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American Neocolonialism?
The Impact of U.S. Cable Television on the Culture of St. Kitts
by
Morven I. Alecia Daniel, B.A.

A thesis submitted to
the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of

Master of Arts

Department of Mass Communications

Carleton University

Ottawa, Ontario

April 12, 2001

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“American Neocolonialism?
The Impact of U.S. Cable Television on the Culture of St. Kitts.”

Submitted by Morven I. Alecia Daniel, B.A.
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
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Thesis Supervisor

Chair, School of Journalism and Communication

CARLETON UNIVERSITY

April 12, 2001

Abstract

Residents of St. Kitts have access to 54 U.S. cable channels leaving them open to possible American neocolonialism. The colonial past, has left scars including a preference for things foreign. U.S. cable television private interests saw an opportunity for an expanded market while Kittitians saw a cheap means of increasing television programming. The local broadcasting station is unable to compete with cable programming and so there is a preference for cable television. There is no policy to regulate broadcast content and other means of resistance within the society are limited and sometimes go unappreciated by residents. Other factors of Americanisation are evident, but cable television is easily accessible and it does have an effect on the indigenous culture of St. Kitts.

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Map of the Caribbean Region, Showing Tip of U.S.

Introduction

The United States has great influence on the world arena in many areas including communication; St. Kitts and the Caribbean as a whole hold no such influence. A private cable company offers an attractive arrangement to residents of St. Kitts, providing reasonably cheap U.S. cable programming. While U.S. cable programming is easily accessible on the island, there is neither a communications policy with specific reference to television content, nor is there a cultural policy. Lacking this important means of resistance appears to be one of the methods by which St. Kitts leaves itself open to the infiltration of U.S. cultural mores via television. While demonstrating this, it is not the object to suggest that cable television is the only factor at play. Rather, in addition to the strengths of its subtle presence, it often acts as an introduction to other stimuli that foster American neocolonialism. Various elements within the Kittitian and the wider Caribbean society will also be explored to find out the potential for resistance or even for adaptability. Therefore, this thesis posits that U.S. neocolonialism via communication does exist and it will investigate just how susceptible the residents of St. Kitts are to it and will conclude by providing available options.

It must also be noted that with a landmass of 68 square miles, St. Kitts is one of the smaller islands of the Caribbean. Consequently, in terms of the global picture it is inevitable to look at the Caribbean region as a whole when it comes to the development of cultural industries or even specific means of resistance to American neocolonialism. However, it must be mentioned, that it is only after several tried and failed efforts that the Caribbean has come together under such bodies as the Organisation of the Eastern

Caribbean States (OECS) and Caribbean Community (CARICOM). Even within these entities there is much work that still needs to be done in terms of regional unity.

Therefore, although the main emphasis of the thesis remains on St. Kitts it is still necessary to refer to the Caribbean region as the larger entity in terms of global issues. Such points as well as the arguments already mentioned will be developed in seven chapters.

Chapter One, the first chapter on theory, defines the idea of cultural imperialism and conducts a preliminary investigation of the challenges of globalisation. Cultural imperialism is investigated in the context of neocolonialism.

Chapter Two, the second theoretical chapter, investigates the concept of the New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO), the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) and the MacBride Commission and the role of each in the balance of world communications. This chapter will determine whether or not the concept, organisation and commission had an influence on communication in the 1970s and 1980s.

Chapter Three will show the main elements of Kittitian culture before the arrival of cable television, and show those that are susceptible to the influence of U.S. cable television. This chapter weaves a backdrop against which comparisons with American culture can be placed to determine any possible similarities. History, the impact of colonialism and the plantation system, language, music, dance, cultural troupes and cultural values are highlighted.

Chapter Four investigates present communication policy in St. Kitts and the television programming on the island. As such, both local television broadcasting as well as available cable television options are examined.

Chapter Five presents findings of a survey undertaken by the author. Though not a representative sample of the population of St. Kitts, the results can be used to estimate viewing patterns and support of Kittitian cultural activities as well as estimate respondents exposure to other stimuli that can lead to American neocolonialism. It gives a picture of some Kittitian viewing preferences but also looks at cultural activities within the community that can provide a viable means of resistance to cultural imperialism. Similar studies undertaken in the region will also be briefly introduced.

Chapter Six looks at possible means of resistance within the island, as well as within the Caribbean region. This means of resistance can range from pockets of traditional cultural retention displayed in particular art-forms or cultural activities to the airing of certain local and Caribbean-produced television programming.

Chapter Seven shows that there is a dominant culture within globalisation. This culture is engineered and dominated by the most powerful developed countries due to their prowess not only in the cultural industries but also economically, politically, and technologically. The thesis posits that the global culture consists chiefly of American cultural mores and those that have been admitted into the globalisation gambit. Thus, under closer inspection it is also possible to find less dominant ethnic cultures; however, they are being overshadowed by the dominant one. Within this context, U.S. cable television and the culture of St. Kitts will be analysed. How is U.S. cable programming being interpreted by Kittitians? Are there other programming options available from

other areas of the world? How can St. Kitts and the Caribbean strengthen its own communication? These along with other queries will be explored.

However, no studies on cable television and its effects on culture have been previously undertaken in St. Kitts and there are limited studies that deal specifically with the English-speaking Caribbean. As such, there were certain limitations but much room for investigation of this unexplored field in St. Kitts.

There are also several matters of writing style that must be noted. Throughout the essay the terms First World and developed countries will be used interchangeably. The same will be done for Third World Countries and developing countries. Similarly, English-speaking Caribbean and Commonwealth Caribbean will be used interchangeably. The local broadcasting station will be referred to as both ZIZ and ZBC, the latter being the acronym for ZIZ Broadcasting Corporation.

Due to its colonial past it might be assumed that St. Kitts and other developing nations would be wary of placing themselves in a similar situation via neocolonialism. However, this thesis will show that U.S. cable television already has a hold on the psyche of many Kittitians, it is a chief element that allows the infiltration of American cultural mores, in St. Kitts there are limited means of resistance and globalisation gives it positive reinforcement. Together this adds up to an environment that has the appropriate conditions for neocolonialism.

CHAPTER ONE

Theories Associated with the Domination within Cable Television

A too-long history of colonialism seems to have crippled Caribbean self-confidence and Caribbean self-reliance, and a vicious circle has been set up: psychological dependence leads to an ever-growing economic and cultural dependence on the outside world.

Eric Williams

Following World War II many changes took place including the decline of colonialism.¹ The colonies around the world who sought their independence and were granted it, soon began to realise that as new countries it was not an easy task to successfully control one's own affairs and that there was still a very present dependence on former colonial powers. Not only was there still a measure of economic dependence in terms of seeking monetary aid from grants or the establishment of certain developmental projects but also in terms of communication and culture. Developing countries quite often had neither the economic nor the technological means to establish communication systems. As new countries they could seek membership to the United Nations (U.N.), which in itself was a means of support. However, at the first meetings of the U.N. in 1945, 50 states were represented. As Schiller notes two-fifths were Latin American states who were subservient to North American pressure, West European member states were heavily dependent on the United States for economic assistance and

¹ Neville Jayaweera, "The Third World and Political Economy of the Communication Revolution," *Communication and Domination: Essays to Honor Herbert Schiller*, eds. Jorg Becker, Goran Hedebo and Leena Paldan (New Jersey, Ablex Publishing Company, 1986), 36.

“the few Middle Eastern, Asian, and African countries then participating in the U.N. were ... still, in real terms, subject to the Western empire system.”² As such, these new countries did not have much sway in such an organisation. Even when the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) was established in 1946, it was still a tool of the U.S. and did not give developing countries much opportunity to air their views.³ By the late 1960s and 1970s, however, the membership of the U.N. increased by more than 90 countries, most of who were “still in the early stages of development.”⁴ Today, developing countries are faced with another challenge – that of maintaining their identity while coming to terms with globalisation. This chapter will show various means of cultural imperialism and introduce the challenges of globalisation.

However, prior to investigating cultural imperialism and globalisation it is interesting to note that S. J. Guan identifies three forms of intercultural communication between individuals that the author feels can be applied to nations as well. Guan pinpoints self-centred dialogue, equal dialogue and dominant intercultural communication. Dominant intercultural communication can be related to the relationship between developed and developing countries, developed countries being in the dominant position. Chen and Starosta explain Guan’s theory on dominant intercultural communication in this way.

In dominant intercultural communication, A is well aware of B’s cultural traits and differences, and uses this advantage to control B to achieve his or her personal goals. This problem may happen at the interpersonal or

² Herbert Schiller, *Communication and Cultural Domination* (White Plains, N.Y., International Arts and Sciences Press, Inc., 1976), 33.

³ *Ibid.*, 35.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 39.

international communication level, as illustrated, for example, by the colonization and cultural imperialism imposed by Western cultures on the remaining nations in contemporary times.⁵

This thesis posits that dominant intercultural communication is the type of intercultural communication that is presently taking place between St. Kitts and the United States, and so there is the aspect of neocolonialism. St. Kitts and the Caribbean are seen as another market, and a means for the U.S. cable conglomerates to attain their goal of financial gain. On the receptive end, St. Kitts saw cable television as a cheap means of increasing television viewing hours. Dominant intercultural communication provided a safe haven for the nurture of colonialism and its more recent version neocolonialism.

Cultural Imperialism Theory

Cultural imperialism as defined by Tomlinson is a very “general and elastic concept, gathering in notions of domination in terms of both general hegemonic cultural formations (West, Western modernity, consumer culture) and of particular national cultures (America) and accommodating this critique alongside a critique of political economy (transnational capitalism).”⁶ The theory of cultural imperialism is embedded within the original colonialism and is still present today in the concept of neocolonialism.

