estate. All three are highly interdependent, and hardship in one sector will eventually impact the other two. This symbiotic relationship is particularly strong between tourism and real estate. The Cayman Islands caters to upper-income customers in all three economic sectors and prides itself on being a safe and progressive venue for luxury tourism and wealth management. For the foreseeable future, the best job opportunities will still be in these three business sectors.

One traditional career option for many young Caymanians likely to continue to decrease over the short to mid-term (two-five years) will be the public sector. The Cayman civil service and government owned agencies have

**Table 10:** Cayman Economy at a Glance

	<b>2008</b>	<b>2009</b>
<b>Cayman Tourism</b>		
Cruise ship calls	346	313
Cruise ship passenger arrivals	901,474	846,952
Air passenger arrivals	178,321	154,604
<b>Financial Services</b>		
Banks and trust licences	280	269
Trust companies	136	138
Mutual funds	10,037	9,825
Insurance licences	800	815
New companies registered	6,844	3,679
Stock exchange listings	1,586	1,330
<b>Planning Indicators</b>		
Value of project approvals (CI\$ million)		
Houses	60.2	72.7
Apartments/condos	67.4	100.2
Commercial/industrial	37.3	16.1
Government	18.0	20.1
Other	31.0	71.9

Source: Cayman Islands Economics and Statistics Office Compendium

been severely criticized in the Miller Report as being bloated and inefficient. Given the government's heavy indebtedness and the continued decline in public revenues, the civil service will experience inevitable reductions in size. While much of the reduction will come from not renewing expatriate contracts, recent government statements suggest that Caymanian civil servants will also be affected by the fiscal crisis.

**Table 11:** Wages in Cayman

<b>Variables</b>	<b>2003</b>	<b>2005</b>	<b>Change %</b>
Normal hours of work/week	41.34	41.29	-12
Average monthly salary	CI\$ 3,218.67	CI\$3,661.12	+13.7
Average weekly wage	CI\$ 416.83	CI\$ 447.52	+ 7
Average monthly wage per hour	CI\$ 19.18	CI\$ 22.35	+16.9
Average weekly wage per hour	10.09	CI\$ 10.90	+0.82
Caymanians	45 %	47.1 %	+ 2.1
Work permit holders	55 %	52.9 %	-2.1

*Source:* Cayman Islands Economics and Statistics Office Compendium

The data in Table 11 indicate that average wages in Cayman are still relatively good compared to the rest of the Caribbean region. They also demonstrate that the workforce is divided almost equally between expatriates and Caymanians. The expatriate workforce is extremely polarized, with the most foreign labourers working in low-wage jobs in construction, hospitality, and as domestic helpers. The presence of so many foreign workers on a small island creates social and political pressures. In recent years, the government has tried to deal with these by restricting immigration from certain countries and by limiting to seven years the stay of foreign workers. These policies are themselves controversial and might hurt future economic growth.

A much smaller group of expatriate workers holds most of the very high income jobs in finance, the law, and tourism. This elite group is particularly prevalent in positions requiring specialized professional experience and higher levels of education (law, finance, medicine, banking). Most college-educated Caymanians still hold the majority of mid-level professional and managerial jobs in the private sector as well as most of the key civil service positions. With about 6,000 employees, the government is the country's largest single employer and the biggest employer of Caymanians.

While many more Caymanians are now earning Bachelor's and even

**Table 12:** Workforce Distribution by Industry and Immigration Status

<b>Industry</b>	<b>Caymanian %</b>	<b>Non-Caymanian %</b>
Retail	41.0	59.0
Hotels and restaurants	38.0	62.0
Land transport	37.0	63.0
Water transport	0.0	100.0
Air transport	72.0	28.0
Supporting transport	89.0	11.0
Real estate	93.0	7.0
Recreational, sporting	34.0	66.0

*Source:* Cayman Islands Department of Employment and Labour, Work Force Study 2005

postgraduate degrees, there is still an educational gap between Caymanian and expatriate workers, especially in higher-income executive positions. Closing that gap is essential to reducing the economy's excessive dependence on imported workers, and one of UCCI's missions is to help eliminate this gap at the top of the Cayman business world.

**Table 13:** Higher Education Attainment in the Cayman Islands as a Percentage of Workforce

<b>Year</b>	<b>2005</b>	<b>2005</b>	<b>2005</b>	<b>2006</b>	<b>2006</b>	<b>2006</b>
<b>Education level (degree)</b>	<b>Bach.</b>	<b>Postgrad.</b>	<b>Prof.</b>	<b>Bach.</b>	<b>Postgrad.</b>	<b>Prof.</b>
Caymanians	9.55	2.2	7.6	10.5	4.3	7.6
Expatriates	12.7	3.9	11.8	13	4.9	11.8

*Source:* Cayman Islands Economics and Statistics Office Compendium

## **WHAT HAS HAPPENED SINCE 2006 TO UCCI STUDENTS WHO GRADUATED WITH A BACHELOR'S DEGREE IN BUSINESS STUDIES?**

### Methodology

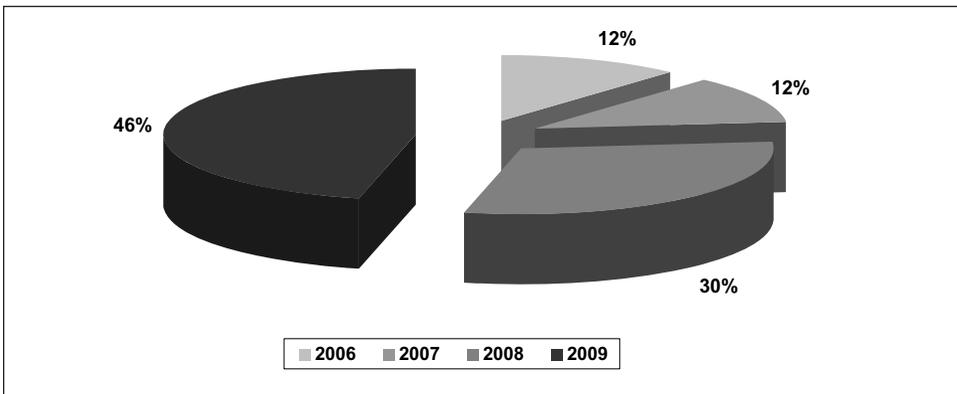
Dr Robert Weishan organized the six authors, all of them management internship students at UCCI, into a team to conduct a follow-up survey of all past UCCI business studies graduates. Dr Weishan trained the team to undertake an exploratory research study that he had designed in order to investigate the return on investment for a Bachelor's degree in business studies from UCCI.

Due to the time limitations, the team decided to contact all past UCCI business studies graduates by phone or e-mail and then solicit their immediate response by the same means to a questionnaire. The questionnaire was designed by the team under the guidance of Dr Weishan. To ensure its technical quality and the appropriateness of the questions to this type of research, the questionnaire was also reviewed by several senior lecturers at UCCI as well as by Dr J.D. Mosley-Matchett and Dr Weishan.

Since 2006, 62 individuals have received a Bachelor's degree from UCCI. Of this total, six individuals studied computer sciences or education rather than business. For this study, the total sample was limited to the 56 business study graduates (all of whom had career concentrations in accounting, marketing, economics, finance, or management).

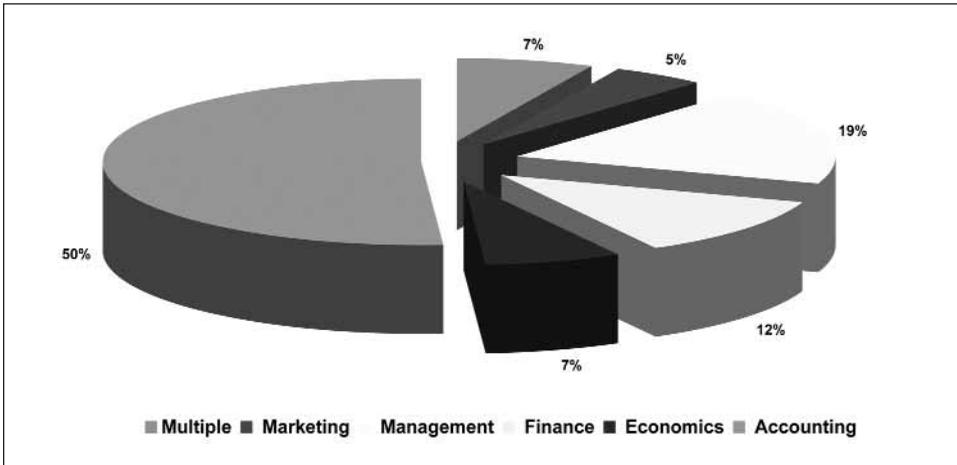
The list of the 56 business studies graduates was provided by the UCCI registrar, including contact numbers and was distributed among the research team members to administer. The team soon discovered that many contact numbers were out-of-date and that numerous graduates had left the Cayman Islands. Others could only be located through social networks of family and friends, an approach works very well in Grand Cayman. Even when contact was made, graduates did not always respond immediately to the questionnaire. Intermittently or as needed, follow up calls and/or emails were sent to ensure completion of the survey, and the team eventually received useable responses from 43 graduates (77 per cent response rate). The data were entered into Excel for data analysis in order to evaluate and summarize the findings. The results are presented below.

### Analysis of UCCI Graduates' Survey Responses



**Figure 4:** What year did you graduate from UCCI with a Bachelor's degree?

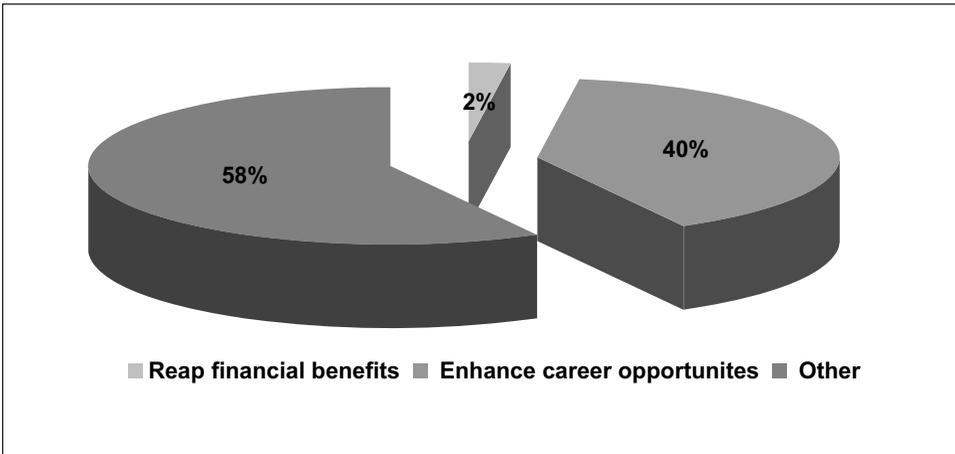
The figure shows the percentage of UCCI students in the study sample that graduated each year with a Bachelor's degree in business studies. As can be seen, there has been a significant increase in the number of graduates over the last four years, with nearly half the sample graduating as recently as 2009.



**Figure 5:** What field did you major in?

The figure shows the percentage of students in the sample with respect to the career concentration in their degree. Note that 7 per cent of our sample earned a double major.

## How Market Research is Helping Reform the UCCI



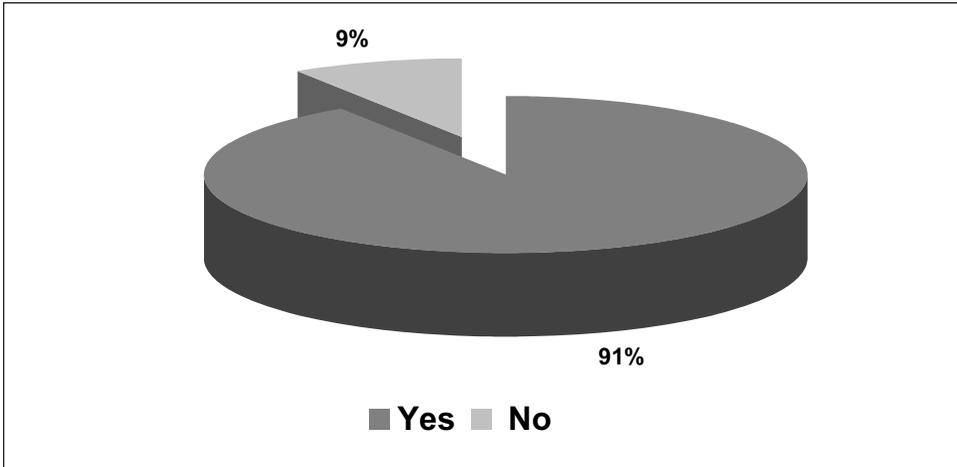
**Figure 6:** What was your motivation to pursue your Bachelor's degree?

This figure represents the students' opinions as to their motivations in pursuing a Bachelor's degree from UCCI. The categories were: reap financial benefits; enhance career opportunities; and other. Under "other," students selected more than one out of our existing list of objectives.

**Table 14:** How did you fund your education?

Category	Frequency	Percent
Grant	1	2.3
Loan	1	2.3
Scholarship	23	53.5
Self-pay	4	9.3
Other	14	32.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>100.0</b>

The data represent how UCCI students in our sample funded their college education. According to our results, more than half of the graduates obtained public or private scholarships. The category of "other" consists of students who began by paying for their college education themselves and later obtained a scholarship to complete their UCCI studies.



**Figure 7:** Were you working while pursuing a degree?

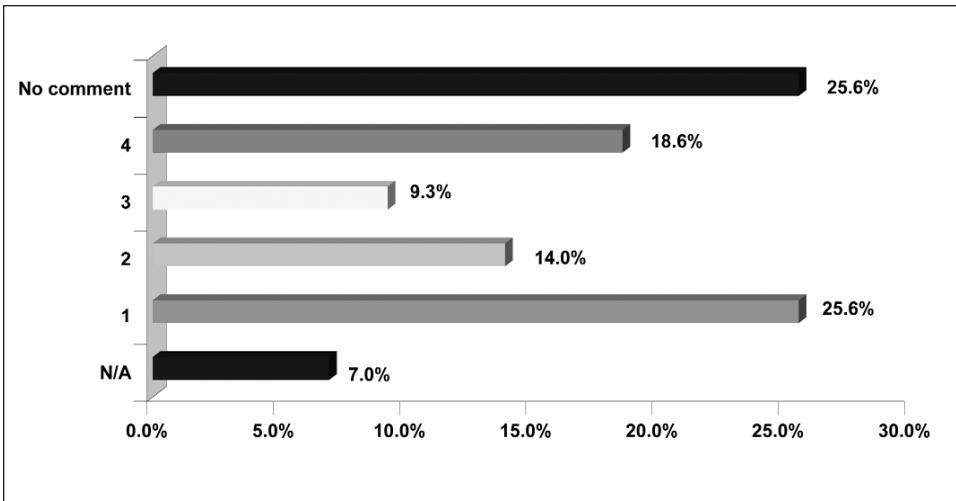
The figure shows the percentage of students in our sample who were working while completing their UCCI studies. The findings show that the overwhelming majority of UCCI students were active in the workforce while pursuing their tertiary education.

**Table 15:** Status of work

Category	Frequency	Percent
Not Working	3	7.0
Part-time day	7	16.3
Part-time night	1	2.3
Full-time day	23	53.5
Full time night	2	4.7
Other	7	16.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>100.0</b>

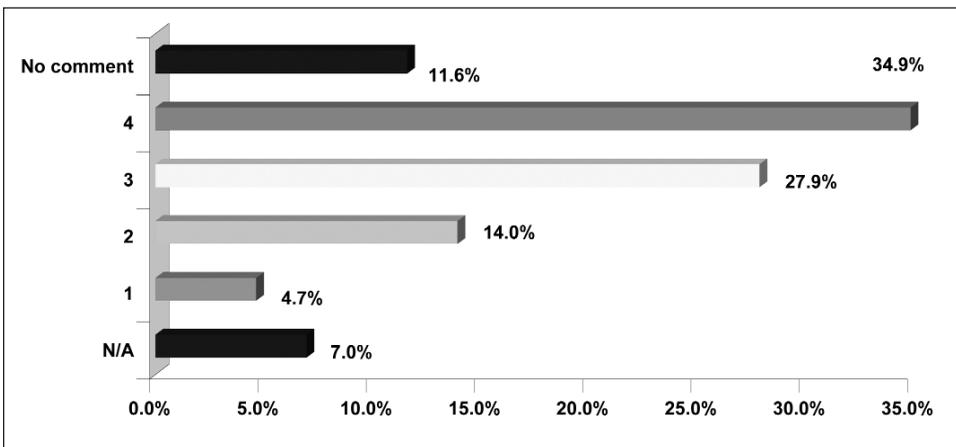
The data show the UCCI graduates' work status while they were studying towards their Bachelor's degree. "Other" consists of students who worked part-time in the night and day, as well as those who did not work at first but became employed as they continued their degree studies.