⁵ Eric Williams, *From Columbus to Castro: The History of the Caribbean 1492-1969* (Britain, Andre Deutsch, 1970), 28 - 29.

⁶ John Tomlinson, “Cultural Globalization and Cultural Imperialism,” *International Communication and Globalization: A Critical Introduction*, ed. Ali Mohammadi (London, Sage Productions, 1997), 174 - 175.

Cultural imperialism allows a dominant entity, within a certain context, to force its methods of operation on less powerful entities. Consequently, during colonialism the European colonisers would require that their colonies emulate the European mode of life.

J. Petras defines cultural imperialism thus:

The systematic penetration and domination of the cultural life of the popular classes of the ruling classes of the West in order to reorder the values, behaviour, institutions, and identity of the oppressed peoples to conform with the interests of the imperial classes.⁷

Petras sees cultural imperialism as something strategic with particular objectives.

He also states that: “mass media have become an integral part of the U.S. system of global political and social control.”⁸ As such, while promoting the free trade of ideas the U.S. is protective of its own industries. In terms of television, Stuart Cunningham and Elizabeth Jacka state: “while the U.S. market is by far the biggest in the world, it is also the most resistant to foreign programming, particularly in the commercial broadcast sector. About 98% of commercial broadcast television is American...”⁹ Mass media control is however, but a small factor of American ambition, the background of this country’s strategic planning leads directly to neocolonialism. In particular, the U.S. seemed to desire control of the Caribbean from as early as 1819.

⁷ J. Petras, “Cultural Imperialism in the Late 20th Century,” *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 23(2) (1993): 140.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 142.

⁹ Stuart Cunningham and Elizabeth Jacka, “Neighbourly Relations? Cross-cultural Reception Analysis and Australian Soaps in Britain.” *Media in Global Context: A Reader*, eds. Annabelle Sreberny-Mohammadi, Dwayne Winseck et. al. (London, Arnold, 1997), 301.

History of U.S. Ambitions in the Caribbean and Beyond

The relationship between the U.S. and the Caribbean has not always been a placid one. The U.S. tries to dominate the Caribbean while the Caribbean struggles for autonomy. Eric Williams posits that it has always been the U.S. ambition to dominate the Caribbean. He refers to a 1819 parliamentary presentation of John Quincy Adams, in which Adams mentions the Spanish colonies to the south and the British colonies to the north of the U.S.

“It is impossible that centuries shall elapse without finding them annexed to the United States; not that any spirit of encroachment or ambition on our part renders it necessary, but because it is a physical, moral and political absurdity that such fragments of territory, with sovereigns at fifteen hundred (*sic*) miles beyond the sea, worthless and burdensome to their owners, should exist permanently contiguous to a great powerful and rapidly developing nation ... until Europe shall find it a settled geographical element that the United States and North America are identical, any effort on our part to reason the world out of a belief that we are ambitious will have no other effect than to convince them that we add to our ambition hypocrisy.”¹⁰

Williams’ premise is backed by that of Alvin Thompson, which shows that in the following century the presidents of the United States still maintained the same ambition. He quotes President Theodore Roosevelt, who in 1904 stated that the U.S. still has the right to: “exercise ... an international police power” in Caribbean and Latin American territories to prevent “chronic wrong doing.”¹¹ Anything that was not in agreement with U.S. desires could therefore be considered “wrong.”

¹⁰ Eric Williams, *From Columbus to Castro: The History of the Caribbean 1492-1969* (Britain, Andre Deutsch, 1970), 410.

¹¹ Alvin Thompson, *The Haunting Past: Politics, Economics and Race in Caribbean Life* (New York, M. E. Sharpe, 1997), 84.

Throughout the 20th Century the U.S. undertook several invasions of the region. The assumption being that certain activities undertaken in these territories were “wrong.” These would include the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba in 1961¹² and the invasion of Grenada in 1983.¹³

U.S. means of domination have not always been this overt but also involved subtler means such as their domination in mass communications. One of the key means of gaining this control was by promoting the idea of free trade in the marketplace of ideas. Even prior to the end of World War II the U.S. was already laying the groundwork for such policies by playing on fears of fascism and the need for peace.¹⁴ Schiller explains that the U.S. had long had intentions on a free marketplace for they had expressed displeasure at British control of oceanic cables.¹⁵ Ironically it is the U.S. who today dominates the “global layer of cable and satellite television.”¹⁶

As such, even prior to the 1970s they took their lobby for an open market to the U.S. general public and the American Society of Newspaper Editors convinced both the Democrats and Republicans to push for the free exchange of communication.¹⁷ The cause was taken to international arenas such as the Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace which took place in Mexico City in 1945.

¹² Eric Williams, *From Columbus to Castro: The History of the Caribbean 1492-1969* (Britain, Andre Deutsch, 1970), 485.

¹³ Hugh O'Shaughnessy, *Grenada: Revolution, Invasion and Aftermath* (London, Hamilton, 1984).

¹⁴ Herbert Schiller, *Communication and Cultural Domination* (White Plains, N.Y., International Arts and Sciences Press, Inc., 1976), 25.

¹⁵ Ibid, 27.

¹⁶ Joseph Straubhaar, “Distinguishing the Global, Regional and National Levels of World Television,” *Media in Global Context: A Reader*, 290.

¹⁷ Herbert Schiller, *Communication and Cultural Domination*, 31.

At this conference, Latin America which was considered a prime U.S. interest and since the war had almost no European influence, seemed to be a good site for testing the U.S. information policy. As predicted, the conference adopted a strong resolution on “free access to information.”¹⁸

As previously mentioned, in the early years of the U.N. the U.S. had much influence. This was actively demonstrated by the fact that in defining UNESCO the “earliest proposals for the constitution of UNESCO, which were drafted by a U.S. panel of experts and reviewed by the State Department, prominently espoused the free flow of information as a UNESCO objective.”¹⁹ In its early years UNESCO was controlled by the U.S. and it was not until the late 1960s and early 1970s when more developing countries became a part of the U.N., that U.S. power began to decline. Then, developing countries began to bristle under the control of the U.S., particularly in terms of communication and the proposal for a New World Information Communication Order (NWICO) which emerged in the 1970s. Such shall be discussed in the following chapter. For now, however, it is necessary to highlight the difference between cultural imperialism within the colonial setting and cultural imperialism of present time, which is of concern to this thesis.

¹⁸ Herbert Schiller, *Communication and Cultural Domination* (White Plains, N.Y., International Arts and Sciences Press, Inc., 1976), 32.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 34.

Cultural Imperialism within Colonialism

Within colonialism, European powers undertook overt means of control in their colonies. This is reflected in Third World countries having names of European cities and landmarks, copies of European architecture, the language of the coloniser and the like. The explorers had claimed these territories in the name of their European countries and among other objectives, European sovereigns felt that it was their duty to lead the residents of these territories toward civilization. As Alvin Thompson states, to the colonisers and sometimes even to the colonised, colonialism was “a major leap forward in the material, social, cultural and spiritual advancement of colonial peoples: the major, indeed the essential, element in their transition from ‘anarchy’ to ‘order’, from ‘oppression’ to ‘liberation’, from ‘barbarism’ to ‘civilization’.”²⁰ Among its many components, the civilising of a people also meant stopping them from practicing their former way of life and instilling European mores and values on them. St. Kitts was no exception.

Another reason that colonial powers would not have felt the need to encourage intrinsic cultures was simply because residents of their territories were not seen as equals but rather as means by which their empire could be enriched. It is no hidden fact that the colonies and the people living there were often exploited in full capitalist grandeur. The objective was for the mother countries to make money.²¹ The concerns, opinions and

²⁰ Alvin Thompson, *The Haunting Past: Politics, Economics and Race in Caribbean Life* (New York, M.E. Sharpe, 1997), 10.

²¹ Eric Williams, *From Columbus to Castro: The History of the Caribbean 1492-1969* (Britain, Andre Deutsch, 1970).

ways of life of the residents of these territories were of secondary or even tertiary importance.

What did concern them, or rather worry them, was the unifying forces that could be found within ethnic cultures. This again was another reason to suppress it, since they realised its potential to bring the dominated classes together. As will be noted in Chapter Three, St. Kitts was agriculturally exploited and so it was easier to alienate and 're-civilize' the slaves/working class for the simple reason that they were not native to the West Indies and because their appearance was different from the typical European.

Cultural Imperialism within Neocolonialism

Within neocolonialism, cultural imperialism took a more subtle form. With the decline in colonialism, due to agitation within the colonies themselves and in the case of the English-speaking Caribbean, the rise of trade unions and nationalism, it was literally the end of an era. European powers reluctantly gave independence to many of their colonies, though still retaining enclaves in particular regions. Still, the newly independent countries had a measure of reliance on the mother countries, as expressed by the 'dependency thesis.'²² Despite beginning to slowly define and find their true national identities the former colonies still were not economically viable. Hence the U.N. classification of First, Second and Third World countries – the First World comprised developed countries who were economically self-sufficient, the Second World comprised the former communist block while the Third World comprised developing countries

²² Hilary Brown, "American Media Impact on Jamaican Youth: The Cultural Dependency Thesis," *Globalization, Communications and Caribbean Identity* ed. Hopeton Dunn (Jamaica, Ian Randle Publishers Ltd. 1995), 56 - 82.

whose economies were not self-sustainable. Third World countries knew that assistance economically and otherwise were necessary in order for them to maintain their affairs and become economically stable, however, they wanted this done on their own terms. No longer did they want measures imposed upon them but they wanted to choose which measures best suited their needs.

The former colonisers were still in control economically, in the dispensation of grants and other monetary funding; they were still in control politically, in such organisations as the United Nations; and they were still in control culturally in terms of command of communication systems and the volume of their cultural products that were dispensed to developing nations. As was the case of the British West Indies, the profit made from the agricultural exploitation remained in Britain. Britain in turn would dispense goods and limited money to the colonies annually and upon certain specific requests; this was the basis of the mercantile system.²³ Walter Rodney in *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* intricately explained how Britain was able to exploit Africa to the point where some of the present problems can be traced back to the colonial era. The Caribbean and other countries of the Commonwealth were not excluded from such treatment. As Bonham Richardson notes: “the area’s [Caribbean’s] physical environments – destabilized, modified, and depleted by centuries of colonial control – do not support and cannot guarantee the success of livelihood strategies based entirely on local resources and opportunities. This leaves little to interpose between the demands of

²³ Nancy F. Koehn, *The Power of Commerce: Economy and Governance in the First British Empire* (New York, Cornell University Press, 1984).

the outside world and the needs of Caribbean islanders.’’²⁴ As such, following independence colonies often did not have the monetary base, economic infrastructure or even the knowledge of how to maintain their own economic affairs. Since they could no longer depend on the mother country for annual support, former colonies were therefore still very much dependent on grants from abroad. However, since culture is one of the primary concerns of this thesis, this is the aspect within the parametres of neocolonialism that shall be discussed in detail.

Initially, all of the colonisers had some part in the dispensation of media and cultural products within their former territories. As in the case of the British, the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) had a reach that covered all of the British Empire. As such, not only news but also the entertainment and cultural side of British broadcasting was heard by the British subjects, as shall be further discussed in the next chapter. In addition, as has been previously mentioned Britain had major control of the oceanic cables giving them ready access to communications. However, following World War II, and in the later decades, when the U.S. continued to push for the free marketplace of ideas; many developing countries, including Latin America and the Caribbean accepted U.S. programming. Many of them grew to favour it over their own local programming, as shall be explored in Chapter Five. The English-speaking Caribbean in particular was easy prey, since they were in close proximity, the programmes were cheap and there was no need for translation. Public broadcasting stations in the region would therefore air local, British and American programming. Quite often programming control rested in the

²⁴ Bonham Richardson, *Caribbean Migrants: Environment and Human Survival on St. Kitts and Nevis* (Knoxville, University of Tennessee Press, 1983), 8.

hands of the manager who could make the final decision as to what to air. In St. Kitts the situation was the same except that the government owned the station and so could intervene and determine what was not “fit” for public consumption. In the wider context, of globalisation, an appropriate climate for cultural imperialism seems possible. Within such a context it is possible for neocolonialism to bloom and grow.

With hindsight, it can be observed that certain key changes took place following World War II that stimulated neocolonialism and helped to ground globalisation. Some of these changes were largely economically-based but they had an impact on the developing nations. Neville Jayaweera states that three of these structural transformations were: “the replacement of the old-fashioned, competitive capitalism by monopoly capitalism ... the transfer of production to Third World countries where capital could benefit from the ‘competitive advantage’ of cheap labour ... the emergence of the multinational corporation as the instrument whereby capitalism effected and sustained the shift to the periphery of the Third World.”²⁵ Jayaweera argues that this led to the New International Division of Labour, which in simple terms is the restructuring of capitalism so that it can encompass conducting business (establishing branches) in the Third World. More often than not only a minimal percentage of the profit, manifested in wages, would remain in the developing country. This was the beginning of transnational corporations which along with employment brought their business cultures to developing countries, as shall be explored in Chapter Seven.

²⁵ Neville Jayaweera, “The Third World and the Political Economy of the Communication Revolution,” *Communication and Domination: Essays to honor Herbert Schiller*, eds. Jorg Becker, Goran Hedebo and Leena Paldan (New Jersey, Ablex Publishing and Company, 1986), 37.

Although this method of creating a new type of dependency was largely economical, Schiller notes that there is a link with the commercialisation of broadcasting. He states that the press is an enterprise that is “used in the penetrative process. For penetration on a significant scale the media themselves must be captured by the dominating/penetrating power. This occurs largely through the commercialization of broadcasting.”²⁶ He goes on to cite examples of Latin America relying mainly on imported programming and of Disney films being translated into many different languages, to be aired in many different countries, but still with the same basic content. In short, as expressed by Schiller: “the content and style of the programming, however adapted to local conditions, bear the ideological imprint of the main centers of the capitalist world economy.”²⁷

However, does this type of capitalism also apply to the production of the news as well? Capitalism does exist within the discipline of the news media. Oliver Boyd-Barrett, states that the first transnational media systems were news agencies.²⁸ He notes that news agencies:

... exploited the political and economic currency of news as a commodity affecting the value of other commodities. They forged domestic and transnational links between state, capital, media and civil society: state and capital provided patronage and revenue, in order to secure information and to influence the information which agencies feed to public media.²⁹

²⁶ Herbert Schiller, *Communication and Cultural Domination* (White Plains, N.Y., International Arts and Sciences Press Inc., 1976), 10.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Oliver Boyd Barrett, “Global News Wholesalers as Agents of Globalization,” *Media in Global Context: A Reader*, eds. Annabelle Sreberny-Mohammadi, Dwayne Winseck et. Al. (London Arnold, 1997), 132.

²⁹ Ibid., 132 - 133.

Boyd-Barrett also stated that since he wrote about the Big 4: Agence France Press (AFP), Associated Press (AP), Reuters and United Press International (UPI), in 1978 and 1980, much change has taken place. These changes include the decline of UPI due to economic and takeover crises in the 1980s as well as various shifts among television, video and financial television news agencies and markets. In the midst of all of these changes Boyd-Barrett still sees the existence of a dominant few, chief among whom is the U.S.

Arrival of new players have implications for the 'long heritage' which I claimed for the major agencies in 1980. Some but not all the actors have indeed been around for a long time. But new providers reinforce an Anglo-American tradition of news dominance, and perhaps the swing to European dominance, argued by Tunstall (1992), may have reversed back in favour of the U.S.³⁰

Neocolonialism within the parametres of communication did not happen by accident for the U.S. Just as mother countries had struggled to control the communication flow within their colonies during colonialism, similarly after colonialism, the U.S. struggled to take this control away from these former colonisers. For all practical purposes the U.S. became the new colonisers, particularly in terms of communication since it could be used to reinforce their other global ambitions. Communication was an essential part of strategic action for domination which included the application of communication research. The U.S. Information Agency (USIA) relied on the expertise of personnel with both operational and analytical communication skills.

³⁰ Oliver Boyd Barrett, "Global News Wholesalers as Agents of Globalization," *Media in Global Context: A Reader*, eds. Annabelle Sreberny-Mohammadi, Dwayne Winseck et. Al. (London Arnold, 1997), 135.

As noted by Schiller, one of these experts, Wilson Dizard, stated that communication had to be shaped to suit audience sensibilities. This tactic was extended to the international arena, for as Dizard notes:

“What USIA needs, first and foremost, is to improve its listening instruments, its sensitive intake channels. ... Our primacy role in this effort is to sensitize policy makers, from the White House on down, in the relevance, and the specific details of the communication environment abroad.”³¹

With this understanding of communication internationally, the U.S. could continue to move forward in expanding and consolidating their global communication market. As Schiller states it actively demonstrated “the global involvement of U.S. capitalism and its urgent need for reliable information about the climate of opinion in the areas in which it was active.”³²

U.S. communication strategy was made even clearer by the proposals of Frank Stanton. As quoted by Schiller, Frank Stanton was the chairperson of a privately supported but government-appointed panel on international information, education, and cultural relations. His suggestions to the U.S. government reflected on the new role of communication in the 1970s.

While the United States retains considerable, perhaps predominant, power in international affairs, the capacity of America to dictate the course of international events has diminished. This means that the United States will have to count more than ever on explanation and persuasion. The

³¹ Herbert Schiller, *Communication and Cultural Domination* (White Plains, N.Y. International Arts and Sciences Press Inc., 1976), 21.

³² *Ibid.*, 22.

new premium on persuasion makes cultural diplomacy essential to the achievement of American policy goals.³³

As such, from a very early point in time the U.S. defined a strategy pertaining to communication, and undertook measures that would assist it in achieving this end. What may have appeared to the U.S. as the expansion of capitalism, was experienced by developing countries as neocolonialism.

U.S. Communications Policy with Regards to the Caribbean Area

As already noted, the U.S. had the specific ambition of extending their business operations by expanding them on the global level. U.S. interest in the Caribbean revealed itself again when the government published advertising and marketing manuals on how to capture various country markets in the 1920s.³⁴ Similarly, in 1986 the U.S. Department of Commerce published a Telecommunications Equipment Markets in the Caribbean/Central American Area report which provided “profiles of thirty-two countries and territories, presumably designed to help large corporations learn hardware needs.”³⁵

The Caribbean Basin Initiative (CBI) which was introduced in 1982 and implemented the following year, was an economic development plan that included \$350 million in economic assistance, duty-free status for products imported into the U.S. and tax advantages for U.S. firms investing in the Caribbean.³⁶

³³ Herbert Schiller, *Communication and Cultural Domination* (White Plains, N.Y. International Arts and Sciences Press Inc., 1976), 22 - 23.

³⁴ John Lent, *Mass Communications in the Caribbean* (Iowa, Iowa State University Press, 1990), 272.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Robert Picard, “Coverage of the Caribbean Basin Initiative,” *Mass Media and the Caribbean* (New York, Gordon and Breach, 1990), 352.