## How Market Research is Helping Reform the UCCI



**Figure 8:** Level of financial support from employer

Students were asked to rate the level of financial support they received from their employers on a scale of 1–4 (with 4 being the highest). From the findings, the majority of the UCCI students received very little support or did not wish to comment.



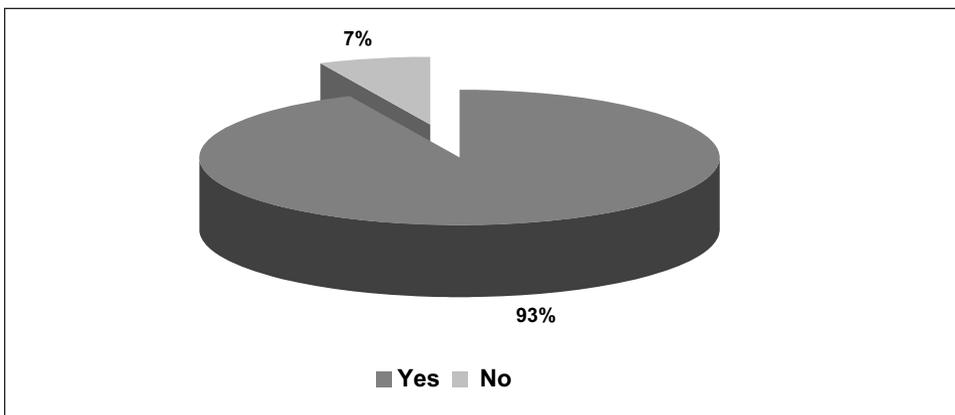
**Figure 9:** Level of time support from employer

Students were asked to rate the level of time off from work they were granted by their employers on a scale of 1–4 (with 4 being the highest). The research findings demonstrate that the majority of the UCCI graduates received from their employers a significant amount of flexible time off to study at UCCI.

**Table 16:** Have you continued on to further graduate education?

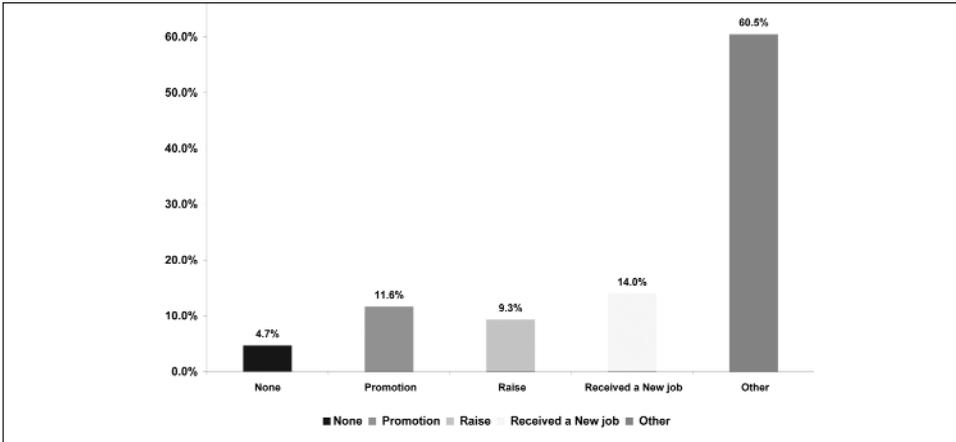
Category	Frequency	Percent
Yes	25	58.1
No	18	41.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>100.0</b>

The data represent the percentage of UCCI graduates in our sample who continued on to further postgraduate education. Several graduates have not yet done so because they are trying to obtain funding for their studies. Several other UCCI graduates have decided to take a short break before pursuing additional tertiary education. The main reason given by UCCI graduates for pursuing further postgraduate education was to become even more marketable in the workforce.



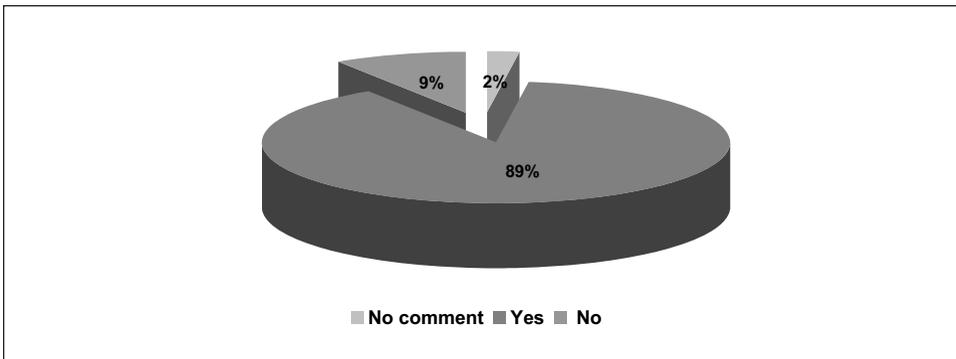
**Figure 10:** Do you believe that have a four-year degree has improved your career opportunities?

The data illustrate the percentage of UCCI graduates who believe their UCCI Bachelor’s degree has improved their career opportunities. From the findings, the vast majority of UCCI graduates (93 per cent) feel very positive about the immediate value of their UCCI degree. Among those who stated that their career opportunities had not yet improved, most have chosen to become small business owners and these are difficult economic times. Several others who did not experience immediate career advancement or receive income increases in their current jobs also felt their UCCI degrees had not yet paid dividends.



**Figure 11:** How have you been rewarded for earning a Bachelor’s degree?

The data represent the various ways in which UCCI graduates have already been rewarded by employers for earning a Bachelor’s degree from UCCI. Most graduates were rewarded by their employers immediately after obtaining their degrees in business studies. Under “other,” UCCI graduates noted that they had received multiple rewards such as job promotions and pay raises or pay raises and other perks.



**Figure 12:** Has your four-year degree improved your life?

The data represent how the UCCI graduates believe their degree has improved their life. The vast majority of UCCI graduates believe that having earned a Bachelor’s degree has given them a greater sense of accomplishment and more confidence. Many UCCI graduates commented that because of their college education they were able to view situations from different angles. The UCCI degree did not seem to be of very much benefit to those who are already small business owners.

## CONCLUSIONS

This data sample paints a picture of UCCI as a college for working students (93 per cent), who go to college primarily to increase their earning potential and to enhance their career opportunities. About half the UCCI students had some kind of scholarship but the other half must finance their college education on their own. Employers have been quite supportive of Cayman employees who are pursuing a degree at UCCI by allowing some time off from work to study. Based on this sample, students at UCCI tend to major in accounting, management, and marketing, but significant numbers also pursue double majors within business studies.

The vast majority of the UCCI graduates surveyed are very satisfied with their UCCI education. Most UCCI graduates (93 per cent) believe their UCCI degree has helped them in their careers. In fact, the evidence shows that 95 per cent of UCCI graduates have already experienced significant benefits: pay increases, job promotions, and new jobs with more pay and/or employer-sponsored opportunities to continue their education. Beyond these economic benefits, the vast majority of UCCI graduates also feel that they have gained self-confidence, perspective, and insights that enrich their lives.

The data demonstrate that UCCI graduates are committed lifelong learners, since almost 60 per cent (58 per cent) are currently in graduate school. The data also demonstrate that despite UCCI's not being an accredited tertiary institution, UCCI graduates have not encountered significant difficulty in gaining admission into graduate colleges. The UCCI Bachelor's degree in business studies has in five short years demonstrated its worth both in the employment market as well as in international academia. While much still needs to be done to improve the quality and diversity of undergraduate education at UCCI, the institution is off to a good start.

The mission of UCCI is to provide accessible and affordable high-quality career-oriented tertiary education to as many residents of the Cayman Islands as possible. The data collected from this graduate follow-up study demonstrate that by and large the UCCI mission is being achieved. As the results of this study indicate, UCCI students get very good value for their educational investments. The UCCI degree they earn not only immediately enhances their career value, but also opens wide the doors to postgraduate studies and even

greater professional opportunities. Prudence dictates that while these are very positive results, a similar graduate follow-up study should be conducted every four years in order to create long-term data on the return on investment of a UCCI education.

## NOTES

1. Interview with authors, 12 April 2010.
2. Interview with authors, 14 April 2010.
3. Interview between authors and Mr. Davies, 14 April 2010.
4. Interview with authors, 16 April 2010.

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# COSMOPOLITAN AND ETHNOCENTRIC TENSIONS IN THE CAYMANIAN SHOPPING EXPERIENCE

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LIZ WANG AND J.D. MOSLEY-MATCHETT\*

## *Abstract*

*Despite the lure of international brands publicized via satellite, internet, and cable televised media, the shopping experience among residents of and visitors to Caribbean islands is strongly influenced by ethnocentric factors relating to the unique culture and traditions of island life. Although increasing globalization and diverse consumer attitudes towards countries are the trends in international marketing literature, there exists a practical need in the Caribbean retailing industry to develop rational strategies for local mall or retail stores that positively influence both local- and foreign-consumer shopping behaviour. This question is even more critical for countries such as the Cayman Islands, which rely heavily on tourism. The issue is further compounded in Cayman by its unusually large expatriate labour force, which adds additional cosmopolitan and ethnocentric shopping behaviours.*

**KEY WORDS:** retailing, shopping malls, cross-cultural consumer behaviour, cosmopolitanism, consumer ethnocentrism, international outshopping, globalization

## **INTRODUCTION**

The Cayman Islands is a Caribbean nation of three relatively small islands that have achieved international recognition for two major industries, offshore

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financial services and tourism. Because the island of Grand Cayman represents the financial hub of the country, this conceptual investigation will be limited to the shopping experiences available on that island, with the United States as a prime outshopping location.

Although the consumer shopping behaviours encountered by retailers on the two smaller islands of Little Cayman and Cayman Brac share many of the same characteristics, the prime outshopping location for those consumers is the island of Grand Cayman, which is home to many shopping malls, including Camana Bay, Countryside Shopping Village, Governors Square, Grand Harbour, Queens Court Plaza, Seven Mile Shops, and West Shore Centre.

The Cayman Islands Department of Tourism (CIDoT) recorded 2008 figures of 1,553,053 cruise ship passengers and 302,879 air-arrival tourists, an overall decline of 151,237 visitors and a negative 7.5 per cent change from 2007. Although cruise ship passengers generally remain on-island for less than one day, the shopping activities of these consumers represent a significant revenue stream for the island's retailers. Understanding the shopping behaviours of those consumers becomes even more important when noting that 2008 cruise ship arrivals declined 9.5 per cent compared to 2007's 1,715,666 total and 2009's cruise arrivals have continued this negative slide.

The Cayman Islands have long been influenced by Western culture, especially that of Britain, as the country remains an Overseas Territory of the United Kingdom. Although this nation of three relatively small islands welcomes visitors from all over the world, the vast majority (approximately 80 per cent) of these tourists arrive from the United States and virtually all shop at the malls located on the largest of the islands, Grand Cayman (CIDoT 2006, 17).

When considering the shopping attitudes of people living on the Cayman Islands, it is important to note the country's close geographical proximity to the US and the power of that country's televised media. As a result, people located on the Cayman Islands are readily exposed to TV programmes and advertisements originating in the US. Satellite television and high-speed internet communications further expand the opportunities for exposure to global products and brands.

These various international influences enable Cayman's residents to become cosmopolitan without ever leaving the country. Although formerly a

dependency of Jamaica, the Cayman Islands historically exercised a tradition of self-government. In 1962, when Jamaica achieved independence, the Cayman Islands chose to remain under British rule and the Cayman Islands have preserved a unique culture and rich traditions.

On the other hand, the country's international status as one of the world's leading offshore banking capitals and its substantial tourism industry have resulted in an exceptionally large expatriate labour population. The government's Economics and Statistics Office (ESO) in its Fall 2008 *Labour Force Survey* estimated the country's total population to be only 57,009 persons. Yet the ESO's 2009 *Semi-Annual Economic Report* states that as of June 2009, 24,270 work permits were issued for foreign employees. Approximately 80 per cent of these expatriate workers originate in Jamaica, the Philippines, the UK, Canada, the US, and Honduras.

This large and diverse non-Caymanian population further adds to the cosmopolitan nature of the consumer shopping experience on the Cayman Islands. However, the resulting influx of imported products has sparked a rising ethnocentric desire among resident and visiting shoppers for products that are culturally and traditionally Caymanian. The Cayman Islands government has supported this movement by establishing a Cayman craft market near the cruise ship terminals in May 2005 and a local agriculture market at the Grounds in the district of Lower Valley in August 2007. Since 1968, the Cayman turtle farm has been a favourite tourist destination that also provides residents with fresh turtle meat for traditional local cuisine. In 2005, the government renovated and expanded the turtle farm as part of the 30-acre Boatswain's Beach marine park.

## RESEARCH ISSUES

Increasing globalization and diverse consumer attitudes towards countries are the trends in international marketing literature. Much of this globalization is driven by manufacturers' competitive drives to minimize costs in the global marketplace and optimize value chains, from supply to distribution. Minimizing costs means maximizing output by aligning consumer preferences across countries with standardized products (Levitt 1983).

However, there is a conflicting tension regarding local consumers' desire for traditional foods and familiar products, based on consumer ethnocentrism. Despite the fact that lean economic times will drive those consumers to seek superior value, that value is judged not merely according to utilitarian price, but also in light of experiential appeal.

Similarly, visiting shoppers seek souvenirs and experiences that are unique to the Cayman Islands, rather than more of what can be obtained in their home-country. However, those same tourists may be reluctant to stray too far from the foods and products with which they are culturally familiar, because of their own ethnocentric tendencies.

Cayman's reliance on tourism and its need to maximize tourist spending by optimizing the experiential attractiveness of its retail establishments and malls necessitates developing retailing strategies for local malls and stores that will positively influence consumer shopping behaviour by both residents and visitors.

As dispositional moderators, the opposing constructs of cosmopolitanism and consumer ethnocentrism present real challenges as retailers attempt to strike an appropriate balance in creating a Caymanian shopping experience. The ability to address correctly these conflicting tendencies is particularly important for the developers of shopping malls, as the livelihoods of multiple retailers are at stake.

This study first examines whether there are differences regarding perceptions of stores between home-country and foreign consumers towards the same local retail establishments by exploring shopping behaviour at the mall level. Next, we explore the concepts of cosmopolitanism and consumer ethnocentrism as individual moderators. For example, is the globalization of markets and competition leading to more *cosmopolitan* purchase behaviour (Yaprak 2008)? Is this global integration sufficient to offset the natural ethnocentrism all shoppers harbour for that which is familiar and traditional?