Implemented by U.S. president, Ronald Reagan, it was based on market-oriented policies. As Aggrey Brown notes, it “was meant to open the U.S. market to countries of the region; in part as a U.S. response to the leftist Caribbean policies of the ‘70s as much as recognition of the ideological affinity between the two new regimes.”³⁷ President Reagan, at the Organisation of the American States (OAS) meeting where the plan was revealed, noted that:

“It is an integrated program that helps our neighbours help themselves, a program that will create conditions under which creativity and private entrepreneurship and self-help can flourish. Aid is an important part of this program because many of our neighbours needed to put themselves in a starting position from which they can begin to earn their own way. But this aid will encourage private-sector activities, not displace them.”³⁸

Despite Reagan’s optimism, by 1986 the initiative had failed to achieve its goals and blame was being passed around. American Vice President George Bush blamed Caribbean governments for not lowering trade barriers among nations, reducing taxes, returning government enterprises to the private sector, and other steps designed to spur business interest in the region.³⁹ At a House Ways and Means Committee hearing in 1986 administration officials and Caribbean representatives blamed world oil prices and congressional actions that limited imports of sugar and other Caribbean products.⁴⁰ As Michael Delblond, a native of St. Lucia wrote in the *Los Angeles Times* in 1986

³⁷ Aggrey Brown, “Mass Media in Jamaica,” *Mass Media and the Caribbean* (New York, Gordon and Breach, 1990), 12.

³⁸ Robert Picard, “Coverage of the Caribbean Basin Initiative,” *Mass Media and the Caribbean*, 352.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 356.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

“If the CBI has sunk to the bottom of Washington’s policy agenda, as some seem to think, this would not only raise serious questions about a credible U.S. Caribbean policy; it also could appear as more of the same historic subterfuge” of attempting to make Caribbean nations *de facto* American colonies through economic and political policies.⁴¹

Similarly in terms of communications CBI was cause for concern. As Lent notes CBI was used by the U.S. in a “blackmail fashion – open up island economies to private foreign investments or be denied U.S. assistance.”⁴² He further quotes Brown as stating: “‘Deregulation, free enterprise and open markets’ were encouraged, and in that context, ‘Communication technologies are conceived as commodities for consumption or as products for manufacturing and assembling.’”⁴³

As such there was an influx of transnational corporations, including those specialising in communications, entering the Caribbean. As Lent notes, this again perpetuated renewed dependency and as such neocolonialism.

The need to entice foreign business and new industrialization, as well as to continue to attract tourism, was translated into a need for better communication facilities, also brought in from outside. ... Of course as a modern telecommunications infrastructure was provided for the Caribbean, a correspondingly heavy reliance on foreign produced supplies materialized. It has always been obvious that the increased push for new information technologies has been to provide markets for foreign companies, as expressed by a Barbadian broadcaster who lamented, “When we go to the operations committee meeting [INTELSAT], the people there are mostly interested in selling us equipment, not so much in helping us with our problems” (quoted in Hoover 1986).⁴⁴

⁴¹ Robert Picard, “Coverage of the Caribbean Basin Initiative,” *Mass Media and the Caribbean* (New York, Gordon and Breach, 1990), 356.

⁴² John Lent, *Mass Communications in the Caribbean* (Iowa, Iowa State University Press, 1990), 272.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 273.

Similarly, Lent quotes the Caribbean Contact of 1984 as citing that the eagerness of the government-owned stations in the English-speaking Caribbean enabled the U.S. government to: “put pressure of possible exclusion from its Caribbean Basin Initiative (CBI) on a number of nations, including Jamaica, to accept restrictions and pay fees for the ‘privilege’ of retransmitting U.S. television programmes that in no way cater to the particular interest of priorities of the Caribbean region.”⁴⁵

As such, while on the surface the CBI appeared to be in the best interests of countries of the Caribbean, it also led them right back to the dependency from which they had been trying to emerge.

Globalisation and Culture

Globalisation like cultural imperialism can be a very evasive construct. It is sometimes thought to be limited to economic trading aspects or it can be expanded to include other aspects such as culture. It has been said to have the capacity to cause homogeneity in the world in all aspects, including culture. Yet, it is also said to have the potential to produce a free market in all avenues including a “free marketplace of ideas.” In such a situation all countries should have an equal opportunity to make their contribution in this free marketplace and so there would be no dominant country or countries. Dorith Grant-Wisdom provides a definition that encapsulates what is generally thought of globalisation. She sees it as:

⁴⁵ John Lent, *Mass Communications in the Caribbean* (Iowa, Iowa State University Press, 1990), 273.

... a process that refers to operations within the whole globe. It speaks to the intensification of political, economic and social interconnectedness between states and people, thus blurring geographical boundaries. In addition, despite the fact that all aspects of people's lives seem to be becoming more and more linked to others in other countries, it is the economy that tends to be the driving force towards globalization.⁴⁶

The section of the definition that concerns this thesis is the aspect of interconnectedness. In essence, whereas Wisdom seems to place the strong point of globalisation on economics, she also accepts that culture is being impacted by the construct. There is no doubt that due to globalisation and the technological explosion of communication – time and space have been compressed, and so there are many opportunities to instantly learn about the ways of life of other people. It is possible to know that Japanese Sumo wrestlers are very flexible despite their large size, that Australian aboriginal peoples play an instrument that is made of wood hallowed out by insects, and that Hindus make a pilgrimage to dip in the Ganges at a certain time of the year in order to be cleansed.

However, there is also the negative side to cable television. In St. Kitts with the exception of satellite dish owners, the next means of acquiring international television programming is via cable television. In St. Kitts, there is only one cable company and this company provides U.S.-based programming, as shall be explained in detail in Chapter Five. U.S. cable television introduces a north-south method of communication. This means of cultural promulgation introduces the negative aspect of globalisation and provides an entry point for cultural imperialism and neocolonialism as a whole.

⁴⁶ Dorith Grant-Wisdom, "The Economics of Globalization: Implications for Communications and the Service Sector," *Globalization, Communications and Caribbean Identity* ed. Hopeton Dunn (Jamaica, Ian Randle Publishers Ltd. 1995), 3.

Tomlinson agrees that cultural imperialism can survive and perpetuate itself within the parameters of globalisation.

The argument that links cultural globalization to cultural imperialism goes roughly like this: globalization is either just the latest term for, or the latest stage in, a process with a long history, a history more or less co-extensive with the history of Western imperialism. It is simply the global working through the process of domination in which the West (or America, or transnational capitalism) draws all cultures into its ambit.⁴⁷

Although the subject of globalisation will be investigated in more detail in Chapter Six, it is interesting to note that although globalisation allows for the exposure of different cultures, at the same time it has the ability to alienate others. In the same way that in the economic and political sphere of globalisation certain countries of the West seem to dominate, just so in the cultural sphere certain countries dominate, particularly the United States. American cultural exports such as movies and cable television are quite predominant in the Caribbean, as shall be explored later.

There is however, another side to the story of globalisation and cultural imperialism as Tomlinson demonstrates. He notes that the mere presence of American cultural goods does not necessarily lead to the fact of cultural imperialism, since there may be means of resistance within the recipient country. These could include competition from other types of programming, such as from TV Globo in Brazil and Televisa in Mexico. Similarly, he argues that global culture is a dialectic, in that although cultural products are being delivered with a certain meaning from the host country;

⁴⁷ John Tomlinson, "Cultural Globalization and Cultural Imperialism," *International Communication and Globalization: A Critical Introduction*, ed. Ali Mohammadi (London, Sage Productions, 1997), 174.

on the receiving end they may go through translation, mutation and adaptation which may result in hybridity. In addition, Tomlinson states that the dialectic also provides room for the emergence into the global arena of originally non-Western cultures or sub-cultures such as reggae and hip hop music cultures. Globalisation, Tomlinson posits, is a complex decentred process which does not quite fit into the core-periphery model. Instead, he finds that certain Third World economies such as the “Asian Tigers” (South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore, Hong Kong, Malaysia and Indonesia) have been successful within global capitalism.⁴⁸

However, in terms of the thesis at hand, it is necessary to show that cable television is received by countries in the English-speaking Caribbean that were already accustomed to the cycle of dependence and had already been psychologically disenfranchised by colonialism. In such an unstable environment, still in the process of defining itself, it was not that difficult to convince residents that there was a better way of life, i.e. the American lifestyle. Some are ultimately sucked in by the promises of advertisements that certain products must be acquired, in order to have the perfect life and to be accepted by ones’ peers. Others must have the hairstyles and clothing worn by certain celebrities in order to have the possibility of having a glamorous lifestyle as well. This can lead to an idolisation of the American lifestyle and a dissatisfaction with one’s own culture.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ John Tomlinson, “Cultural Globalization and Cultural Imperialism,” *International Communication and Globalization: A Critical Introduction*, ed. Ali Mohammadi (London, Sage Productions, 1997), 180 - 188.

⁴⁹ Both Hilary Brown and Lynette Lashley document these manifestations of Americanisation in their analyses of Jamaican and Trinbagonian youth. Both studies shall be explained in Chapter Five.

This dissatisfaction is reflected in terms of support of local cultural activities/displays as well as disillusionment with local technologies and an overall belief that one's country of birth is inferior, as shall be explored in Chapter Five. This can lead to the imitation of American language and colloquial sayings, dress, materialism and non-interest in performing/supporting local activities. The latter is of some concern since certain meetings may not be able to take place on particular evenings until certain films have concluded. Additionally, cable television can act as an impetus to reinforce other Americanisation trends. For example, television programmes will expose viewers to the American way of life including fashion trends, sports and the like and may encourage one to purchase magazines, order clothing from the U.S. or even travel there and gain even more exposure to the American way of life.