## **THEORETICAL BACKGROUND**

The framework of the model is grounded in a behavioural stimulus-organism-response (S-O-R) paradigm. Figure 1 depicts the conceptual model. In retailing,

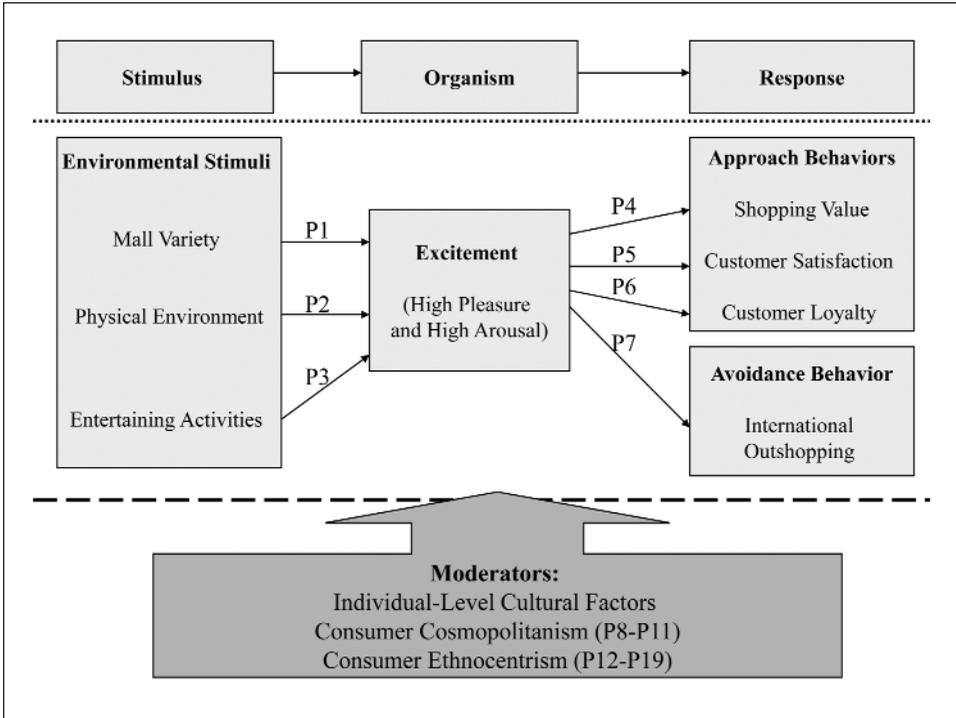


Figure 1: Conceptual Model (P = Proposition)

the S-O-R paradigm is a well-established framework for studying environmental effects on consumer shopping behaviour. According to the environmental psychologists Mehrabain and Russell (1974), environmental stimulation cues may induce an individual’s internal affective evaluations, and then will determine his or her approach or avoidance behaviour.

### Affective states – Excitement

Mehrabian and Russell (1974) suggest three dimensions of affective states – arousal, pleasure, and dominance. It is evident in the retailing literature that both pleasure and arousal are salient determinants of consumer behaviour at the store level. Excitement is a positive emotional state that consists of high levels of arousal and pleasure (Russell 1980). At mall-level, “excitement of the mall” has a positive influence on consumer shopping behaviour (Wakefield and Baker 1998).

## **MALL ENVIRONMENT AND EXCITEMENT**

Malls are not only for shopping, but also for other activities, such as entertainment and socialization (e.g., Bloch et al. 1994). Previous research suggests that consumers are apt to make a decision regarding where to shop on the basis of their attitude towards store variety and the shopping environment of the mall (Finn and Louviere 1996). A shopping mall may have a great number of stores offering a variety of merchandise. To attract and keep consumers in the mall, mall developers attempt to create exciting shopping environments for consumers and to provide appealing activities or events that consumers may engage in and enjoy (Cockerham 1995; Bloch et al. 1994), such as music events or rock-climbing activities. Therefore, we suggest that consumers may receive environmental stimulation in a shopping mall from three areas: mall variety, physical environment, and entertaining activities.

### **Mall Variety**

Previous studies have examined the effects of store variety on consumers' overall evaluations of malls (McGoldrick and Thompson 1992; Wakefield and Baker 1998).

Consumers may seek to maximize their shopping time by completing their multipurpose shopping in a one-stop visit to the mall. During their mall visits, consumers may shop for both merchandise and services.

Wakefield and Baker (1998) suggest a broader "tenant variety" construct that includes variety of stores, food service, and entertainment. In line with their suggestions, mall variety refers to product variety from a mix of merchandise stores, restaurants, or services stores. For example, merchandise assortment may include apparel, accessories, home decorations, furniture, jewellery, eye glasses, etc. Service stores may include salons, nail services, doctor's services, movies, massage, etc. There can also be a variety of foods available in food court areas or stores. When consumers experience a need to acquire products or services, the availability and assortment of merchandise or services at malls may determine *where* they decide to shop (Hawkins et al. 2010).

Mall variety encompasses a mixture of stores, various merchandise categories, or services. Variety is associated with arousal (Mehrabian and Russell

1974). For consumers with multipurpose shopping intentions, mall variety may allow them to compare product offerings conveniently and/or complete shopping goals efficiently. The experience could also generate pleasure. Wakefield and Baker (1998) further found that mall variety may increase excitement. Therefore:

*Proposition 1: Mall variety will have a positive effect on excitement.*

## Physical Environment

The physical environment provides atmospherics within a shopping environment. A great number of studies have examined the effects of the physical environment on consumer emotions and behaviours at the store level (e.g., Babin and Darden 1996; Ward, Bitner, and Barnes 1992). In the atmospherics literature, the links between the physical store environment and consumers' affective states of pleasure and arousal are well established (e.g., Baker et al. 1992). By the same token, many scholars point out the importance of mall atmospherics on consumer behaviours and emotions as well (e.g., Finn, McQuitty, and Rigby 1994; Wakefield and Baker 1998). The dimensions of the physical environment of a mall may consist of layout, interior architecture, décor, lighting, music, aromas, and cleanliness (Baker 1986). In Wakefield and Baker's (1998) study, they found that a positive perception of the mall environment may increase the effect of excitement at that mall.

*Proposition 2: A more positively perceived physical environment in a mall will have a positive effect on excitement.*

## Entertaining Activities

A striking characteristic associated with malls is that they have developed into leisure and social locations, as well as shopping alternatives (e.g., Feinberg et al. 1989). Consumers may visit malls for fun or recreational purposes (Bloch et al. 1994; Mathwick et al. 2001). Even though people's lives are more time-pressed, consumers will find the time to engage in activities they enjoy (Ashley

1997). Malls offer entertaining activities in which consumers may participate. Entertainment-oriented activities are becoming more important in attracting consumers and keeping them longer in the mall. Consumers may experience fun or excitement from participating in such activities or events. Therefore:

*Proposition 3: More entertaining activities for consumers to participate in will have a positive effect on excitement.*

## Excitement and Shopping Behaviour

According to the S-O-R model, consumers' affect serves as a mediator between environmental cues and behaviours. Specifically, positive affective states will encourage approach behaviour within an environment (Mehrabian and Russell 1974). For example, it is evident in the retailing literature that consumers' affective states evoked by the retail environment may influence shopping task performance (Bitner 1990), desire to stay, re-patronage intentions (Wakefield and Baker 1998), perceived shopping value (e.g., Babin et al. 1994), or even compulsive purchase decisions (Rock 1987). Therefore, as previous research suggests, mall excitement, by combining higher levels of arousal and pleasure, should encourage consumers to approach that mall. In this study, we focus on several critical mall shopping behaviours that are strongly associated with financial performance (e.g., Anderson et al. 2004; Gupta and Zeithmal 2006). They are shopping value, customer satisfaction, loyalty, and outshopping.

Shopping value includes hedonic and utilitarian value. As Babin et al. (1994) suggest, hedonic shopping value refers to the value received from the multi-sensory, fantasy, and emotive aspects of the shopping experience, while utilitarian shopping value refers to the acquisition of products in an efficient manner. It is evident in retailing literature that pleasure and arousal are related to both hedonic and utilitarian values at the store level (e.g., Babin et al. 1994). Excitement, consisting of pleasure and arousal, should have a similar impact on consumers' shopping value.

Customer satisfaction is an overall evaluation based on the total purchase and consumption experience with a good or service over time (Gupta et al. 2006). A growing body of research has identified its critical impact on businesses' financial performance (Gupta et al. 2006; Anderson et al. 2004).

For example, using the American Customer Satisfaction Index (ACSI) database of nearly 200 publicly traded *Fortune 500* companies from 1994-97, Anderson et al. (2004) found a positive association between customer satisfaction and shareholder value.

Consumers can be defined as loyal if they continue buying the same product over some time (Gupta et al. 2006). Oliver (1999) notes that loyalty is an enduring commitment to a particular retail store. Similarly, Reichheld (2003) defines loyalty as the willingness of a customer to make an investment or personal sacrifice in order to strengthen a relationship. He also notes the important component of referral or word-of-mouth (WOM) among loyal customers. As both suggest, customer loyalty is about much more than repeat purchases. It is evident in the marketing literature that consumer loyalty is positively associated with a firm's financial performance (e.g., Zeithaml et al. 1996).

Jones et al. (2006) found that the two shopping values influence key retail outcomes such as satisfaction, positive WOM, loyalty, or re-patronage intention. Likewise, Wakefield et al. (1998) found that consumers' excitement exerts a positive effect on their desire to stay and their re-patronage intentions at the malls. According to these studies and the S-O-R model, consumers' affective states influence these approach shopping behaviours. Taken together:

*Proposition 4: Mall excitement will have a positive effect on shopping value.*

*Proposition 5: Mall excitement will have a positive effect on customer satisfaction.*

*Proposition 6: Mall excitement will have a positive effect on customer loyalty.*

## **OUTSHOPPING**

Wakefield and Baker (1998) note that shopping outside the local trading area has been termed "outshopping." Due to severe competition in retailing and convenient transportation for consumers, local malls have to compete for consumers with malls outside the community. Thus, a critical objective in retail marketing strategy is to discourage outshopping. Previous outshopping studies mainly focus on local medium-sized American markets or communities

(e.g., Wakefield and Baker 1998; Reynolds and Darden 1972).

The concept can be extended from local markets to the international sphere. As globalization spreads, there are many border towns in North America, Asia, and Europe where citizens can freely and conveniently travel and benefit from market differences. Basically, outshopping consumers prefer not to revisit the retail stores that are within close geographical proximity. Furthermore, those consumers are willing to invest more time and effort in travelling to other malls that are far away.

Initially, such sacrifice doesn't sound logical. Thus, it is very important to explore the motivations that drive international outshoppers. For example, in the border area between Singapore and Malaysia, Piron (2000) found that consumers engage in outshopping primarily for economic reasons. Residents of Grand Cayman must travel by plane and incur significant transport and lodging costs in order to engage physically in store-based outshopping. Therefore, other motivators may be compelling those consumers.

Outshopping can be considered a consumer's avoidance behaviour towards the local retail stores or malls. According to the S-O-R model, avoidance behaviour may occur when people experience negative affective states. When consumers experience mall excitement and have pleasant shopping experiences, it is less likely that they would go to the trouble of outshopping. Thus:

*Proposition 7: Mall excitement will have a negative effect on consumer outshopping behaviour.*

## **CULTURAL FACTORS**

Globalization continues to rise across industries and countries as global transportation, communications, marketing, and advertising deeply shape consumer behaviours (Ger 1999). This inevitable trend has profound impacts on the retail industry, especially global retailers (Levy and Weitz 2009). The most difficult challenge facing international marketing managers or retailers is the degree to which marketing programmes should be standardized globally or tailored to local conditions (Cleveland et al. 2009).

Some scholars note that globalization is increasing commonalities among consumers across countries, while reducing similarities within countries (e.g., Craig and Douglas 2006; Hannerz 1990). Many suggest that the attention on global market segmentation should be centred on consumer, rather than country characteristics (Keillor, D'Amico, and Horton 2001). Further, De Mooij (2004) suggests using psychographic segmentation as a powerful method of classifying consumers across countries, rather than by conventionally clustering countries along market-level economic indicators.

Two key dispositional constructs are considered in studying consumer shopping behaviour at malls in the Cayman Islands. Cosmopolitanism is associated with the similarity of consumer behaviours around the world, while ethnocentrism is linked to the heterogeneity of local cultures. Both factors exert strong influence on the Caymanian shopping experience.

Historically bound to the Western cultural influence attributable to its British Overseas Territory status, the Cayman Islands are also distinctly Caribbean. As a past dependency of Jamaica and with almost half of its expatriate workforce being Jamaican nationals (11,459 of 26,517 in December 2008), the Cayman Islands shopping experience clearly reflects that country's influence, with numerous jerk stands and easily obtainable products featuring Jamaica's national colours of black, green, and gold. However, many uniquely Caymanian products are also commercially available, including fine artworks, traditional cuisine, rope and baskets woven from silver thatch, and the country's most popular export, rum cake.

Yet readily available cable and satellite television from the US, Canada, and Britain greatly influence the selection of goods in Grand Cayman's major stores and supermarkets. In addition, the country's large number of expatriate residents (estimated by the ESO in Fall 2008 to be 44 per cent of the total population) represent a diverse captive market seeking internationally marketed brands. The proliferation of American fast-food chains – including Wendy's Burger King, Subway, and Pizza Hut – and the prominence of American hotel chains such as the Ritz-Carlton, Marriott, and Comfort Suites, give one the eerie sense of being in Florida rather than the Caribbean. Many Caymanians fear that this obvious influx of American brands represents cosmopolitanism at its worst and dilutes the island's attractiveness as a tourist destination (*Caymanian Compass* 2007).

## Cosmopolitanism

The construct of cosmopolitanism has recently prompted scholars to study and to explain positive attitudes and behaviours towards foreign products. Riefler and Diamantopoulso (2009) note that cosmopolitanism originates from the Greek words *cosmos* (=world) and *polis* (=citizen), which literally describes a world citizenship. Merton (1957) defines cosmopolitanism as a personal tendency to orient oneself beyond the boundaries of the local community.

Cosmopolitanism refers to a set of beliefs, attitudes, and qualities held by certain people who have a conscious openness to the world and to cultural differences (Skribis, Kendall, and Woordared 2004, 117). Hannerz (1992, 252) describes it as “a willingness to engage with the other, an intellectual and aesthetic stance of openness towards divergent cultural experience.” Others classify cosmopolitanism as a learnable skill (Cannon and Yaprak 2002; Thompson and Tambyah 1999). Improved global transportation (or mobility) and the penetration of mass media expose consumers more and more to other cultures and consumption styles (Beckmann et al. 2001). As a result, cosmopolitans are no longer said to belong to an elite class.

A number of studies have suggested that cosmopolitans tend to consume international media and foreign products while in their home countries (Hannerz 1990). Also, they are active searchers for variety and sophistication in consumer goods, possessing an attitudinal affinity for diversity (Holt 1997). They are more responsive to global consumer-culture positioning strategies (Alden, Steenkamp, and Batra 1999), and more likely to adopt innovations (Rogers 2004) and products from other cultures and places (Cleveland et al. 2009). Further, Riefler et al. (2009) suggest cosmopolitans may have the qualities of open-mindedness, diversity appreciation, and consumption preference that transcend borders.

In conclusion, these studies indicate that cosmopolitans may have a positive attitude towards foreign or diverse cultures. In a retailing context, we can suggest that people with high cosmopolitan tendencies may be more likely to appreciate diversity at the malls, such as merchandise variety, exotic atmospherics, or foreign physical shopping environments and activities or events. Their open-minded attitude may exert more positive perceptions towards these dimensions at the malls.

Therefore, we suggest that cosmopolitanism may serve as a moderator to influence the effects of mall environment on consumer shopping behaviour. Specifically, people exhibiting high cosmopolitanism would exert stronger effects, compared to those exhibiting low cosmopolitanism.

*Proposition 8: Consumers with higher levels of cosmopolitanism will have more favourable perceptions towards (1) mall variety, (2) physical mall environment, and (3) entertaining activities, compared to those with lower levels of cosmopolitanism.*

It follows that consumers with higher levels of cosmopolitanism may subsequently exhibit more positive affective states and approach behaviours at the malls as well.

*Proposition 9: The level of excitement will be stronger for consumers with higher levels of cosmopolitanism than those with lower levels of cosmopolitanism.*

*Proposition 10: The effects of excitement will be stronger for consumers with higher levels of cosmopolitanism than those with lower levels of cosmopolitanism with respect to their (1) shopping values, (2) customer satisfaction, and (3) customer loyalty behaviour.*

Cosmopolitans may exhibit such a positive affective state regarding foreign products that they may actively seek shopping opportunities outside the local trading area (Wakefield and Baker 1998). Such “outshopping” is a frequent occurrence in the Cayman Islands, with the US city of Miami being a favourite outshopping destination for residents of Grand Cayman. Conversely, when foreign consumers visit the malls in the Cayman Islands, they are engaging in international outshopping behaviours. As discussed previously, cosmopolitans may be more likely to appreciate the international diversity presented at the malls in Grand Cayman because of the strong influx of global tourists and the large expatriate population. The open-minded attitude of cosmopolitans may exert more positive perceptions towards such diversity at the malls. Therefore:

*Proposition 11: Outshopping will be a more frequent activity among consumers with higher levels of cosmopolitanism than among those with lower levels of cosmopolitanism.*

## Consumer Ethnocentrism

Shimp and Sharma (1987, 280) clearly refer to the construct of ethnocentrism that represents the universal proclivity for people to view their own group as the centre of the universe, to interpret other social units from the perspective of their own group, and to reject persons who are culturally dissimilar, while blindly accepting those who are culturally like themselves. In the consumer behaviour context, many consumption behaviours are based on long-time traditional habits or cultural values (De Mooij 2004). Many consumers continue to have a strong desire to uphold traditional local culture. A key motivation for consumer ethnocentrism is the attempt to retain a sense of stability and identity (Ger and Belk 1996, 284). Consumer ethnocentrism may reflect an individual's identification with his or her group and the purchase behaviour that is acceptable to that group. Many suggest this construct as a critical, individual-level consumer value in responses to foreign or domestic marketing stimuli (e.g., Craig and Douglas 2005; Alden et al. 1999).

Sharp and Sharma (1987) suggest that consumer ethnocentrism could be of value to global retailers in making store location decisions. For example, in a study on predicting store patronage of foreign-owned supermarkets in Australia, Fraser et al. (2002) found consumer ethnocentrism to be correlated with a negative attitude towards a foreign-owned supermarket. Therefore, this construct can serve as a critical individual-level value in consumer responses to foreign or domestic marketing stimuli, such as retail store or mall shopping environments.

Local consumers with high levels of consumer ethnocentrism are more likely to prefer domestic brands and products, or patronize local retail stores (e.g., Alden et al. 1999; Fraser 2002). In their minds, purchasing foreign products might hurt the domestic economy, cause loss of jobs, and be unpatriotic (Shimp and Sharma 1987). It follows that international out-shopping behaviour is analogous to purchasing foreign products. The preference or tendency derived from high consumer ethnocentrism would

enhance local consumers' perceptions towards mall environments. Subsequently, the resultant positive perceptions will encourage their approach shopping behaviours and discourage international outshopping behaviour as well. Hence:

*Proposition 12: Local consumers with higher levels of consumer ethnocentrism will have more favourable perceptions towards (1) mall variety, (2) physical mall environment, and (3) entertaining activities, compared to those with lower levels of consumer ethnocentrism.*

*Proposition 13: The level of excitement will be stronger for local consumers with higher levels of consumer ethnocentrism than those with lower levels of consumer ethnocentrism.*

*Proposition 14: The effects of excitement will be stronger for local consumers with higher levels of consumer ethnocentrism than those with lower levels of consumer ethnocentrism with respect to their (1) shopping values, (2) customer satisfaction, and (3) customer loyalty behaviour.*

*Proposition 15: Outshopping will be a less likely activity among local consumers with higher levels of consumer ethnocentrism than among those with lower levels of consumer ethnocentrism.*

Alternatively, the population of foreign consumers in the Cayman Islands includes 1.5–2 million tourists and almost half the workforce. Clearly, these groups are critical to the success of retailing businesses in Cayman Islands. As these foreign consumers have diverse national or cultural identities, their consumer ethnocentrism towards their own identified cultures may influence their shopping behaviour. Foreign consumers with high ethnocentrism may prefer shopping in their home-country for patriotic reasons or just due to cultural differences. They may be less open to cultures different from their own. They may be less appreciative of “foreign” or “exotic” shopping experiences. Perhaps after spending most of their money in their home-country, or as expatriate workers sending it there to support relatives, these consumers might not have much of a budget left for shopping abroad.

When tourists or foreign employees patronize the malls of Grand Cayman, they exhibit international shopping behaviour. According to prior research,

foreign consumers with high ethnocentrism towards their own cultures will have less favourable responses to the stimuli presented by those malls. Drawing on the S-O-R model, such weaker responses will subsequently undermine their perceived excitement, thereby discouraging their shopping behaviour in the Cayman Islands. Thus:

*Proposition 16: Foreign consumers with higher levels of consumer ethnocentrism will have less favourable perceptions towards (1) mall variety, (2) physical mall environment, and (3) entertaining activities, compared to those with lower levels of consumer ethnocentrism.*

*Proposition 17: The level of excitement will be weaker for foreign consumers with higher levels of consumer ethnocentrism than those with lower levels of consumer ethnocentrism.*

*Proposition 18: The effects of excitement will be weaker for foreign consumers with higher levels of consumer ethnocentrism than those with lower levels of consumer ethnocentrism with respect to their (1) shopping values, (2) customer satisfaction, and (3) customer loyalty behaviour.*

*Proposition 19: Outshopping (i.e., shopping on the Cayman Islands) will be a less likely activity among foreign consumers with higher levels of consumer ethnocentrism than among those with lower levels of consumer ethnocentrism.*

## **MANAGERIAL IMPLICATIONS**

The contribution of retailing to the economy of the Cayman Islands is significant. There is no doubt that local marketers would develop more effective and better retailing strategies if they had a better understanding of how their customers respond to marketing stimuli. The retail environment has long been recognized as exerting powerful influences on the shopping behaviour and experiences of consumers (e.g., Bitner 1992; Verhoef et al. 2009). In Grand Cayman, foreign consumers are major shoppers in terms of population size, and local consumers have been influenced by foreign cultures in many ways. As the nature of the retailing industry in the Cayman Islands is global, it is very important for both local and global retailers to recognize how

consumers with different cultural identities respond to major aspects of mall environments. This paper addresses these concerns and provides suggestions for retail professionals in the Cayman Islands.

There are several managerial implications. First, this paper provides a framework for exploring the importance and influence of three mall characteristics that have an impact on consumers' shopping behaviours through an important affective state called excitement. Second, this paper suggests two cultural values at the individual level (cosmopolitanism and ethnocentrism) as the bases for studying a very diverse assortment of consumers in the Cayman Islands. Thus, retailers will be able to conduct effective market segmentation for both local and foreign consumers based on these cultural values.

Third, many countries, particularly those in the Caribbean, are similar to the Cayman Islands, with tourism being a critical factor in their economies and providing a significant portion of their national income. However, travelling across many national borders is becoming increasingly easy. Economic restrictions are collapsing as more countries create political unions. For example, residents of European Union countries are now able to travel freely through most of the countries of Europe. As a result, in an increasing number of border towns or cities, local retailers are facing challenges of international outshopping. This paper provides suggestions that are equally useful to the retailers located in those border towns and to their counterparts in the Caribbean.

## **RESEARCH IMPLICATIONS**

Most of the research into retailing has focused on the markets and issues in North America and Western Europe. As a growing number of globalization issues become apparent in the retail industry, it is increasingly important for researchers to examine how the existing retailing theories (e.g., the S-O-R model) apply to these new contexts. This paper addresses the special challenges faced by retailers in the Cayman Islands. We particularly highlight the important issue of international outshopping, which is a growing concern in many parts of the world. We also proposed two cultural constructs,

cosmopolitanism and ethnocentrism, as bases for studying consumer responses to store environments and international outshopping behaviour. The resulting theoretical framework serves to advance our understanding of international consumer behaviours.

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# NOTES ON THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE CAYMANAS

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ROY MURRAY\*

## *Abstract*

*Until the Cayman Islands began to develop as an international finance centre in the mid-1970s, most people had probably never heard of them, let alone been able to locate them on a map. This was certainly true of me when my family moved to Grand Cayman in 1979 from Jamaica, where we had lived since first arriving in the Caribbean from Scotland some 14 years previously. Over the next 12 years or so as I went to school and then worked as a teacher on the islands, my ignorance of the Caymans and her people receded, although the history of the islands remained largely obscure to me. When this article was first drafted in the mid-1990s, there were relatively few academic publications concerned with the history of the Caymans. Indeed, the aim of the article was to research that history with a particular focus on the role of slaves and their owners in the century between their first arrival in 1734 and emancipation in 1834. To that end, this article chronicles the early history of the Caymans, their political connections with Jamaica, the rise of permanent settlements on Grand Cayman, and the development of a viable economy on the islands based at varying times on mahogany, the sea, and cotton. As much as anything else, the article attempts to shed light on the fierce determination of early Caymanians, enslaved and free alike, to carve out a life for themselves in arguably one of the most geographically and economically marginal territories in the western Caribbean.*

**KEY WORDS:** Cayman Islands, cotton, early settlers, economy, mahogany, slavery

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In August 1834, a detachment of the 2nd West India Regiment arrived in Grand Cayman at the behest of Governor Sligo of Jamaica to maintain law and order on the island in the wake of the emancipation of slaves there and in the British West Indies at large. When the soldiers and officers of the regiment disembarked, they did so on islands that had been associated with the Crown in one way or another for almost 250 years. For much of that history, the Caymans had been ignored by the representatives of Her Majesty's Government in the West Indies. As a result, the people of these islands had clung to the margins of economic prosperity that came with the establishment of sugar plantations in larger and more fertile British colonies in the Caribbean between the mid-17th and early 19th centuries. To explore the reasons behind the arrival of the 2nd West India Regiment on Grand Cayman that August day in 1834 is to examine the settlement history of the Caymans and, more particularly, the place of slaves and owners in that history.

## **EARLY HISTORY AND THE CONNECTION WITH JAMAICA**

The Cayman Islands entered recorded history on 19 May 1503 when Christopher Columbus sighted Cayman Brac and Little Cayman en route from Porto Bello to Hispaniola on his fourth and final voyage of "discovery." On account of the prodigious number of turtles observed both in the sea and on their shores, Ferdinand Columbus recorded that his father named the islands Las Tortugas. In the explorer's papers, there is no mention of a third, larger island some 60 miles to the southwest, although by 1523 cartographers had begun to place three islands on their maps under the name Lagartos. By 1530, the islands appear as the Caymanas, a name or variant of which has survived to this day. The name Tortuga had meanwhile been assigned to a small, turtle-shaped island off the northwest coast of Hispaniola (Williams 1970, 3).

Once discovered and charted, the Caymans remained largely unexplored and unsettled until the 1590s, when they began to develop as a resupply point for English privateering vessels operating in the northwest Caribbean. Denied the rights to commerce and colonization in the New World by the Treaty of Tordesillas and by successive kings of Spain, the Crown government of England had taken to sponsoring the plunder of Spanish fleets and the sacking of shore

settlements in an attempt to gain a share of the vast mineral wealth of the Americas. Islands such as the Caymanas, which lay within striking distance of the Flota and Galleones and which afforded safe anchorage as well as adequate supplies of food and fresh water, were held in high regard by English privateers and by the freebooters, smugglers, buccaneers, and pirates who came in their wake. Thus, in 1592 a Captain William King aboard the *Salomon* sailed from Jamaica and landed at Grand Caymanas “where we found no people, but a good river of fresh water, and . . . three score great tortoises, two of which . . . fed 10 men for a day.” King also noted in his journal that the doves, wild geese, and other fowl on the island were a welcome addition to a seaman’s diet (Hirst 1910, 3).

The reputation of Grand Caymanas as a place where ships could obtain fresh water and provisions spread over the next half century, and by 1643 a Captain William Jackson wrote that the island was “. . . much frequented by English, French and Dutch ships that come purposely to salt up the flesh of these tortoises . . .” (Hirst 1910, 4).<sup>1</sup> The English connection with the Caymanas was strengthened in the aftermath of the capture of Jamaica from the Spanish by Admiral Penn and General Venables in May 1655 as part of Oliver Cromwell’s ill-fated Grand Design. With a squadron thereafter based at Port Royal, references to naval vessels calling at the Caymanas for water and turtle become more frequent. On 26 June 1655, Henry Whistler, aboard Penn’s flagship *Swiftsure*, recorded in his diary that the vessel intended to “touch at the Kie of Manus to get some turtle for our sick people.” The following day, *Swiftsure* encountered the frigates *Dover*, *Arms of Holland*, and *Hound*, also “sent to the Kie of Manus for turtle for the fleet” (Hirst 1910, 7).

Movement towards a more formal relationship between Jamaica and the Caymans began in 1661. In the Royal Instructions issued in London that year to Lord Windsor, before he assumed the governorship of Jamaica in 1662, the Caymans were for the first time officially referred to as part of the territory of Jamaica. Forts were to be raised on the Caymans in order that these might preserve an “advantage towards the security and well settling of our island of Jamaica” (Hirst 1910, 18).

Tradition has it that the first European settlers to arrive on the Caymans were deserters from Venables’s army, that two men named Bodden and Watler reached the Lesser Caymans from Jamaica sometime around 1658, and that

they and/or their descendants were among the individuals on the Caymans granted an amnesty by the governor of Jamaica in 1671 (CO140/1, ff.223–35). Whatever their origins, most of the “soldiers, planters, privateers and inhabitants” who took advantage of the amnesty and returned to Jamaica had originally been encouraged to settle on the Caymans in the 1660s as successive governors of Jamaica sought to use the islands as a buffer against Spanish attacks on Jamaica. For the next 60 years or so, the Caymans remained a safe anchorage from which buccaneers and freebooters could launch raids on vessels plying the main shipping routes between Central America, Cuba, Jamaica, and Florida. As well, the islands were destinations for itinerant turtlers, who came over from Jamaica whenever it was safe to do so.

## **PERMANENT SETTLEMENTS**

On 9 November 1735, an Issac Bodden (or Bawden) was married in Port Royal to a former widow named Sarah Lamar. In the Port Royal parish register, Issac is described as a mariner, and both he and his bride are noted as being “of Caymanas.” On the same day, a separate entry in the register records the baptism of their two sons, Benjamin Lock Bawden, born 17 December 1730, and William Price Bawden, born 11 November 1732 (CINA MSD 82/347). If it is assumed that these boys were born on the Caymans, then clearly Issac had been living on those islands for a number of years. The fact that his wife Sarah was a widow probably suggests that there were other inhabitants then on the Caymans as well.

The observations of a George Gauld, who carried out a hydrographic survey of the Caymans for the British admiralty in 1773, seem to confirm that Bodden had been living on Grand Cayman since at least the early 1730s. Attached as appendages to his hand-drawn maps of the three Caymans are the meticulous notes Gauld made on the history and settlement of Grand Cayman as told to him by settlers then on the island. In his notes, Gauld wrote of meeting Old Issac Bodden, a native of the island “now upwards of 70 years of age . . .” and almost certainly the same Issac Bodden who appears in the Port Royal parish register of 1735. Bodden himself had probably been one of several itinerant turtlers from Jamaica who sometime in the early 18th century decided that it

was safe enough to remain permanently on the Caymans. According to Gauld, he had established one of the first permanent settlements at a place called Old Issacs on the southeast shore of Grand Cayman near the present village of East End (CINA, George Gauld Map).

The first documentary evidence of the early settlement of Grand Cayman confirms that if the area around Old Issacs was one of the island's first settlements, it did not remain so for very long. The evidence in question is contained in the patents to five grants of land in the Caymans made to a like number of individuals by the authorities in Jamaica between 1734 and 1742.

The patent for the first grant was drawn up on 28 February 1734. By it, 3,000 acres of land at Grand Cayman were given over jointly to Daniel Campbell, John Middleton, and Mary Campbell. According to the land grant, the Campbell-Middleton holding incorporated a stretch of land on the North Sound running west from Red Bay Estates to the eastern outskirts of modern George Town, south to land east of Jackson Point, and then east again to Red Bay Estates (Hirst 1910, 38–40).

Of the four remaining land grants made to individuals between 1741 and 1742, 1,000 acres were given to each of Samuel Spofforth, Murray Crymble, William Foster, and to Mary Bodden. Two of these patentees, Spofforth and Crymble, were absentee merchants based in Bermuda and Jamaica respectively. Their interest in land on the Caymans seems to have been largely speculative. However, William Foster and Mary Bodden were both directly involved in the economic life of the islands.