There is also the aspect of capitalist and consumerism "culture" elements. Elements such as aggressive competition are portrayed in certain films including soap operas as well as in the psychological tactics of advertisements. Some scenes pit brother against brother in the name of the "almighty" dollar. Likewise, within advertisements a comparison may be made between the product and the competitor's product, naturally showing the later in a negative light. This can lead to overly aggressive business behaviour as well as the desire for articles that are not necessary and so can lead to other problems such as debt.

However, there is another angle when addressing culture and its products and that is the concept of postmodernism. Under such a construct, culture and its products become nothing more than commodities, since commodification has arrived at its peak

within postmodernism. David Harvey makes the link between culture and commodification within the parameters of postmodernism.

The closing of the gap between popular culture and cultural production in the contemporary period, while strongly dependent on new technologies of communication, seems to lack any avant-gardist or revolutionary impulse, leading many to accuse postmodernism of a simple and direct surrender to commodification, commercialisation, and the market.⁵⁰

As such, the American cultural industry market is seen as a very lucrative business. At the same time certain validated ethnic programmes will be shown because of ethnic group lobbying/demands more than anything else. Changes in programming often take place as a result of demands of resident diasporas rather than from efforts to increase programming equity, relative to ethnic shows. As recently as 2000, there were several minority U.S. caucus groups that protested against the major U.S. cable networks because the films that were being shown at “prime time” were centred around white families and groups of friends and there was an obvious decline in visible minority actors and actresses. Due to the lobbying in the U.S. more films centred around minorities were included in the line-up. In essence, the U.S. cable networks, first and foremost cater to the tastes and desires of their American audience.

Aijaz Ahmad also finds that these ethnic groups, many of which comprise people from developing countries, generally have made their presence felt in the West.

For this is the first time large ethnic communities from various ex-colonial countries have gathered in the metropolises in such a way that

⁵⁰ David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (Oxford, Blackwell, 1989), 59.

considerable segments are making historically new kinds of demand for inclusion in the salaried, professional middle class and its pattern of education, employment, consumption, social valuation and career advancement.⁵¹

Ahmad posits that it is in the present time that these groups have come into their own and are able to lobby for and achieve a measure of equality within the wider society. It is such a presence that enables them to push for the acceptance of their cultural products.

The presence of ethnic groups in the U.S. also opens up another argument concerning the means that have to be undertaken in order to get cultural articles from the developing world onto the global market. The difficulty arises not only in terms of getting Third World culture displayed on the television but also cultural articles in general.

Globalisation, Migration and Culture

As shall be explained in Chapter Three, Kittitians and Caribbean peoples in general, tend to migrate mainly to find better work opportunities. This is the chief reason that Caribbean diasporas exist in various parts of the world including the U.S. Quite often it is said among Kittitians that many people migrate to the U.S., both legally and illegally, because there is more “opportunity” there. In terms of the cultural industry, opportunity does exist in terms of getting writing published. Although there is a global market, it has been acknowledged by many Caribbean artists that in order for their work

⁵¹ Aijaz Ahmad, *In Theory: Classes, Nations, Literatures*. (London, Verso, 1992), 81.

to be accepted speedily, they have to operate from either the U.S. or another western country.

Primarily, there are limited Caribbean-based professional publishing firms, that come up to international standards. Secondly, it is more difficult to promote a book from the Caribbean if the intended audience is international customers. Thirdly, there is more opportunity for exposure to international award agencies (inclusion in the canon) if one's book has wide market circulation as would be possible by marketing in the West. Fourthly, if the chief ambition is a livelihood, it would be more profitable operating from the West. Migration as a means of economic advancement and as an accepted cultural custom will be explored in more detail in Chapter Three. Globalisation thus encourages the Caribbean artist to leave his home if international success is the goal. The exception would be writers who write primarily in dialect for mainly a Caribbean audience and those who work more for the love of the art form rather than relying on it as a means of livelihood. The latter would have to have another steady means of income thus taking away time from their creative efforts. Such writers tend to remain in the Caribbean and serve as productive agitation for the greater appreciation of indigenous art forms; including lobbying for greater commitment in terms of monetary support.

The end result is that the now expatriate artist writes with the experience and memories of the local culture that ultimately fuels his/her creative process. Yet, the fact is that this is not taking place within the cultural context that helped to make him/her what he/she has become. As is the case with many Caribbean migrants, this does not mean that frequent visits are not paid to one's place of birth. However, the Caribbean artist must now be mostly working out of a "pseudo" Third World cultural environment if

he wants to be successful in the global arena. The home environment also suffers and is left lacking because it no longer provides the nurturing base and sustenance for the creativity pool of one of the “sons of the soil,” which can lead to dissatisfaction with the local environment among locals and the acceptance that in order to thrive one has to reside abroad. Many Caribbean artists including Nobel prize winner for literature Derek Walcott, storyteller Ken Cosbie and St. Kitts’ own Simon Jones-Hendrickson now live and work abroad, specifically out of the U.S., or its nearby Caribbean territories. Literature, however, only touches the surface for there are scores of artists in other cultural industries including film, music and art, that were born in the Caribbean but migrated mostly to the U.S. and sometimes to other countries in the West, mainly because their profession is more lucrative there, and more readily accepted in the global “marketplace of ideas.”

Ahmad found that post-colonial immigration of residents of the Third World was essentially a new type of immigration, particularly since jobs were no longer relegated to work in “the mines; sometimes even to pick the fruit, the vegetables, the garbage.”⁵² Instead, although there was still a working class, a professional stream developed.

In Britain the working-class component remained very strong, but large segments of the professional strata and even of fully capitalist classes also came as immigrants and settlers. In the United States the shift was even more dramatic. The historic pattern of primarily European immigration was matched and then superseded by immigration from the empire: ...⁵³

⁵² Aijaz Ahmad, *In Theory: Classes, Nations, Literatures*. (London, Verso, 1992), 82.

⁵³ Ibid., 83

Ahmad was referring to the 1960s and onward. Among this influx of immigrants were also the cultural artists who observed that their profession became more lucrative when they operated out of the West.

Reference to Colonialism and Development in Art

Since the experiences of writers and cultural artists often emerge in their creative expressions, quite often the products of Third World artists reflected the colonial past and the experiences of being a Third World citizen.. Historical references of their country of birth were also a favourite vantage point of expression. Ahmad termed this type of expression as “counter-canonical” in that it did not conform to the accepted Western scholastic code that had become the canons of the West. These Third World artists came with concepts and revelations that were unfamiliar in the West. Even those artists who had migrated to the West in what Ahmad terms “self imposed exile” still wrote of their past experiences which took place in the colonial setting. This however, does not eliminate the fact that they have transplanted themselves from the birthing island. In the Caribbean setting it would be rare to have instances of actual exile, but as shall be examined in Chapter Three, migration has been accepted as one of the elements of the culture.

Immigration in fact is one of the recurring themes in Caribbean literature. Samuel Selvon, in his book *The Lonely Londoners* graphically describes the experiences of several Caribbean men as they try to adjust after immigrating to Britain. Although humourously written, he discusses some of the serious issues facing new immigrants including acclimatising, the social scene, relationships and work.

Along another vein, V.S. Naipaul in his book *The Young Warriors* takes the historical fact of the Maroons of Jamaica and their battles against the English army and into it weaves the tale of a young warrior. This teenager enters manhood and then manages to save his village from destruction by the “Red Coats.” He does that by going on a journey filled with many challenges in order to send back reinforcements to his village. The story speaks to issues of resistance and revolt, pride and identity as well as independence and nationalism.

Another book, which depicts the journey to manhood is Simon Jones-Hendrickson’s *Sonny Jim of Sandy Point*. The reader is told about the protagonist, Sonny Jim, who experiences many things on his way to manhood that help to mould his character. In the process, the reader is also given a very visual image of the way of life in St. Kitts, as seen through the eyes of a child. Like in *The Young Warriors* issues of independence and identity are addressed. The issue of development is also broached.

In addition to the examples given, there are countless other books by Caribbean authors that discuss the issues of colonialism, development and identity. In the process of doing such, the books give a glimpse into the life of Caribbean peoples and their experiences. Just like literature, other cultural expressions by the Caribbean artist tend to capture the essence of the Caribbean person. However, what of cable television? Does it provide such opportunities within the context of globalisation? Whereas it could be relatively easy for a performance of a literary production to be aired on a local broadcasting service, in terms of cable, it is more difficult. Not only would the manager or the programming director and a sponsor have to be contacted as is the case with a local broadcaster, but it would have to be ascertained where the channel is operating from as

well as whether or not it is part of a network. After ascertaining such, more red tape would have to be cut through. The process itself would deter many an artist from even trying unless of course one had influential contacts in the cable business/network.

Although there are limitations, Chapter Seven will also show that there are possibilities.

Pertaining to small developing countries, globalisation has the potential to create both good and bad. In developing countries, cultural artists are faced with quite a challenge in terms of getting their ideas accepted and marketed so that they survive on the global market. This has given rise to much maneuvering on the part of Caribbean artists to find methods to survive and literally swim with the tide of globalisation. However, before delving deeper into the concept of globalisation it is necessary to gain an understanding of several entities that recognized cultural imperialism in communication and tried to even the scales.

CHAPTER TWO

Neocolonialism and the Role of NWICO, UNESCO and the MacBride Commission

What the NWICO provided was a 'moral platform,' a raison d'être for the restructuring of global communications systems in favour of a system whose control was proportionately distributed between the North and the South.