From the patents themselves, it appears that the 1,000 acres granted to Murray Crymble were located north of the Campbell-Middleton grant and traversed the neck of land between present-day George Town and West Bay. Samuel Spofforth's grant covered 1,000 acres on the northwest tip of the island and stretched from North-West Point through Boatswain's Point and as far east as Spanish Bay. William Foster's patent granted him title to land from the centre of George Town south through Jackson's Point (forming the western boundary of the Campbell-Middleton land) to South West Point near the western entrance to South Sound (Cronin 1998, 12–13).<sup>2</sup> The location of Mary Bodden's land is less certain. However, because it did not abut the sea on any side, and because the surveyor was a Thomas Newland, George Hirst believed the grant to be in the vicinity of present-day Newlands, an area in the relatively

fertile centre of the island between Savannah and Bodden Town (Hirst 1910, 53–55)

Apart from fishing and turtling, some of the clearest information on the activities of early settlers in Grand Cayman is found in the details of a commercial lawsuit brought against William Foster (to whom land would be patented in 1741) by a Benjamin Battersby, filed at the magistrate's court in Spanish Town, Jamaica, in September 1739, but covering the period from December 1734. On 11 December 1734, Foster and Battersby had contracted a "John Bodden of Grand Caymanas, Mariner . . ." to take "eight negro men slaves . . . the property of the said William Foster to the Grand Caymans in order to cut mahogany plank." Under the agreement, Bodden was to receive either one quarter of the mahogany plank or one quarter of the proceeds of the sale of the total.

For a while at least, the Foster-Battersby partnership worked well enough for William Foster to arrange for an additional 20 slaves and a skilled sawyer named William Proser to be sent over to Cayman. Sometime in 1737, the Foster-Battersby partnership was dissolved (JA 1A/3, Chancery Court Liber 28, 344–52).<sup>3</sup> The real significance of the details contained in the subsequent lawsuit is that they illustrate that the economy of the Caymans during the early period of settlement was primarily an extractive one, with small groups of slaves working the scattered timber cuts on the island.

## THE ECONOMY OF THE CAYMANS

Descriptive information about the society and economy evolving on Grand Cayman during the second half of the 18th century is available in the remark books kept by Royal Navy officers who often passed by the Caymans while on patrol or convoy duties in the northwest Caribbean.<sup>4</sup> Several of the remark book entries confirm many of Gauld's observations about life on the Caymans at that time and suggest that most early settlers on the islands lived for most of the year on the margins of subsistence. On 26 May 1764, for example, Captain George Watson aboard *HMS Alarm* noted that at the Hog Styes there were "a few poor cottages" and that "16 famlys in different Parts that subsists in Fishing and Cutting Mahogany. Small vessels from Jamaica brings them

necessaries and carry off their produce . . . turtle in abundance . . . and one small schooner at the Place” (Remark Books, vol. 2 (Aii), 42a, 36, 47).

*HMS Adventure*, commanded by Captain Thomas Fitzherbert, visited the Caymans on several occasions between January 1768 and May 1769. Anchoring at “Georgetown,” Fitzherbert wrote of:

A great abundance of firewood to be cut very conveniently but fresh water is very scarce only got from two small wells. Poultry, Turtle, Fish, Yams Potatoes and Greens to be bought from the Inhabitants which are a few English . . . this Island produces Mahogany, cedar, dyewoods and cotton. (Remark Books, vol. 2 (Aii), 342)

By the time George Gauld arrived on the Caymans in 1773, there were 39 families on Grand Cayman “consisting of at least 200 white people and above same number of Negroes and Mulattoes” scattered over four settlements. Twenty-one families lived in Bodden Town, 13 in the West End (the Hoy Styes), three in East End, and two at Spotts (CINA, George Gauld Map). With respect to governance, the islanders had no legislature, but had:

A chief, or governor, of their own choosing, and regulations of their own framing, they have some justices of the peace among them appointed by a commission from the governor of Jamaica (but) scarcely any form of civil government. (Long 1774, vol. 1, 312)

Gauld noted that these settlers on Grand Cayman in the early 1770s were producing unspecified quantities of cotton, principally for export. For their own consumption and to supply passing vessels, they grew corn, yams, sweet potatoes, plantains, melons, limes, oranges, and other fruits and vegetables. Sugar cane was grown and converted into syrup for domestic use only. Gauld also noted that a few of the people of “considerable property” between them owned about half a dozen sloops and schooners, which were employed in turtling and “trafficking to Jamaica” (CINA, George Gauld Map).

Some indication of the nature of this carrying trade between the Caymans and Jamaica during the middle years of the 18th century is contained in the Jamaican Shipping Returns (1680–1818) at the Public Record Office in London. From these, there appears to have been an upswing in trade between Jamaica and the Caymans at the end of the Seven Years’ War (1756–63). Towards the end of February 1764, for example, several mahogany carriers arrived in Kingston from “Grand Caymanoes.” The 50-ton brig *Success* and a 30-ton sloop

*Eagle* together unloaded 80 tons of timber at Kingston during the third week of February while their escort, a 40-ton sloop also named *Eagle*, carried 30 tons of mahogany. In April of the same year, the 15-ton *Greyhound* came into Kingston from Grand Cayman with 15 tons of mahogany on board. Both the *Success* and the larger *Eagle* had sailed from Kingston in January 1764 bound for the Caymans with “dry goods” on board (CO 142/17, ff.54–5, 18, 91–96).

Although settlers on the Caymans were exporting mahogany and cotton to Jamaica, their status as colonists on the periphery of the Sugar Revolution as this played itself out on larger and more fertile islands and mainland territories in the British Caribbean is confirmed by the relatively limited quantities of these crops being shipped, and by the precise nature of the carrying trade with Jamaica. The shipping returns suggest that this “trafficking to Jamaica” observed by Gauld in 1773 was actually one leg of a triangular trade in mahogany, logwood, and fustic between Jamaica, the Caymans, and British settlements in Central America, in particular Belize (British Honduras) and along the Mosquito Shore. When the 30-ton sloop *Diamond* arrived in Kingston from Grand Cayman on 30 March 1768, for example, she off-loaded 400 feet of mahogany, 260 pieces of timber, and two tons of fustic, and then set sail almost immediately for Belize in ballast (CO 142/17, ff.82–83).

The precise role of the Caymans in this trade is suggested in a memorandum and sketch map seized by the Spanish authorities in Cartagena from a Robert Hodgson Jr, the British superintendent of the Mosquito Shore, who had been captured en route to England in 1783 (CINA, MSD/1881).<sup>5</sup> The memorandum contained a recommendation that the reciprocal trade between British and Spanish colonies was to be continued, even though such trade was not formally permitted by either country’s laws. A crudely drawn sketch map enclosed in the Hodgson memorandum appears to illustrate that the Caymans were an important relay station in this indirect and essentially clandestine trade (CINA, MSD/1881),<sup>6</sup> a circumstance that may also explain why several of the ships arriving in Kingston from the Caymans during this period carried logwood, cocoa, and sassafras produced in Central America but not in the Caymans (Cronin 1998, ch. 5, 24).

As a final point on the history of early settlement in the Caymans, the trade link with Central America was to have a direct impact on the size of population

in the island. When the Mosquito Shore was evacuated by the British in 1787 under the terms of the Convention of London signed the year before as an extension to the Treaty of Versailles (1783), most of the Shore evacuees and their slaves departed for the Belize territory, but some headed instead for the Caymans. An entry in the remark book of Captain John Hull aboard the *HMS Camilla*, “standing off and on” George Town on 17 August 1787, notes that “. . . about 300 people are lately settled on this island from the Mosquito Shore, and adjacent islands, who are making large plantations for Cotton” (Remark Books, vol. 43 (ac 5), 560–61).

While settlers on Grand Cayman had been growing cotton before the immigration of these evacuees and their slaves from the Mosquito Shore, their arrival coincided with the onset of a short-lived Caymanian slave plantation economy.

## SLAVE PLANTATIONS IN THE CAYMANS

For the most part, and with the exception of mahogany cutting, the economy of the Caymans appears to have retained a primarily subsistence focus for much of the 18th century. To revisit the Royal Navy remark books, Robert Christian aboard the *HMS Active* noted that on Grand Cayman in 1765:

Salt provision none to be got Fish and Turtle in great plenty some few refreshments at certain Seasons of the Year Yames, Plantons, Potatoes, Lymes, fowls and Hoggs . . . As to Trade but little, there is about 20 Familys in the Island most of there Employment is cutting mahogany, Fustick and &c. which they send to Jamaica. (CINA MSD/174/421, vol. 9, 1765)

When he arrived on the Caymans in 1773, the naval hydrographer George Gauld observed that:

. . . for their own consumption, and to supply the Vessels that pass by, they raise Indian Corn, yams, sweet potatoes, pompions, plantains, melons, besides Limes, Oranges and most kinds of fruit and vegetables that are to be found in Jamaica. The Sugar Cane like wise grows very well, of which they make as much syrup as serves for their own use . . . There are plenty of goats on the island but neither sheep nor black Cattle, and only two horses. (CINA, George Gauld Map)

It has already been noted that at the time of Gauld's stay in the Caymans, Grand Cayman was producing ". . . a great quantity of Cotton which is their principle article of export, besides Turtle . . ." (CINA, George Gauld Map). Unfortunately, Gauld is silent on exactly how much cotton settlers on Cayman were exporting to Jamaica. However, in providing his own estimate of the island's population and, more particularly, a description of where they lived, the hydrographer hints at the location of the main growing areas on Grand Cayman at the time. According to Gauld, there were 39 families in all resident on the island, 21 of whom lived "at the South Side, which we have called Bodden Town, 13 at the West End commonly called the Hogsties, 3 at the East End, and 2 at Spot's Bay" (CINA, George Gauld Map). Significantly, when Edward Corbet was despatched in June 1802 from Jamaica by Governor George Nugent to compile the islands' first official census and to make general observations on the state of the Caymans, the population had more or less doubled since 1773, while its distribution had remained generally the same. Thus, Bodden Town was still the largest settlement, with 24 white and eight free-coloured families, totalling 374 persons (including slaves) in all; there were 211 persons living at George Town (the Hogsties) spread across 17 white and five free-coloured families; while three white families lived at Spotts, seven at South West Sound, and two each at Prospect and Little Pedro, totalling 212 persons altogether (Corbet 1802, 21)

Since 1773, settlers on Grand Cayman had also moved into West Bay and North Side, but the bulk of the population was living on and working the land in the centre of the island, that is, on an eight-by-two mile swath of land running east from George Town through Prospect to Bodden Town. Here, according to Corbet in 1802:

The soil is good and altho' interspersed with Rocks, is capable of producing Cotton and probably Coffee . . . yams, plaintains and &c. From Prospect to George Town and across the Island to the northside the soil near the Coast is black . . . and now produces Cotton, Sugar Canes, Corn and ground provisions . . . (Corbet 1802, 5)

Corbet was unable to determine "with any degree of certainty" the acreage of land under cultivation on Grand Cayman at the time of his visit, but the settlers with whom he spoke estimated that they produced about 30 tons of cotton annually (Corbet 1802, 5).

It appears that Edward Corbet had arrived in the Caymans when a cotton “boom” (at least by local standards) was well under way on the islands. The single most important event precipitating this experiment with plantation agriculture had been the arrival in the Caymans of a relatively large number of immigrant settlers and slaves, most of whom had experience of plantation agriculture. As noted above, these migrants had come to the Caymans from the Mosquito Shore territory, which they had been obliged to abandon under the Convention of London signed in 1786. Colonial Office records confirm that between February and May 1787, at least three groups of evacuees arrived on Grand Cayman from the Mosquito Shore aboard the schooners *Nancy* and *Phoenix*, which carried 26 persons (of whom 24 were slaves) and 31 persons (24 slaves and 7 free) respectively, and on an unnamed vessel owned by Joseph Wood that left Pearl Lagoon on 30 May 1787 with 80 persons aboard, including Wood’s entire family and 40 slaves (CO123/6, ff.83–84).<sup>7</sup> There were almost certainly other slave owners and would-be planters to arrive on the Caymans from the Shore. As mentioned above, in August 1787, Captain John Hull noted that about 300 people from the Shore had lately settled on Grand Cayman, of whom approximately 50 were free persons and the remaining 250 slaves (Remark Books, vol. 43 (Ac.5), 560–61). While these numbers were small in absolute terms, given Gauld’s estimate of “at least 200 white people and above the same number of Negroes and Mulattoes” in 1773, the new arrivals on Grand Cayman had effectively increased the island’s free population by as much as 60 per cent and probably doubled the number of slaves in the colony. The Shoremen who arrived on Grand Cayman in 1787 seem to have been encouraged to take up most of the unworked lands on the island that were best suited to planting. Thereafter, they sought to establish private estates primarily for the production of sea-island cotton.

Although there do not appear to have been any systematic records kept of the quantities of goods and provisions produced on the Caymans at the time, the information contained in the Jamaican shipping returns relating to these islands are particularly full for a 30-month period between January 1802 and July 1804. During this time, 25 vessels varying in size from 14 to 85 tons were engaged in trade between Grand Cayman and the Jamaican ports of Kingston and Montego Bay. There are 46 inward Caymanian entries in the Jamaican port books covering the period and cotton almost invariably formed the bulk of the

inward cargoes. In all, 18 ships made 30 return voyages to Jamaica from Grand Cayman, carrying a total of some 200,000 lbs of cotton fibre, suggesting an annual Caymanian output of about 40 tons a year in the early 1800s, when the plantations in Cayman were probably close to peak production. The balance of these cargoes comprised turtles and relatively small amounts of mahogany cut and planked in the Caymans, together with sasparilla, fustic, and cocoa brought in from Central America. Very occasionally, the inward cargoes to Jamaica included “wreck goods” from vessels that had come to grief in Cayman waters. By way of illustration, in January 1804 Captain John Smith brought “the schooner *Eliza* into Kingston from the Caymans with 2 cannons, 15 bags of cotton, 32mahogany logs, and 500 pieces of tortoise shell on board” (CO142/13–29, ff.37).

As far as the outward cargoes from Jamaica to Grand Cayman over the same period are concerned, these tend to reflect the demands of an increasing population and an expanding plantation economy. The items most commonly listed are “dry goods” (iron pots and crockery, oznaburgh, crocus sacking, soap, candles, and clay pipes), “provisions” (usually flour, butter, and salted fish), and puncheons or kegs of rum. Broadly typical of these outward cargoes was that aboard the *William and Mary*, which cleared Kingston for Cayman on 3 March 1803. Owned and captained by James Watler of Caymanas, the 36-ton schooner had a consignment of 21 barrels of flour, seven barrels of tar and pitch, five barrels of salt, four boxes of soap and candles, three firkins of butter, two boxes of clay pipes, 2,972 lbs of mixed provisions, and 2,250 board feet of pine planking, probably for house construction (CO142/21, ff.67–68).

The *William and Mary* also carried “9 Negroes,” who were listed in the manifest like any other item of cargo. According to Michael Craton (1998) this entry, and others like it in the shipping returns for 1802–04, may be significant in terms of what they reveal about the strength of the Cayman economy and the optimism among cotton planters on the island at the turn of the 19th century. Between January 1802 and July 1804, some 153 slaves were conveyed from Kingston to Grand Cayman on 14 separate voyages, always in small groups numbering from four to 25. These “new” slaves were likely to have been paid for either in produce already consigned or on credit for goods to be sent later. If these slaves were mostly adult males (they were described neither by condition, age, nor sex in the shipping returns) and recently arrived in Jamaica

from Africa, their average unit price would have been about £100 Jamaican currency. For Cayman cotton growers, £15,300 for these slaves alone must have represented a considerable investment and may reflect high expectations of profit among the main planters on Cayman (Craton 1998, ch.6, 18).

Unfortunately, it is not known to whom these slaves were delivered once they were off-loaded on the Caymans. However, if we assume that most of these slaves were bought by the major slave owners listed in the census drawn up by Edward Corbet in 1802, it is possible to estimate the average size of cotton holdings on Grand Cayman at the time plantations on the island were either at, or close to, optimum production. In June 1802, Corbet counted 545 slaves on Grand Cayman, 313 of whom were the property of 10 white owner families living in the central “cotton belt” between George Town and Bodden Town. Thus at Bodden Town, John Bodden Snr and William Bodden owned 51 slaves each, Joseph Bodden 37, Waide Watler Snr 31; at Spotts, another William Bodden owned 21 slaves and William Eden 9; at Prospect, Thomas Thomson owned 56 slaves and Waide Watler Jnr 17; while at George Town, John Drayton owned 23 slaves and Rachel Rivers 17. The only free person of colour in the Cayman cotton belt to own what might have constituted a small working gang was John Tatum of Bodden Town, who had 10 slaves (Corbet 1802, 10-19). Contemporary estimates of the amount of arable land in the eight-by-two mile central belt approach 1,200 acres, which suggests that at the peak of the cotton “boom” in the Caymans at the beginning of the 19th century, there may have been roughly a dozen plantations on Grand Cayman averaging approximately 100 acres in planted cotton and worked by labour units of about 30 slaves each (Craton 1998, ch.6, 19).

As in the Bahamas, which enjoyed a similar pattern of economic development at about the same time, cotton plantations on the Caymans seem to have declined as rapidly as they had developed. Competition from cotton growers in the American South, insect infestations, and exhausted Caymanian soils together made it necessary for plantation owners to reorganize their slave labour force and to diversify into more provision farming and stock raising for export to Jamaica and to supply passing ships. Unfortunately, here again precise figures to chart the relative success or failure of this attempt at diversifying the Cayman economy are not available. However, the fragmented Jamaican shipping returns for the decade after 1808, for example, record a

sharp decline in the number of vessels regularly engaged in the Cayman-Jamaican trade. Presumably, less cotton to export meant that fewer ships were needed for the carrying trade, while those vessels that continued to call at Kingston from Cayman carried reduced cargoes. Broadly typical of this trend was the consignment of 80 bushels of corn, one bag of cotton, 31 barrels of ginger, and two tons of logwood along with a quantity of "wreck goods" landed at Kingston in November 1817 by the *William and Mary* out of George Town (CO142/26, ff.91; CO142/27, ff.47).

With the end of the experiment in plantation culture on the Caymans by the second decade of the 19th century, it seems that land owners on Grand Cayman who had previously concentrated the efforts of their slaves on growing sea-island cotton for export had been forced to turn their estates into more diversified holdings focused on the cultivation of crops with a proven track record on the Caymans, and which George Gauld had observed growing on the island in 1773. While cotton was still cultivated on Grand Cayman through to emancipation in 1834, albeit not on the scale of the boom years at the start of the 19th century, the pattern of ownership of slaves does not appear to have changed significantly with diversification. Indeed, the 80 bushels of corn in the above-noted cargo of the *William and Mary* suggests that in some years agriculture on Grand Cayman post-cotton was practised on a more than strictly subsistence level. That said, the observations of a Captain J.W. Carter who called at Cayman in December 1819 are indicative of the general economic malaise that had beset the Caymans some years before the 2nd West India Regiment arrived. In his remark book, Captain Carter aboard *HMS Wasp* noted that ". . . Turtle, ground provisions and fruit may be obtained here but not very plentifully. . . ." (*Remark Books*, vol. 43 (Ac. 5), 438–39). Significantly, Carter makes no mention of cotton or mahogany.

## NOTES

1. To protect its treasure fleets, the Spanish Crown established a convoy system by which two fleets sailed across the Atlantic and through the waters of the Caribbean each year. The Flota left Seville in April or May and divided when it reached the West Indies, with some vessels putting into ports such as San Juan, Santo Domingo, and Santiago, Cuba while the remaining vessels sailed on to Vera Cruz in Mexico. The Galleones left Seville in August and made for Spanish ports in Central and South America. Both the Flota and the Galleones reassembled in Havana in April or May of the following year and, after refitting and taking on supplies, the combined fleet set sail across the Atlantic to Spain under heavy escort. Although the entire convoy was captured only four times in its 150-year history, each year several vessels were lost in storms and to privateers and freebooters based on islands like the Caymans. As well, local Spanish shipping tended to follow the convoy routes around the Caribbean and, without the kind of protection afforded the Flota and Galleones, were far more likely to come under attack.
2. I was kindly given copies of Craton's work by Dr. Philip Pedley of Cayman Islands National Archives (CINA) on condition these are returned when I completed my study. Craton was aware that I had copies of his research work.
3. From the records of the lawsuit, it appears that relations between the two merchants soured over a debt of £1,000. According to Battersby, sometime in 1737 Foster entered an undisclosed partnership with John Bodden, William Proser, and certain local inhabitants on Grand Cayman to cut and plank mahogany. The basis of the lawsuit that ensued was Battersby's determination to recover what he regarded as his share of the slaves, the saws, and other supplies sent; as well as the mahogany trees cut and shipped after 1737; and to secure the chance of patenting the land worked on Grand Cayman.
4. After 1761, and in addition to their normal ships logs, Royal Naval captains were obliged to keep remark books while on duty in the various seas and oceans of the world. Copies of these remark books are held at the Hydrographic Office in London and the entries quoted here are from photostat reprints of those relevant to Cayman held at Cayman Islands National Archives.
5. Robert Hodgson Jr succeeded his father as superintendent of the Mosquito Shore in or about 1776. After his capture by Spanish forces in 1783, he agreed to perform the same role for Spain once the British evacuated the Shore as per the Treaty of Versailles, which ended the Maritime Wars (1775–83) between England and Spain.

6. A copy of the sketch map taken from Hodgson during his interrogation in 1783 is held at CINA but is of a sufficiently poor quality to prevent its inclusion in this article.
7. We know from CO137/86 (A List of Settlers, their Slaves &c on the Mosquito Shore, 16 October 1786) that Joseph Wood of the District of Bluefields owned 40 slaves at the time.

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# PERPETUATION, IMAGINATION, SUBJECTIVITY, AND COMMUNITY

## Interrogating the Effects of Caymanian Traditional Thought

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CHRISTOPHER A. WILLIAMS\*

### *Abstract*

*This article sets out to confirm the indispensability of active and passive traditional Caymanian sentiments on what I ultimately label a past-present Caymanian cultural continuum. Towards this confirmation, I attempt to establish the hyper-subjective concept of Caymanian-ness, further demonstrating the essential ways in which active and passive traditional Caymanian sentiments necessarily feed into and empower this concept. Additionally, the intertwined yet discrete expressive roles of older and younger Caymanians are interrogated regarding the positive perpetuity of a panoptical traditional Caymanian imagination that is implicitly undergirded by metaphysical impulses.*

**KEY WORDS:** Caymanian-ness, communitarianism, music, national identities, New Historicism, past-present cultural continuum, recollective memory, subjectivity, traditional thought

Every historical source derived from human perception is subjective, but only the oral source allows us to challenge that subjectivity: to unpick the layers of [traditional] memory, dig back into its darkness, hoping to reach the hidden truth. (Thompson 2000, 173)

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When John Maloney (1950) spoke of the “islands that time forgot,” he was, in part, attempting to express the fact that by 1950 the economic and technological development of the Cayman Islands was at a virtual standstill. Indeed, by 1953 there was only one international bank on the Cayman Islands and a small number of automobiles in a total population of just over 7,600 (Miller 1975). Yet some Caymanians growing up in the first 60 years of the twentieth century seem, well after the fact, in no way inclined to derogate their past for its material dearth. On the contrary, the recollective memories of certain older Caymanians remain either neutral or positive about this noticeable dearth spawned of historical circumstance. When I speak of recollective memory, I am, like David Rubin (1999, 19), referring to “the type of memory that occurs when an individual recalls a specific episode from their past experience.” It is within these recollections that Caymanian traditional thoughts are initially revealed, where traditional thought attempts either to actively lament the loss of the past and its sensibilities, or else passively relays the past in sobering and/or selective terms. However, it should be remembered that although the legitimacy of traditional thought rests in such recollections, their superlative traditional valuation emanates from their perpetuity, that is, the degree to which they resonate with younger Caymanian generations. This resonance, in its most vibrant form, not only highlights a past-present cultural continuum between older and younger Caymanians, but also confirms the subjective, imaginary, and communitarian effects of traditional Caymanian thought. The following analyses attempt to assess the elements of the efficacious perpetuity of Caymanian traditional thought.

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We begin with Adinah Whittaker – affectionately referred to as Miss Toosie – who was born in Grand Cayman on 28 June 1907. Although in her 1991 interview Miss Toosie demonstrated gaps and inconsistencies in her recollections – like not being able to remember how long she has been called Miss Toosie or whether the government all-age school, which provided basic education to children ranging from seven to 14 years of age, was built before or after the 1932 hurricane (CINA 1991, 1, 5–6, 8) – she exhibits coherent recollections of certain aspects of growing up in an unassuming life. In the initial analysis, Miss Toosie’s memory, like that of many people young and

old, has undergone long-term transience, that is “forgetting that occurs with the passage of time”(Schachter 2002, 12). Nonetheless, essential traditional sentiments and understandings of the past become important not so much for their historical consistency and accuracy, but for the coherency – even the incoherency – of their delivery. In other words, the degree of confidence with which the past is being recollected and related becomes an indispensable psychosocial descriptor of the informant’s sincerest feelings of a lived past (Seligman et al. 2008).

Miss Tooksie’s most vibrant recollection is at once steeped in hardship and nostalgia. With a sense of pride, she details her student years in the only government secondary school on Grand Cayman by 1917 (CINA 1991, 7–8):

Heather McLaughlin: . . . But you yourself went to school in Bodden Town?

Adinah Whittaker: Oh, yes; oh, yes.

HMc: And you had to walk all that way?

AW: Oh, rain, sun, or shine!

HMc: How long did it take you? So did you walk all the way down to Bodden Town by yourself?

AW: No, a crowd of children.

. . .

HMc: Now, on that long walk down there, how long did it take you?

AW: [Laughter] Some morning we couldn’t walk because we was so late, we had run it.

HMc: Oh dear. I was noticing when I was driving along. It really is a long way.

Indeed, Miss Tooksie’s ostensibly gentle recollection of having to walk and/or run to school in any weather begins, on a personal level, to corroborate professional Caymanian historiography, which stresses the indispensability of hardship in the Caymanian past, especially in getting around the islands. Given the islands’ typically low wages, which would have been mainly used to pay for basic necessities, the average Caymanian in the second decade of the 20th century would not have had the means to purchase an automobile. Indeed, they would not have had any great awareness of the functions of the automobile, as gasoline-powered transport was still in its infancy (McShane 1997). More importantly, however, is the survival of a past attitude in the present in Miss Tooksie’s recollection. Although Miss Tooksie’s relay of the past here is quite passive – as she is in no way stressing that her Caymanian past be

remembered for posterity – her attitude is clearly one of nostalgia, a vivid, blissful recollection of the past, bereft of bitter sentiment. This attitude not only confirms oral historian Paul Thompson's (2000) postulate that social attitudes are products of their social period, but also tends to affirm the fact that positive historically bound attitudes can continue into the present. Miss Tooksie's thoughtful and positive recall of this episode in her childhood signals an emotional continuation with the past: she attaches the same feelings in her interview as she did at the time, and this emotional continuity provides her traditional thought its vital, indispensable historicity. The historicity of Miss Tooksie's traditional recollection in 1991 reveals an attitude of contentment in the midst of hardship, an attitude that has remained with her, and that would have been with her as she walked to school in the rain, apparently unaware she was experiencing hardship. Miss Tooksie's sentiment has, in effect, passively personalized historical fact while securing the potential perpetuation of its underlying traditional value.

When I speak of *attitude* in this instance, I am referring to the line of thought that attitudes may "represent an evaluative response towards an object" (Bohner and Wänke 2002, 5). The object of Miss Tooksie's focus thus is her memory of walking long distances to school regardless of the weather. Given that she responds to this object with a lingering sense of pride and excitement, we may evaluate her response as a traditionally favourable one: as passive as it is, Miss Tooksie's language has in effect established a traditional groundwork upon which similar sentimental expressions of Caymanian tradition can be built. Her very traditional response hints at the idea that, barring any great traumatic incident, traditional thought is keen to relay the past in nostalgic terms (Boym 2001). We should here begin to anticipate the extent to which Miss Tooksie's recollection of this past would resonate with other Caymanians, who are at present also keen to remember either their lived or ancestral past in the midst of a rampant multiculturalism. A resonance of this nature thus introduces the idea of traditional Caymanian sentiment as vibrant image.

The idea of Miss Tooksie as traditional imager need not be limited only to her, but is constantly being perpetuated and built upon by other Caymanians with past lived experiences. Despite any of their spoken inaccuracies in retelling the past, the words of such Caymanians possess the potential to both

establish and buttress a nostalgic appreciation of the past. Especially in the present day, this nostalgic appreciation has the unique ability to create a powerful emotional pull back to that past (Coontz 1992, 8). Indeed, via traditional expression the power of the past is secured in imaginative terms, forcefully conveyed in the idea that the past as historical mental image depends on the apposite senses if it is to be fully experienced in hindsight. The concept of visualization becomes very important at this point. Although “visualization” suggests the superseding sense of sight, any traditional visualization of the past necessarily transcends the limited sense of sight (Baum 1999, 88). Thus, traditional visualizations require a sensorial network that works in a metaphysical capacity. Although metaphysics, as concept, can attempt “to identify the first causes [of human existences], in particular God, or the Unmoved Mover,” I am here relying on the concept’s more general meaning “of being qua being” (Loux 2002, 1) – in other words, the immaterial capacities and characteristics inherent in being. It is my intention to transport this concept to the realm of traditional recollections, and I remain aware that any metaphysical discussion must implicate some sort of immaterial substance – or spirit – undergirding the act of being. Yet the immaterial substance at work in, say, Miss Tooksie’s recounting of the past initially rests in the essential sensorial image that her words can and do invoke. When she speaks of walking long distances to school in any weather, her recollections establish a vivid image of the actualities – indeed, the very underlying spirit of that past event. It would not be difficult to imagine a group of children running three miles to school in the rain, laughing, and ostensibly carefree about their unassuming plight. Miss Tooksie’s exclamation at the actuality of having to run to school during inclement weather adds a marked visual accent, cementing the importance of accurate minutiae to effective relaying of the past. As we visualize Miss Tooksie’s recounting of this part of her past, her imagery gathers further traditional power in its automatic elevation of the appropriate senses that strengthen the spirit of this historical episode: the metaphysical senses of touch, smell, sight, and hearing contribute to traditional sentiment; the fecund smells which accompany rain or sunshine; the visual effect of the rain or the sun as these foreground the sounds of the open air – chirping birds, the hum of the surf (as Bodden Town is situated right along Grand Cayman’s southern coast); the perceived taste of the atmosphere on the tongue.