Pradip Thomas

The New World Information Communication Order (NWICO), the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), and the MacBride Commission have an indelible connection, in that they were part of a process that examined the parity of the world communication system. In the midst of what can be described as cultural imperialism, these entities were part of a process that aired discrepancies in the equality of the world communication system between developed and developing countries. An influx of new developing countries joining the U.N. in the late 1960s and early 1970s and together with older developing countries they began to voice their dissatisfaction with the present state of affairs. NWICO was a proposal concerning communication issues that were of importance to developing countries. UNESCO, as an organ of the United Nations was able to take a more active role because it was an organisation comprising member states, a secretariat, national commissions, international non-governmental organisations and experts. As such it provided developmental aid in the outlined areas of education, science and culture; as well as in communications, which

was considered key in the developmental process. UNESCO put together the MacBride Commission and brought the findings before the member-countries, for ratification. As such, the Commission came about due to UNESCO's effort to establish an impartial entity to investigate the claims of inequality in communications. This chapter seeks to investigate NWICO, UNESCO and the MacBride Commission and find out whether they made a change in the balance of world communications.

In the same way that in the stone-age era, tribal leaders attained control because of their strength and power, just so it seems that the countries of the West acquired a position of control because of their political, economic and technological prowess. Also in the developed countries favour, was the fact that prior to de-colonialism many had colonies and these territories were still very much dependent on them. During colonialism there had always been mutterings of discontent, like in any oppressor-oppressed relationship, however following colonialism the developing countries seemed more adamant in their demands and cries for equality. With independence had come a measure of assertiveness and former colonies reserved the right to say how they would seek and accept aid and under what conditions; to try to limit the overall control of the former mother countries; and to say when imposed measures were overbearing. One of the measures that the former-colonies felt was overbearing was the continued Western control over the world communication systems.¹ Former colonies felt that now that they were independent, they should at least have a say in the relationship between the West and themselves, in many areas including communication. Such was the issue of the

¹ John Lent, *Mass Communications in the Caribbean* (Ames, Iowa, Iowa State University Press, 1990), 39.

NWICO proposal. However, before going any further it is necessary to explain what exactly was NWICO.

The New World Information Communication Order

Developing nations were discontented. Independence had not been achieved in its true sense and present dependence could be traced back to the colonial period as noted by Marlene Cuthbert.

In the English-speaking Caribbean, as in most of the colonial world, the historical links with Britain had included communication links that served to tie the colonies to the colonizing power rather than to each other. Hence, throughout the colonial period, most West Indian mass media remained dependent, and regional mass communications were virtually absent.²

Lent further demonstrates that the British had every intention to hold on to this control for as long as possible. As such, when the working class of the English-speaking islands began agitating for liberty from the repressive working conditions and became united under labour union and nationalist movements, the British were very concerned. The political activism on the part of the masses had stimulated the media. Lent notes that between the 1920s and 1940s at least 32 publications were established in Jamaica.³

² Marlene Cuthbert, "A Model for a Small Independent News Agency: CANA and CANA Radio," *Mass Media and the Caribbean*, eds. Stuart Surlin and Walter Soderlund (New York, Gordon and Breach, 1990), 403.

³ John Lent, *Third World Mass Media and their Search for Modernity: The Case of Commonwealth Caribbean 1717 - 1976* (London, Associated University Presses, 1977), 58.

Following the 1938 riots in Trinidad, Barbados, St. Kitts and Jamaica,⁴ which were among a series of uprisings under the labour union and nationalist banners, Britain appointed a commission to examine the situation in the Commonwealth Caribbean. In its 1944 report it noted that “ in many cases government officials were debarred from replying to the [local] media; at other times they could not do so because of inexperience and lack of suitable staff.”⁵ The committee recommended that:

Every available means of influencing public opinion and, where the means now available are inadequate, should introduce new methods of explaining their (public officials’) policy ... Much more active steps can, and should, be taken to make known to the masses of the people the point of view of government on all the major problems of the day.⁶

As such, Britain was not ready to give up control over her colonies and was not in favour of the development of local media, since it influenced public opinion about the Crown and encouraged dissent. In fact, Lent states that the establishment of and the important role of government information services in the islands can be traced back to this report.⁷

Concurrently, following the end of World War II and following the independence of many of the former British colonies, much did not change in terms of mass communication. It can be said that mass communication was one of several remaining means of control left to the former colonisers. In the developing world, the news media

⁴ John Lent, *Third World Mass Media and their Search for Modernity: The Case of Commonwealth Caribbean 1717 - 1976* (London, Associated University Presses, 1977), 59.

⁵ Ibid., 60.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

in particular depended heavily on foreign agencies. Cuthbert notes this.

After World War II, Caribbean media collected foreign news by means of individual arrangements with international news agencies ...

Thus, Caribbean nations, like others in the Third World, were heavily dependent on international news agencies to interpret the world to them and also to interpret them to the world: Caribbean news dependency was illustrated by the fact that neighbouring English-speaking islands were able to receive news of each other only via links to London or, in the case of neighbouring English and French islands, via links to and between London and Paris. In general, the only regional news available was that considered important enough to be carried by the world service of an international agency and then fed back to the region.⁸

This situation was not unique to Caribbean Third World territories.⁹ As such, the proposal for a NWICO was very important to these developing countries.

NWICO was proposed via the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) which commenced in 1955 and allowed developing countries to express their struggles for decolonisation. Members of NAM, as the name stated, sought not to align themselves to any of the major world powers in the First or the Second World. Pradip Thomas, states that it originally was “a ‘tribune’ of the South, exemplified in its support of non-alignment as a course of action to be followed by the South in the face of the politics of the Cold War, as well as its role as a protector of the economic interests of the south.”¹⁰ As such, at the 1973 NAM summit in Algiers, issues relevant to a New International Economic Order (NIEO) were tabled. The NIEO concept should have aired issues of

⁸ Marlene Cuthbert, “A Model for a Small Independent News Agency: CANA and CANA Radio,” *Mass Media and the Caribbean*, eds. Stuart Surlin and Walter Soderlund (New York, Gordon and Breach, 1990), 403 - 404.

⁹ Oliver Boyd-Barrett, *The International News Agencies* (London, Constable and Co. Ltd., 1980), 15.

¹⁰ Pradip Thomas, “An Inclusive NWICO: Cultural Resilience and Popular Resistance,” *Beyond Cultural Imperialism: Globalization, Communication and the New International Order* (London, Sage Productions Inc., 1997), 163.

economic relations seeking better terms of trade, debt relief and increased foreign aid for developing countries. It met with resistance from transnational corporations. This meeting was significant to the NWICO proposal, because it was here that the inequalities within communication were first officially brought to the gathering of former colonies. A famous quote from the Economic Declaration states:

It is an established fact that the activities of imperialism are not confined solely to the political and economic fields, but also cover the cultural and social fields, thus imposing an alien ideological domination over the peoples of the developing world.¹¹

The concept for a New World Information Communication Order was thus conceived in 1973 and it was elaborated on in 1976 at a Non-Aligned media seminar in Tunis. At this meeting the delegates expressed their distaste of Western domination over the information sector. This, the delegates stated was adversely affecting their various indigenous cultures.

... the peoples of developing countries are the victims of domination in information and this domination is a blow to their most authentic cultural values, and in the final analysis subjugates their interest to those of imperialism.

The colonialist, imperialist and racist powers have created effective means of information and communication that are conditioning the masses to the interests of their powers.¹²

¹¹ Colleen Roach, "The Western World and the NWICO: United they Stand?" *Beyond Cultural Imperialism: Globalization, Communication and the New International Order* (London, Sage Productions Inc., 1997), 95.

¹² Ibid.

Therefore, using NIEO's five economic objectives as guidelines, five points of reference for the NWICO proposal were developed. Galtung and Vincent encapsulate these points as follows:

... strong efforts to improve the First World-Third World terms of news exchange, with more symmetric representations; increasing Third World influence over information-communication assets; increasing news about other Third World countries in Third World media and lessening news about the First World; and increasing both Third World influences over First World communication institutions such as "international" wire agencies, and attempts to control U.N. agencies in the field, such as UNESCO and ITU.¹³

NWICO entertained a great deal of debate surrounding the balance of communication. Developing countries wanted to express their concerns about domination of communication by the West, its effect on culture and the means open to them to protect national identity. Were NWICO to come to pass it would have been expected to be a means of bringing this communication imbalance to the attention of the world. The proposal of a NWICO, and the debates surrounding this, caused developed and developing nations to consider the possibility of change. It would have entailed Third World countries creating more of their own news, particularly to be sent to the international news services and relying less on the foreign news with a foreign perspective that was easily accessible through the news wires. Interestingly enough, several Third World news agencies were established around that period including the Caribbean News Agency (CANA).

¹³ Johan Galtung and Richard Vincent, *Global Glasnost: Toward a New World Information and Communication Order?* (New Jersey, Hampton Press, Inc., 1992), 19.

CANA was established in 1976, and was jointly owned by public and private mass media of the region, it dealt with some of the issues of the NWICO proposal. At the 1967 Heads of Government Conference of the Commonwealth Caribbean, as quoted by Marlene Cuthbert, there was the “formal call for a regional news agency in 1967, a result of their concern that the regional institutions formed after independence in the early 1960s could not succeed within more ‘regional thinking and awareness,’ and their perception that the mass media provided inadequate coverage for regional events and policies.”¹⁴ As such, CANA was established as an autonomous limited liability company owned by 15 shareholders. CANA had no structural links with Reuters, whose service in the Caribbean it had largely taken over.¹⁵ Only members of the Caribbean Publishers and Broadcasters Association who were part of the group contact with Reuters, or their successors, were eligible to become shareholders. This membership restriction was arrived at as a result of pressure from private media who wanted to maintain some balance between private and public media ownership.¹⁶ As such, CANA has often been termed one of the Third World success stories in terms of the dissemination of news within a particular region. Notably it had a good foundation to begin with, since:

Under the guidance of UNESCO and with initial technological support from Reuters, CANA was able to even the odds in terms of disseminating regional news regionally as well as internationally. As an independent and non-profit-making company, CANA was writing news from a Caribbean perspective, primarily for a Caribbean audience. The same perspective was placed on international news. By 1980, CANA’s news volume was

¹⁴ Marlene Cuthbert, “A Model for a Small, Independent news agency: CANA and CANA Radio,” *Mass Media and the Caribbean*, eds. Stuart Surlin and Walter Soderlund (New York, Gordon and Breach, 1990), 404.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 404 - 405

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 405.

such that it increased from 6,000 to 10-15,000 words of Caribbean news a day, to 15-20,000 words of international news.¹⁷

St. Kitts, as one of the smaller territories of the Commonwealth Caribbean established itself as part of and contributed to communication systems of the region, such as CANA and the more recent Caribbean Broadcasting Union (CBU) which together now form the Caribbean Media Corporation (CMC). This shall be discussed in more detail in Chapter Six.

Although NWICO was a concept, that did not actually come to fruition, it provided a base for both UNESCO and the MacBride Commission to build on. The debates surrounding its possible existence, along with the activities of UNESCO and its MacBride Commission, encouraged the production of news from a Third World perspective as well as its exchange among Third World countries in specific regions or the “same former colonial empire.”¹⁸ This in itself can be seen as a great push for cultural-identity and nationalism for these countries and regions.

Essentially, the former colonies had begun to speak out against domination by former colonisers and the proposal of a NWICO did much to air dissatisfaction as well as invigorate and continue the change in mentality that mother countries had officially recognised by the granting of independence. In terms of communication, colonial control could range from the type of transportation used – since the mother country supplied the funding – to the type of radio reception provided, to the types of shows that were aired

¹⁷ Marlene Cuthbert, “The Caribbean News Agency: Third World Model,” *Journalism Monographs*. (1981): 28.

¹⁸ Johan Galtung and Richard Vincent, *Global Glasnost: Toward a New World Information and Communication Order?* (New Jersey, Hampton Press, Inc., 1992), 104.

(news-broadcasts being of particular concern). Developing countries, such as those within the Commonwealth Caribbean, were faced with locals who knew nothing but British means of operation. All of the social structures had been modelled after the British system. The political system was in the Westminster style, the architecture was British, the predominant religion was Anglican and there remained many other vestiges of British colonialism that were still very evident, pervasive and deeply entrenched. UNESCO was therefore a vital entity.

United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation was in full support of the proposal for a NWICO. Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow, then Director General of UNESCO gave a talk at the University of Bujumbura in 1980, in which he explained the progression of the organisation's support for a "free and balanced flow of information." He stated that in 1974, at the 18th session of the UNESCO general conference, the concept was first incorporated into the organisation's programme. The conference further decided to coordinate a regional Intergovernmental Conference on Communication Policies in Latin America and the Caribbean. As such, in 1976 the proposed conference came to fruition in San Jose, Costa Rica. Participants recommended that: "to compensate the existing imbalance and promote the advent of a true world equilibrium among generators of news, a Latin American and Caribbean news agency, or a consortium of

agencies [should be established] in the region.”¹⁹ UNESCO did indeed provide some of the monetary support for the establishment of the Caribbean Broadcasting Union (CBU).

In 1978, however, UNESCO adopted its draft Mass Media Declaration, which was often referred to as the NWICO Declaration. It supported “the principles of self-reliant communications and self-determination for countries as they establish their own communication policies.”²⁰ Opponents to this declaration, such as the World Freedom Press Committee stated that it gave the governments of developing countries leeway to control communications, thus limiting the freedom of the press.²¹

The declaration itself was actually weak and although unanimously adopted, it held no legal significance as was sometimes the case with declarations. Switzerland, Denmark and Austria held strong reservations. On the other hand, the Dutch delegation, while congratulating UNESCO, expressed that if the organisation have narrowed the scope of its own interest then there would not have been a need for the declaration. On the other hand, developing countries such as Benin, Indonesia, Jamaica, Nepal, Guinea and Algeria stated reservations in that they wished for a more normative instrument.²² However, UNESCO continued its push for equality in communication, for prior to the declaration it had established a commission towards similar ends.

This was in 1976 when the organisation had come to a decision to establish a commission to provide recommendations as to how the issue of world communication

¹⁹ World Freedom Press Committee, “New World Information Order: An Idea whose Time is Here,” in *The Media Crisis* (Florida: Classic Printers), 17.

²⁰ Shirley Biagi and Craig McKie, *Media/Impact: An Introduction to Mass Media* (Toronto, ITP Nelson, 1999), 346.

²¹ World Freedom Press Committee, “New World Information Order.”

²² Cees Hamelink, “MacBride with Hindsight,” *Beyond Cultural Imperialism: Globalization, Communication and the New International Order* (London, Sage Productions Inc. 1997), 73.

should be handled. The recommendations of this commission became surrounded by much controversy and were not to be presented until 1980.

The MacBride Commission

The International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems was a 16-member team that came together under Irish statesman Sean MacBride. The commission was given a mandate to “analyze the state of world communication, study problems related to the free and balanced flow of information, analyze communication problems ‘within the perspective of the new international economic order,’ and define the role communications might play as a ‘sensitizing’ agent for public opinion.”²³

By 1978 there was an interim report that already had awakened much ire on the part of journalist organisations of the West, particularly from the United States. Transnational corporations concerned with communications became wary. Since at that time most of these operated out of the U.S., the MacBride Report overall was a very sore point to United States business concerns. Cable television figured into this problematic for already the cable networks had become transnational corporations. In addition to this the largest market of these transnational cable companies were in the developing world, particularly Latin America and the Caribbean.²⁴

²³ Johan Galtung and Richard Vincent, *Global Glasnost: Toward a New World Information and Communication Order?* (New Jersey, Hampton Press, Inc., 1992), 85.

²⁴ Hilary Brown, “American Media Impact on Jamaican Youth: The Cultural Dependency Thesis,” *Globalization, Communications and Caribbean Identity* ed. Hopeton Dunn (Kingston, Jamaica: Ian Randle Publishers Ltd., 1995).

Going back to the 1978 Interim Report, by this time MacBride already had the “Draft Declaration on fundamental principles concerning the distribution of the mass media to strengthening peace and international understanding, to the promotion of human rights and to countering racialism, apartheid and the incitement to war.”²⁵ Out of that session Director General M’Bow at the 20th UNESCO general conference was invited:

to assign high priority to measures likely to reduce inequalities and imbalances in communication, both within countries and between different groups of countries and in particular between developed and developing countries, especially by helping the latter to organise exchanges of information, under satisfactory conditions, between themselves and the developed countries, and thereby promote a free flow and a wider and better balanced exchange of information between the different regions of the world.²⁶

As such, not only was UNESCO involved in establishing the MacBride Commission but it also had an agenda of leveling the media playing field within its own parameters as an organisation. Developing countries as a whole had an avenue to vent their communication frustrations and the organisation itself was implementing certain actions such as supporting the proposal for a NWICO and implementing the MacBride Commission.

However, it must be stated that when the final report was presented to the UNESCO General Conference in 1980 at Belgrade, it was accepted by consensus with the abstention of Switzerland. As Hamelink states “some of the Western delegations (among

²⁵ World Freedom Press Committee, “New World Information Order: An Idea whose Time is Here,” in *The Media Crisis* (Florida: Classic Printers), 17.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 18.

them the Dutch) praised the ‘moderate tone’ and ‘balanced approach’²⁷ of the report. In the United States however, the lobbying by those who were claiming that freedom of the press would be restricted had reached an all time height. The lobbyists had also been flavouring public opinion and creating aversion to UNESCO and were priming the public for the eventual departure of the U.S. from UNESCO. However, before getting to that issue, it is necessary to look at the sections of the MacBride Commission that are of relevance to this thesis, that is the recommendations made on communications policies and culture.

The MacBride Recommendations on Communication Policies and Culture

Communication Policies

The section on communication policies stated that communication and its development should not be left to chance. All nations, in particular developing countries were advised that communication policies are “linked to overall social, cultural, economic and political goals.”²⁸ It was further stated that the object should be to:

... utilise the unique capacities of each form of communication, from interpersonal and traditional to the most modern, to make men and societies aware of their rights, harmonise unity in diversity, and foster the growth of individuals and communities within the wider frame of national development in an interdependent world.²⁹

²⁷ Cees Hamelink, “MacBride with Hindsight,” *Beyond Cultural Imperialism: Globalization, Communication and the New International Order* (London, Sage Productions Inc., 1997), 74.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 75.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

Within the parameters of the MacBride recommendations, developing countries in particular, were being encouraged to establish communication policies that gave importance to both the traditional and more modern means of communication, while leaving room for expansion. In present times, such policies would allow a space for traditional storytellers while making accommodation for the internet as well, but in the case of St. Kitts and Nevis, the 2000 Communication policy of the Federation refers only to the technical aspect of communication, no reference is made of the more traditional types of communication. However, it must be noted that the Minister of Culture, the Honourable Jacinth Henry-Martin has advised that a Culture Policy that will address such issues is in the works. Hamelink also notes that up to the point when his paper was written, 1997, the proposed policies had not become realities in many instances with few exceptions.³⁰

Culture

Pertaining to culture, the MacBride Report states that there should be specific policies addressing the issue. These policies should have guidelines to safeguard national cultural development while promoting knowledge of other cultures, this the report said should lead to the enhancement of one's own identity. The report also stated that these policies should:

... ensure that creative artists and various grass-roots groups can make their voices heard through the media. The innovative use of film, television or radio by people of different cultures should be studied. Such

³⁰ Cees Hamelink, "MacBride with Hindsight," *Beyond Cultural Imperialism: Globalization, Communication and the New International Order* (London, Sage Productions Inc., 1997), 75.

experiments constitute a basis for continuing cultural dialogue, which could be furthered by agreements between countries and through international support.³¹

The recommendation thus provided equal space for exposure of the more traditional expressions of culture alongside the more recent developments. What is interesting and relevant to developing nations is that they were advised to look at the different innovations in media being conducted in different cultural contexts. This might appear to have been easy for newly independent countries, but as the following chapters will explain, this was not the case. Rather than looking at the many different innovations in film and television as suggested, many developing countries sought to rely on, and sometimes had no other economic alternative, than to accept the fare supplied by transnational corporations. These transnational networks are mainly based in the U.S. and so the films were mainly Hollywood, while the cable channels aired an American perspective.