Similarly, the following traditional excerpt from the pro-Caymanian newspaper, the *Caymanian Compass*, captures, in a metaphysical sense, the traditional use of the Cayman silver thatch palm. Indeed, this palm is unique to the Cayman Islands and was used historically to make products such as the sturdy thatch rope (which was especially used by Caymanian seaman and traded at Jamaican ports), slippers known as wompers, baskets, brooms, etc. The silver thatch palm was also an indispensable feature of old Caymanian houses, used both as roofing and walling (Ebanks 2006). Based on its historical importance, the *Compass's* traditional retelling of the silver palm thatch is immediately vivid in its descriptions:

Teams of eight to 10 men would work together to thatch a house roof, usually in exchange for a meal and help when their own homes needed re-thatching. Using open leaves, the thatchers had to work quickly as the leaves would curl if left to dry and cause the roof to leak. The supervising thatcher would work from inside the house. If you look carefully at a thatched roof, you will appreciate the skill involved in creating this closely constructed covering that can be best observed (and guided) from the underside. (anon. 2008)

This invocation of the past is indeed dependent on the metaphysics of being: the invoked image of this utterance is steeped in tactility and vision, and establishes the art of thatching as distinctly Caymanian, and it confirms how an occupation and its attendant home-grown skills substantially contributed to a Caymanian way of life. Relying on this traditionalist account together with Miss Toosie's, that these Caymanian roof thatchers and the children of Miss Toosie's upbringing lived in the past, their invocations readily capture their state of being in the traditional imagination. The potency of the past gains vigour from the implied imagery that undergirds favourable expressions of that past. In this sense, traditional expression need not be constantly active, that is, always professing to lament the loss of the past. Instead, the accounts of Miss Toosie and the *Compass* editor are necessarily traditional because these Caymanians are, in effect, simply relaying information about the past of their own free, neutral, volition. Underpinned by a vibrant metaphysical imagery, these simple yet powerful accounts of the past, as we will further see, represent invocations which younger Caymanians can relate to, and associate with, in their quest to cherish the ways of their ancestors. Thus the above relayings of the past, by virtue of the images they invoke and the very reasoning behind

their relay, begin to establish a Caymanian spirit rooted in history, or at least in traditionalist, positive interpretations of that history. According to the two recollective accounts I have so far used, this Caymanian spirit is shaped in a ubiquitous, unspoken hardship. It is this hardship that gives traditional Caymanian thought its equally unspoken adapting values. Within these traditional sentiments, then, lies the idea that the historically bound Caymanian spirit of Miss Tooksie and the Caymanian roof thatchers is ultimately revealed in their ability, as lovers of the past, to subsume any ubiquitous hardship within mental and physical structures of elation and skilful determination, structures that have combined in the promotion of a panoptical traditional nostalgia. Indeed, this situation speaks to the ancestral Caymanians' ability to adapt positively to hardship, both in emotional and occupational terms, and any immaterial Caymanian nature is effectively immortalized in these terms.

Yet can we really begin to establish the spirit of the Caymanian past through just two passive traditional accounts? We should strive to understand Miss Tooksie's and the *Compass's* traditional accounts not only as invocations in which the properties of passive traditional sentiment are nested, but as metaphysical, image-laden complements to other traditional sentiments more active in their utterance.

Consider, for instance, the active traditional sentiments concerning Caymanian food and its dilution in the present day. "Where has our cornbread gone?" begins Olga Adams, who grew up in the Cayman Islands in the 1930s and 1940s: "[t]hat old Caymanian favourite has vanished from restaurant tables and takeaway plates. Not so long ago, a Caymanian meal always included some kind of cornbread, either pan style or custard top cornbread, that unique Caymanian creation which is served cold and considered a side dish, not dessert. Not anymore." Clearly having assumed the role of active traditionalist – a person who is actively lamenting the loss of some aspect of tradition – Olga goes on to say, "[w]ill future generations of Caymanians grow up never tasting warm sweet Caymanian cornbread made from Grandma's special recipe?" (Adams 2007). Indeed, the same sentiment could be applied to the unofficial Caymanian heavy cake desert, a pudding made from cassava (anon. 2007); or Cayman rundown, a stew of vegetables and meat. Other Caymanian traditional foods perceived to be approaching commercial

extinction include conch fritters, Cayman-style beef and fish, stew turtle, etc. Thus, in her traditional lament of the loss of historical Cayman food, Olga relies on the metaphysical sense of a unique, historically determined Caymanian culinary taste, and it is this reliance that furnishes her traditional sense its historical worth and the longevity of its connectivity with a present Caymanian state.

The sentiment behind the revival of the old Caymanian tradition of blowing the conch horn can be interpreted in a similar way. Deal Ebanks (Bonthuys 2009) remembers the importance that the conch horn played in traditional Cayman society:

The fishermen would come in and need help putting up the boats, so they would blow the conch shell . . . Each fisherman would have his own style of blowing the horn to let his people know that he was on his way in. The fishermen would also use the horn to indicate which type of fish they had caught. They would have a different blow for a different type of fish.

Deal's active recounting of history conforms to my hermeneutic, which is inclined to confirm that any traditional sentiment necessarily evokes the sensorial in its attempt to situate – whether consciously, subconsciously, or personally – the importance of the past in the present. The traditional essence of Deal's account relies on the sense of sound: the expressive descriptions of the conch horn create their own traditional trope that marks the conch horn as distinctly Caymanian by sound. This metaphysical sense is further heightened by its visual context: we can imagine the conch horn being blown either in inclement weather, as a way to indicate to those on land the position of incoming fisherman, or in any kind of weather to indicate the type of fish caught. Like Miss Tooksie's passive recounting of the past, Deal's recollections of the conch horn provide further legitimacy to an image grounded in historical circumstance and perpetuated by vivid expressive recalls.

The sentiments of Deal and Olga, by virtue of their activeness, work more directly to confirm the past and its loss than Miss Tooksie's recollection. We may say that Miss Tooksie's contribution to the traditionalist imagination is indirect: her recollections perpetuate the past as memory and are not, as in Olga's and Deal's case, a lamentation for the past and a desire to recover that past. In light of this, Miss Tooksie's remembrance secures its perpetuity in the

fact that the mere act of remembering is itself an entrenched tradition (Casey 2000, ch. 1): people automatically remember the past, whether it be the events of yesterday, a few hours ago, or 30 years ago.

In contrast, Deal's expressions are underpinned by the belief that "it is very important for traditions such as conch horn blowing to be passed down to the younger generation" (Adams 2007). Olga betrays a similar traditional sentiment in the plaintive sense underlying her viewpoint that Cayman cornbread does not feature in present-day Cayman cuisine as prominently as it once did. In fact, in these nostalgic remonstrations rests the powerful inference that history *should* repeat itself, and not in the negative sense of which Irish playwright Bernard Shaw spoke, when he asserted, "If history repeats itself . . . how incapable man must be of learning from experience." Let us look further at this negative mindset to understand my idea of the positive repetition of history by the conscious act of perpetuation:

I've heard a crazed, cracked Austrian announce to the world the establishment of a Reich that would last a thousand years. I have seen an Italian clown say he was going to stop and restart the calendar with his ascension to power . . . Hitler and Mussolini [are now] dead, remembered only in infamy . . . All in one lifetime, all in one lifetime, all gone, gone with the wind. (Chambers 2008, 15–16)

The above quote seems to implicate two important points. First, by initially privileging Hitler's and Mussolini's points of view, the writer foregrounds (by inference) the robust sense of nationalist pride that existed in fascist Germany and Italy by the onset of the Second World War. Second, by subordinating these fascist viewpoints to the free social tone of today, the writer further expresses the ease with which tradition can, with change, become anathema. Yet the excerpt's ultimate inference is that traditions perceived to be important will also necessarily fade away and become extinct if we choose to forget the past (Simpson 2009, 2). Thus Deal's and Olga's traditionalist sentiments, more so than those of Miss Tooksie and the editor of the *Compass*, possess a greater sense of cultural urgency. By stressing the importance of consciously perpetuating traditional practices and items, Deal and Olga can be understood as culturally aware beings mindful of the present crisis of multiculturalism, a mindfulness that in turn leads to constant cultural re-evaluation of the Caymanian self in traditional terms.

The preceding analysis has demonstrated that Caymanian traditional sentiment can be either active or passive in its portrayal and embrace of the past. I have also shown that both passive and active Caymanian traditional sentiment can be very vivid in the recall of the past, something which speaks to the primacy of the traditional imagination. Thus we should now ask ourselves, what is the possible subjective underpinning of a vivid Caymanian traditional imagination indebted to either passivity or activeness?

In striving to understand the nature of the cultural imperative of traditional perpetuity firstly among older Caymanians, we should be aware that the act of verbal perpetuation – that is, ensuring that a tradition continues indefinitely – is highly subjective. When I speak of subjectivity, I am thinking of a simple question asked by almost everyone, almost all the time, *who am I?* (Hall 2004). We can choose to understand this question further in two ways. Either it extends to what Rene Descartes understood as a sense of crisis – be it a crisis of traditional, social, and/or cultural proportions – which in turn prompts the self to constantly re-evaluate and question its purpose and function (Descartes 1988). Or it refers to traditional practices and languages that come as a result either of experience or nurtured social understandings (Mansfield 2000, 14). The recent passive recollection of Miss Tooksie is without any sense of crisis and therefore her understanding of who she is is essentially framed in the traditional idea of who she was growing up. Simply put, Miss Tooksie’s relaying of the past emanates from within her and is based on her lived past experiences, and she is simply confirming – in effect *answering* – the effects of the past on her traditional self. Similarly, although the newspaper editor’s traditional sentiment sets the tone for a further understanding that a distinct Caymanian way of old – thatching – has become lost in the present, his sentiments are ultimately passive in that he is simply stating how life was in Cayman at one point. Both recountings of the past fall under the second definition of subjectivity: that is, both Miss Tooksie and the newspaper editor are in some way referring to a traditional way of life which, in passivity, begins to establish ideas of the historical traditional Caymanian self without relying on a language of lamentation and recovery.

Conversely, Olga’s and Deal’s traditional subjectivity, while rooted in history, reveals a potential crisis of the traditional Caymanian self. According, then, to the idea that traditions underpinned a historical Caymanian way of

life, a sense of cultural crisis is attached to the virtual disappearance of traditions from the present cultural landscape. It is this sense of cultural crisis that gives more active traditional recalls their stress on the need to make more effort to perpetuate Caymanian traditions. At this point in the argument, the cultural urgency driving active traditional understandings of the Caymanian self is revealed. Olga and Deal could not have spoken with such conviction if they did not truly feel their traditional way of life was being eroded into extinction, something only their experienced traditional selves could reveal. Yet what eroding forces are they implicating here, if only by omission? These decidedly external multicultural forces will be assessed by me in future, but the assessment below focuses on the ways in which passive traditional sentiments can be reappropriated as positive, *concerned*, active ones away from any xenophobic considerations: any such reappropriation here occurs largely in the name of generational perpetuity.

The confirmation of the generational perpetuity of passive traditional thought is, for instance, crystallized in the traditional sentiments of the young established Caymanian musician and painter Natasha Kozaily. Natasha was able to spend an afternoon in 2009 with an older, popular Caymanian woman and musician by the name of Julia Hydes, affectionately known as Miss Julia. Indeed, Miss Julia was a prolific Caymanian musician in the 1930s, well known for her creation of sea shanties like “Munzie’s Boat” and “You Have to Wait Till My Ship Comes In,” and ballads like “Cardile Gone to Cuba” (CINA 1996, 2-19). Miss Julia’s songs underpin the Caymanian traditional spirit, illuminating such themes as coping with hardship and spousal loneliness – especially for the wives of Cayman seaman who were away for extended periods. She also employs apt nautical humour in some of her songs as a way to escape the hardship of the historical Caymanian, expressed for instance in “You Have to Wait Till My Ship Comes In” (CINA 1996, 19):

You have to wait till my ship comes in,  
My ship comes in, my ship comes in,  
You have to wait till my ship comes in,  
And then I’ll have money to spend.

Miss Julia’s recollection of the past is ultimately mediated through Natasha. Like Miss Toosie’s own professed traditional attitudes, Miss Julia’s attitude to

her past, as understood by Natasha, is favourable, although she does not seem to be precisely lamenting the loss of tradition. Rather, as will be seen, it is the younger Natasha who is doing this. The cultural mediation occurring between Natasha and Miss Julia and her past from the outset begins to confirm the dynamic perpetuity of traditional thought between the older and younger Caymanian, though not in a deterministic way. In other words, this cultural exchange is not essentially premised on the effort by an older Caymanian to recollect her past, but on the proactive efforts of a younger Caymanian to understand the traditions of her ancestor. As someone more acquainted with the modern and prosperous Caymanian lifestyle, Natasha has become the unlikely pursuer of traditional honour. It is worth quoting Natasha's sense of honour towards her Caymanian ancestor at length, for it reveals the psychological nub of her ancestral connection:

Later, as I reflected on my afternoon with Miss Julia, I mused about the things she had said. I thought about the great changes she has witnessed over the past 100 years, from the days of smoke pots and kitchen dances to the present age of commercial banking and tourism; and I can't help but wonder: Have we have lost our identity in the process? They used to say that Cayman was the island that time forgot. Now it seems that time is what we have too little of. There is little time to preserve our national treasures and our God-given paradise. There is little time to make the next generation, who are the only hope for the future, the centre of our concern and care. There is little time to capture the good things of the past, the spirit of community and pass them unto our families, neighbourhoods and districts. The days of kitchen dances and weekend gatherings at a neighbour's should not be lost in the pages of our history books. The music of our Islands should be passed unto our children and not forgotten or drowned in the Top 40 playlist. I can only hope that we, as Caymanians, don't let our traditions fade away with time. After all, we need to know where we're from to know where we're going. I hope that the young will learn from the old, because they have a lot to teach us. And I hope that we can not only come together and treasure our Islands, our heritage, and our music, but keep it alive . . . because there is little time. (Kozaily 2009)

Natasha then provides a more intimate traditional connection between Miss Julia and her music when she was growing up in Grand Cayman in the early decades of the 20th century:

She [Miss Julia] told us how she would go from district to district and house to house with the fiddler, Mr. Radley Gourzong. She described the dances and the atmosphere, putting us all on the edge of our seats with her vivid descriptions and her infectious enthusiasm. She explained the lyrics of her songs and how she came about writing the song “Munzie’s Boat” and others. And then she started to sing one of my favourites “Cardile gone to Cuba”. As she sang for us she clapped rhythms in between the phrases as if she had an invisible drum in her hands. She was enchanting. (Kozaily 2009)

By honouring the old Caymanian musical way of life, and Miss Julia’s indispensable part in it, Natasha is acknowledging a Caymanian cultural continuum based on age and experience. It seems that for Natasha, Miss Julia has assumed the position of pioneering Caymanian ancestor, while she, Natasha, by virtue of being an established Caymanian, assumes the role of cultural recipient. For Natasha, the past-present connection is natural, God-given, especially in light of her reflection that the old Caymanian music should be kept alive. The idea here is that the connection between past and present should be seamless, dependent on the perpetuating elements of active and sentimental traditional expressions.

Although her main concern is old Caymanian music, Natasha links the naturalness of tradition with the idea of community. In historical terms, Caymanian music brought people together, and it is largely on that basis that Caymanians in the present should strive to keep this aspect of their heritage alive. Indeed, as a traditionalist, Natasha has begun to answer the question, *who am I as a Caymanian?* She is a Caymanian with a vibrant ancestral past. Her subjectivity gives potency to the idea that the efficacy of traditional thought, its perpetual legitimacy, can only stem from the past. This in turn speaks forcefully to the idea that if a traditional act is to be perpetuated, its perpetuation is dependent on a reaction (Jobson 2005). Thus, in responding expressively and honourably to Miss Julia and her recollections, Natasha has immortalized and activated Miss Julia’s passive traditional sentiment and action. Miss Julia’s participation is necessarily passive in one important way: her recollections are being mediated by Natasha, and Natasha’s role in this mediation is active by virtue of her proactive “reaction” to Miss Julia’s historical accomplishments. Miss Julia, on the other hand, is not ultimately speaking for herself, which secures her passive position in this relationship.

Moreover, when Natasha does relate to something Miss Julia said or did, Miss Julia's relayed sentiments are expressively represented without any element of lamentation. Indeed, we should not only understand Natasha's evoked past-present continuum in linear past-present terms, but as a superlative sentimental means by which the younger Caymanian can legitimize her ancestral past (Birringer 2000, 29).

By relying on the traditional sentiments of the likes of Miss Julia, Natasha's subjectivity exhibits her ideology of Caymanian-ness, and the very concept of Caymanian-ness prompts a uniquely subjective query, *who am I as a Caymanian?* As Caymanian ancestors, Miss Tooksie and Miss Julia provide the initial answer to this fundamentally ideological question, which is influenced by historical experiences: based on their lived past experiences, these "true" or established Caymanians are understood as having their roots in the Caymanian past. At this point, it is worth considering the understanding of another young Caymanian – Quincy Brown – of the historicity of the established Caymanian: "Let us never forget from whence we came. We were poor; our fathers and grandfathers . . . were emulous and hard working" (Brown 2008). Similarly, the minister of health and human services in 2008, Anthony Eden, contextualizes the importance of remembering the beleaguered past, as it provides the prosperous Caymanian present with its historical grounding: "We often overlook the fact that it was through our elders' diligent planning, that today we can boast of Cayman's success as an off-shore banking centre. The foundation they built years ago continues to sustain us today. In no small measure do we owe our current lifestyles to them" (Eden 2008). Indeed, Joseph Pieper (2008) has posed the question as to whether traditional thought is anti-historical given its idealist understandings of history. Despite the possibility that traditional thought may indeed be anti-historical, what is more important is the way in which Quincy, Mr Eden, and Natasha, as younger Caymanians, affirm the initial answer to the question of Caymanian-ness by honouring the Caymanian ancestor.

As part of the ongoing effort to answer more fully the question of Caymanian-ness, we should be mindful that the recollections of Miss Julia and Miss Tooksie are of different aspects of Caymanian history, but that their recollections in aggregate provide a historical grounding for a distinct traditional Caymanian outlook. Thus, Miss Tooksie's traditional sentiment is

in an existential realm with economic undertones, while Miss Julia's mediated traditional sentiments are found in an existential realm that privileges Caymanian musical culture. Both traditional sentiments revert to the same line of thought, namely favourable subjective understandings of a past shaped by hardship. However, have the recollections of Miss Toonsie and Miss Julia really combined towards a historical traditional grounding when we are dealing with subjective understandings of the past that can be solipsistic? Frederick Beiser notes that subjectivism represents "the doctrine that the subject has an immediate knowledge only of its own ideas, so that it has no knowledge beyond the circle of its consciousness" (Beiser 2002, 1). Beiser continues that subjective understandings can be saturated with solipsistic overtones: as the past is being remembered it is being remembered within a subconscious mental frame of personal inclusivity. In other words, in remembering and recounting their lived pasts, are Miss Toonsie and Miss Julia subjectively viewing their past not necessarily as members of a traditionalist fraternity, but in sole terms of *me-ness*? That is, who was *I as a Caymanian?*, as opposed to who were *we* as Caymanians? Are they recounting aspects of their lived past with the understanding that other Caymanians their age would have constituted that past, or has the past in effect become for them *my* past and *my* existence in this past?

Indeed, we should be aware that traditional recountings of the past are necessarily idealistic, and in many ways go against the objectivity of common sense and realist modes of thought. Scholars such as Craton, Hobsbawm, and Michael Hechter would say that romanticizing the past has its problems, especially if important historical influences in the present – like racism – are overlooked and even repressed. Nonetheless, as traditional idealists – or traditional romantics – Miss Toonsie and Miss Julia perceptions of the past, in their passivity, empower and, in an objective sense, legitimate the past for other traditionally minded Caymanians. I am inclined to agree that Miss Toonsie and Miss Julia (with the mediation of Natasha) are recounting the past, not in terms of *me-ness*, but of *Caymanian-ness*, where the very idea of *Caymanian-ness* begins to confirm what it meant, traditionally, to be Caymanian. These older Caymanians are, unwittingly or otherwise, establishing unassuming historical actualities in which most Caymanians would have participated (Ward 2004). Miss Toonsie and Miss Julia are confirming certain

aspects of life for most Caymanians in the early 20th century, thereby – albeit subconsciously – delineating the historical differences between, say, Caymanian-ness and Caribbean-ness.

Mimi Sheller recognizes the importance of national difference in the Caribbean context, given the force of globalization throughout this region at present. However, she sees Caribbean-ness – the state of being culturally Caribbean – as symptomatic of prototypical forces of globalization. In other words, West Indian people possess the culture they do because of the historical cultural mix between Amerindian, European, and African (Sheller 2003). Yet the idea of Caribbean-ness, and more importantly Caymanian-ness, deserves more specific explanation, given that Caribbean islands and their peoples have gone on to develop their own internal and local histories, indeed their own sense of community. Caribbean-ness, then, is somewhat like British-ness in having a dual nature. Many persons of English, Scottish, and Welsh descent have embraced what Gambale et al. (2009) refer to as primary national identities first, assuming the designation of British-ness as a secondary or subordinate identity. In a similar way, people from the Caribbean have primary national identities – whether they are Grenadians, Dominicans, or Trinidadians – and assume the blanket Caribbean identity only secondarily. Given the localized primacy of any national identity, we cannot, for instance, deny the traditional component of community in Miss Toosie's expressions of walking with a group of children to school in any weather or Miss Julia's mediated traditional reflection that she and fiddler Radley Gourzong went from district to district to play music for fellow Caymanians. In this historical sense, community refers to relationships premised not so much on political ties between the state and its people, but on shared horizontal bonds of sociality and commonality between the people, who reveal mutual ideas of belonging (Delanty 2003).

A sense of community among nationals usually precedes nationalistic thought (Anderson 2006). This understanding illuminates the ideological concept of communitarianism, which informs the ways in which a sense of community can create a moral and political vision of the nation or state in question. Communitarianism need not be authoritative in a Marxist sense, nor need it in its ideological perpetuity be restricted to an actual physical community. Conversely, I choose to see a Caymanian traditionally bound

communitarianism as playing out in the minds of traditionalist Caymanians, as being their panoptical traditional vision – away from capitalist and liberalist considerations – engendered by their historical orientation and/or socialization. One's traditional sentiments play an indispensable role in this vision as they provide a decidedly mental communitarianism with its historical-traditional basis. Thus in light of this concept of communitarianism, Miss Tooksie and Miss Julia have inherited the vanguard role of passive ancestral Caymanian keen to relay the Caymanian past, while providing the inspiration for younger Caymanians keen on keeping the past alive.

Indeed, these two vanguards establish communal ideas on which any subsequent active traditional thought can be built. There is something decidedly communal about a group of children happily walking or running to school, or two Caymanian musicians travelling the island to play for their fellow countrymen. Such acts are often overlooked in traditional historiography. On their own, they cannot drive historical narratives centred on political, economic, or social conditions. They may combine to provide a clearer picture of the social workings of the community at a particular time, but are ultimately subordinated to wider concerns with grander “objective” aspects of history. Conversely, the recollections of Miss Tooksie and Miss Julia do not seek to confirm historiography, but to present an intimate knowledge of the past. With lived experience as their muse, these ladies relay vibrant aspects of their histories in personal and descriptive terms: they are, in effect, confirming history not in verifiable terms, but in personal, subjective ones. The traditional professions of these ladies and other older Caymanians confirm both the traditional specificity of historical Caymanian-*ness* and establish the idea of a historically derived “honest” outlook rooted not in the objective past of published history books, but in traditional, indeed selective, ideas of the past.

In closing, we should be mindful of the fact that members of modern societies with a strong sense of tradition should not be viewed “[as the] members of ‘old and cold’ societies [who] blindly [follow] traditional norms beliefs and practices, making all action and routine action and thus giving no quarter to reflexive deliberation”(Archer 2007, 26). Indeed, there is nothing “old and cold” or static about Miss Tooksie's recounting of walking miles to school in rain or shine, or Miss Julia's musical renditions, even though in the present these invoke a strong sense of tradition. Neither should we subscribe

to the belief that the likes of Quincy and Natasha are blindly following the norms and opinions of their Caymanian ancestors. They are certainly remembering the past, but given Quincy's sober remembrance of the past and Natasha's nostalgic elation at Miss Julia's traditional enthusiasm, these younger Caymanians are behaving more as patriotic Caymanians than overzealous and xenophobic traditionalists, where patriotism "involves [hyper-positive] beliefs and feelings for one's [ancestral past]" (Primoratz 2002, 10). Quincy and Natasha believe in the legitimizing force of their past and its sustaining traditional sentiments, and this belief informs their love of being Caymanian. The cultural utterances of Quincy and Natasha begin to establish a cultural link between past and present, between self, its ancestral self, and the latter's social context. To be precise, both young and old Caymanians have also demonstrated their traditional awareness of Caymanian-ness, where such awareness denotes "a community of shared meanings" among every established, generational Caymanian (Primoratz 2002, 25). In this sense, not only are Natasha, Quincy, and Mr Eden acknowledging their ancestry in positive, sober terms, but it is in precisely this acknowledgment that they express the historicity of themselves as established Caymanians. These younger Caymanians are creating a cultural story steeped both in historical and prosaic context, where the *prosaic* denotes traditional thought which is expressed in words. If we view the written meditations of these younger Caymanians as literatures of a sort, and with notable historical overtones, we may say they are working within the tradition of New Historicism.

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New Historicism is a technique used to assess the past, and dependent on understanding not only through established historiography but also through fictional or nonfictional writings about the past. As Gallagher and Greenblatt confirm (1997, 21) – relying on the ideas of prolific literary theorist Clifford Geertz – "[the interpretive strategies of New Historicism provide a] key means for understanding the complex systems and life patterns that anthropologists studied." The written expressions of Quincy, Natasha, and Mr Eden strive to perpetuate the traditions inherent in Miss Toosie's and Miss Julia's past lived experiences. Natasha takes this a step further by capturing Miss Julia's past by speaking on her behalf. All three of these younger Caymanians are, in effect,

utilizing their own literatures to understand and illuminate the past. Beyond this, the historical context of these written expressions derives from their nurtured understandings of their past, understandings reinforced by the traditional expressions of a grandmother, grandfather, great-aunt, etc. In Mr Eden's case, his written expressions have a political component. As minister of health and human services in 2008, he may have been trying to strike a populist chord with the Caymanian electorate in advance of the 2009 elections. However, this is precisely where his New Historicism amasses potency, for his written expressions reflect a putative communal Caymanian idea of the importance of the past to the social and economic milieu of the multicultural present. In other words, the "real" established Caymanian is distinguished by virtue of history and historical circumstance from the incoming new, or paper Caymanian – that is, the foreigner who has gained Caymanian citizenship through marriage or permanent residency.

Along with the written expressions of Quincy and Natasha, Mr Eden's penned ideas are indirectly inspired by the experienced, traditional recollections of the likes of Miss Toosie and Miss Julia. Younger Caymanians who assume the role of New Historians, then, seem to be not only establishing a cultural link with the past via tradition, but are also solidifying a traditional image that, by inference, stresses that true Caymanian-ness must have its experiential and generational basis in the past. Thus Quincy, Mr Eden, Miss Toosie, Natasha, and Miss Julia constitute a Caymanian community, given their Caymanian nationality and the past-present determination of traditional sentiment. Future research will continue to interrogate this past-present determination, but will do so in more gendered terms.

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# NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

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**DR KATRINA CARTER-TELLISON** earned her PhD in sociology at the University of Miami. Her major was race and ethnic relations, with a minor in cultural studies and criminology. She joined Lynn University's College of Arts and Sciences as an assistant professor of sociology in Fall 2004. In 2006, she was promoted to the chair of the Department of Criminal Justice. More recently, Carter-Tellison has been chaired the initiatives to develop Lynn's new core curriculum, *The Dialogues of Learning*. Carter-Tellison's research pursuits have mainly focused on immigration and inequality and social stratification, in addition to curriculum. In the area of immigration, Carter-Tellison has concentrated on the South Florida Haitian immigrant community. Her research into inequality and social stratification has focused on the role of skin tone within minority communities, and on factors influencing occupational and educational attainment.

**DR PAUL MILLER** is senior lecturer in education at Middlesex University, London. He received his PhD from the Institute of Education, London in human resources management in education. His thesis examined the migratory experiences of Caribbean teachers in secondary schools in London. He has written and published extensively in the field of teacher migration and is well regarded in his field.

**DR MOSLEY-MATCHETT** joined the UCCI faculty in August 2009. Prior to that, she had 10 years of successful teaching experience at both the graduate and undergraduate levels. As a professor at the University of Texas at Arlington, Dr Mosley-Matchett taught a number of classes in the College of Business Administration and the School of Fine Arts. She holds an MBA and a doctorate in business administration from the University of Texas at Arlington; a Juris Doctor (law degree) from Southern Methodist University in Dallas; and a BSc in electrical engineering technology from Old Dominion University, Norfolk,

Virginia. She has served on a number of corporate and public sector boards in the US and Cayman Islands. Her numerous clients have included the Cayman Islands Portfolio of the Civil Service, the Caymanian Bar Association, IBM, Texas Instruments, and J.C. Penney.

**DR ROY MURRAY** teaches history at Tarbert Academy on the west coast of Scotland. He holds a BA from Brock University, MA from UWI, Mona, and a PhD from the University of Glasgow.

**DR PAULETTE RAMSAY'S** research into the little known but significant literature and culture of Afro-Hispanic societies in general, and Afro-Mexico in particular, has made an important contribution to debunking the myths of race and class in Latin America, bringing the Afro-Latin American experience to the fore, and to expanding the debate on issues of migration, ethnicity, identity, nation, belonging, agency, and self-definition in Latin America and the Spanish-speaking Caribbean. An important milestone for Dr Ramsay was the publication of her novel *Aunt Jen* in English and in German translation, with an Italian translation currently in the press. *Aunt Jen* has been added to the Caribbean women writers' courses at a number of universities in North America and selected by some Jamaican schools. Currently, Dr Ramsay is coordinating a collaborative project for the publication of a rhetorical reader for Caribbean tertiary students. Dr Ramsay has won several awards during her career, including a UWI postgraduate award, Alcan junior research fellowship, and OAS and AECI scholarships.

**DR LIZ C. WANG** is assistant professor in the Graduate School of Management at the University of Dallas. She recently earned the Emerald Management Citation of Excellence award for her article "Can a Retail Website Be Social?," co-authored with Julie Baker, Judy A. Wagner, and Kirk Wakefield and published in the *Journal of Marketing* 71, no. 3.

**CHRISTOPHER WILLIAMS** is a doctoral candidate at the Centre for Caribbean Studies at the University of Warwick. His research explores the extent to which various modern Caymanian identities find their resonance within antecedent identities. He currently lectures at the University College of the Cayman Islands.

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**DR ROBERT WEISHAN** holds a PhD and two Master's degrees from the University of Wisconsin. He joined the UCCI Business Studies faculty in January 2007 as a professor of management, and in May 2007 was appointed chair of Business Studies. Dr Weishan has also worked extensively with the development initiatives for the Civil Service College as well as collaborated in the design of the new UCCI Master's programme in human resource management. Prior to joining UCCI, Dr Weishan worked at the Cayman Islands Department of Tourism as the manager of human capital development; as the principle consultant and owner of his management consulting and training firm in Santiago, Chile; as senior consultant for leadership development and organization effectiveness at CMS Energy Corporation; as state director for career education in Michigan; as manager of technical assistance to the HEART trust in Jamaica; and as an advisor to the government of the Dominican Republic. He has also been a Fulbright visiting professor in Mexico. For this volume of *JUCCI*, he supervised Camile Jackson, Yoliza McCoy, Paula Powell, Michael Wood, Giselle Webb, and Nicola Williams in the preparation of their article. These students were enrolled in UCCI's Independent Studies in Management class and/or Management Internship class.



# GUIDELINES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

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Contributions are welcomed from all areas of scholarship. Manuscripts are expected to be original works able to withstand intensive peer review. Topics may fall within any theme of scholarship, including education, fine arts, humanities, medicine, science, social sciences, international relations, politics, history, and public policy. As the journal serves multidisciplinary interests, any manuscript submitted for publication should be of potential appeal not only to specialists but also to readers whose principal interests do not coincide directly with the subject addressed in the paper.

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Careful observation of the requirements set out below will reduce the time needed for processing manuscripts and thereby contribute to earlier publication.

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- **Abbreviations** All abbreviations should be spelled out at first use – e.g., Caribbean Single Market and Economy (CSME).
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**Text reference:** (Sherry 1996, 348) [number following date is page number]

**Reference:** Sherry, L. 1996. Issues in distance learning. *International Journal of Educational Telecommunications* 1, no. 4: 337–65.

**T:** (Schwitzer, Ancis, and Brown 2001)

**R:** Schwitzer, A.M., J.R. Ancis, and N. Brown. 2001. *Promoting student learning and student development at a distance*. Lanham, MD: American College Personnel Association.

**T:** (Spooner et al. 1988, 124)

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**T:** (Girvan 1997)

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