If the recommendations of the MacBride Report had been followed, there would have been a greater possibility for a strong sense of cultural identity and cultural dialogue in developing countries. However, older cultural policies did not address such issues and new policies had not emerged and so the media seemed to enter developing nations and pushing old traditions out of the way, made a space for its own culture. Rather it should have been the other way around, that is, that the traditional culture should have been strong enough so that it could have had exposure to other cultures and of its own free will decided which aspects were worth assimilating. The cultural instability of the developing

³¹ Cees Hamelink, "MacBride with Hindsight," *Beyond Cultural Imperialism: Globalization, Communication and the New International Order* (London, Sage Productions Inc., 1997), 80.

countries and the cultural strength of U.S. cultural industries provided an imbalance that led to neocolonialism. It can even be said that U.S. media transnational corporations, well aware that developing countries were still trying to define themselves, took a strike at them while they were still trying to get up. Transnational corporations efforts at increasing their global market seemed to be the main motivating force behind such actions. Hamelink noted that the media became more involved in the creation of a global rather than a local culture.³²

Impact of NWICO, UNESCO and the MacBride Commission on Developing Countries Today

UNESCO and the MacBride Commission made a great effort toward fostering parity between Third World and First World communication. However, it is also important to remember that the proposal for a NWICO provided much debate and fodder for both entities. The changes that UNESCO and the MacBride Commission were proposing would be difficult. In terms of communication, change would have been difficult for First World countries because they were being asked to give up controlling the media corporations of the developing countries, accept limitations on the lucrative transnational cultural industries market, as well as give up some of the control that they had in their international news networks. Developing countries however, were not being

³² Cees Hamelink, "MacBride with Hindsight," *Beyond Cultural Imperialism: Globalization, Communication and the New International Order* (London, Sage Productions Inc., 1997).

asked to give up, but rather to develop.

At first glance, it may be assumed that the efforts surrounding UNESCO and the MacBride Commission were a failure. However, after more careful investigation it will be found that the small amount that was achieved when measured against the odds, was not that minimal.

The NWICO proposal, UNESCO and the MacBride Commission did much to bring the imbalance of the world communications systems to the international arena for discussion and debate. Not all parties may have been happy but it was openly acknowledged that communication was in the hands of the West. While the First World had always been free to express their views, the Third World was glad for the opportunity to do so in the international arena.

There was also an increase in the amount of Third World news agencies that were established following the discussions surrounding the NWICO proposal. Although they often were not able to “sell” their news to the big four (Agence France-Press – France, Associated Press – U.S., Reuters – UK and United Press International – U.S.) there was an increase in news among the Third World. CANA being one of the successful examples in that it was able to send news to Reuters and provide a regional perspective for the Caribbean area.

Pertaining to the issues of culture and cultural identity which are of particular relevance to this thesis, there was much to be desired. Developing countries were unable to give equal prominence to traditional means of communication as to modern methods of communication. In fact, one of the assessments made when categorising countries is to count available means of modern communications. Examples of how modern amenities

of developing countries are counted can be found in the U.N. Statistical Yearbook. In relation to this thesis, the yearbook gives the amount of televisions per 1,000 inhabitants and statistics on other types of communication technologies.³³ As such, the thrust from every angle was for developing countries to increase their modern means of communication. The transnational corporations used this to their advantage.

Hamelink also argues that many of the recommendations including that on culture were simply unrealistic. His cited reasons are that there were: “assumed clarity of principles, the lack of analysis of existing policies, the addresses of the recommendations and the ‘wise men’ approach to problem solving.”³⁴

Hamelink goes on to state that certain principles were not defined in view of the differing political and cultural differences that existed between developing countries. Some developing countries already had existing policies and in the MacBride proposition to establish policies it may have been overlooked that some of the existing policies needed radical change. The politicians were the ones mainly addressed in the recommendations but they are the ones who usually take the longest to respond. Appointing “‘wise men’ commissions”³⁵ to come up with proposals suggests that social problems are static and can be easily analysed and categorised.

In short, Hamelink posits that developing countries could not be blamed for their inability to invoke their share of the changes that were necessary. Developed countries, on the other hand simply did not make any changes. In fact, the United States pulled out

³³ UNESCO, U.N. Statistical Yearbook 1999 (U.S.A., UNESCO Publishing and Bernan Press, 1999), IV-218.

³⁴ Cees Hamelink, “MacBride with Hindsight,” *Beyond Cultural Imperialism: Globalization, Communication and the New International Order* (London, Sage Productions Inc., 1997), 86.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 89.

of UNESCO at the end of 1984. Their stated reason was that trends in the “policy, ideological emphasis, budget and management of UNESCO” were “detracting from UNESCO’s effectiveness” and so the organisation had become removed from “the original principles of its constitution.”³⁶ However, it can be deduced with hindsight that the lobbying undertaken by U.S. organisations such as the World Press Freedom Committee had achieved their goal. Since the U.S. could not muzzle UNESCO’s constant agitation for balance in communications, the next best thing was to withdraw from the organisation. This weakened UNESCO a great deal, particularly in the terms of funding, since the U.S. “annual contribution (\$43 million) was about one-quarter of UNESCO’s general budget.”³⁷ Not soon after in 1985 the British withdrew and this brought the total UNESCO annual financial loss to 30%.³⁸

So then has the Caribbean, including St. Kitts, benefited from NWICO and UNESCO and the MacBride Commission? With the exception of NWICO, they outlined what needed to be done, and it was up to the developing countries to decide if they would take the advice. CANA was one of the successes in the region in terms of the establishment of a news agency. CANA produced not only quantity but quality news as well. Today, CANA, in association with the Caribbean Broadcasting Union (CBU), has formed the Caribbean Media Corporation (CMC). As such, the former agency is now part of a corporation that is not only a news and radio agency/network but also undertakes television coverage of regional events as well as provides communication services such

³⁶ Johan Galtung and Richard Vincent, *Global Glasnost: Toward a New World Information and Communication Order?* (New Jersey, Hampton Press, Inc., 1992), 92.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 95.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

as satellite services and the like to the Caribbean. CANA and CBU as the merged CMC will be further investigated in Chapter Six.

Imperialism within U.S. Cable Television

U.S. Cable television in the context of UNESCO and the MacBride Commission could be seen as an infringement of the communication rights of developing countries. The peculiarity of this situation is that, the means of cross-cultural communication via cable was not forced upon developing nations, but rather accepted by them. As Herbert Schiller notes television has found avenues for expansion and entrenchment but has not lost its potential for cultural imperialism.

The role of television in the global arena of cultural domination has not diminished in the 1990s. Reinforced by new delivery systems – communication satellites and cable networks – the image flow is heavier than ever. Its source of origin also has not changed that much in the last quarter of a century. There is, however, one significant difference. Today, television is but one element, however influential, in an all-encompassing cultural package.³⁹

More about Schiller's theory shall be discussed in Chapter Seven. However, at present it is appropriate to take a look at the Kittitian culture.

³⁹ Herbert Schiller, "Not yet the Post-Imperialism Era," *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 8 (1991) p. 15.

St. Kitts and Nevis

CHAPTER THREE

What is Kittitian Culture?

The plantation system is particularly relevant to St. Kitts because whereas with many other territories the plantation system gave way to various forms of land tenure, in St. Kitts the plantation system has perhaps continued up until today.

Probyn Innis

Kittitian culture, like that of each of the neighbouring islands has specific elements that make it unique, yet the similar colonial experiences and frequent inter-island migration indelibly forges parallel cultural realities between the islands of the Caribbean region. St. Kitts also forms the Federal seat of the Federation of St. Kitts and Nevis. Separated by a two-mile channel, both islands share an almost identical culture, more so, than with any of the other islands in close proximity. However, since this thesis is specific to St. Kitts, the main part of the research has been conducted on that island and the thesis itself will investigate mainly the way of life of the people of St. Kitts. This chapter will show the main elements of Kittitian culture before the arrival of cable television, and show those that are susceptible to its influence.

So then what is Kittitian culture? Or even is it anything like Nevisian culture. In fact, the culture of Nevis is almost identical to that of St. Kitts. Being so close, having so many family ties and frequent travel between the islands have caused a bonding between the two cultures, this however does not preclude competition. Halsted Byron, the

Director of Culture of Nevis, who also happens to be a cultural artist, agreed that there were many similarities in both cultures.¹

However, for the purposes of this thesis, Kittitian culture only shall be explored. Here are three of the responses of individuals who are considered knowledgeable in the cultural arena as to what is Kittitian culture. Both the Minister and Director of Culture have experience as cultural performers and continue to perform at local and regional cultural activities. St. Kitts Minister of Culture, the Honourable Jacinth Henry-Martin felt that Kittitian culture is:

“... everything that makes us who we are as Kittitians. Example, the way we dress, the way we speak, the forms of music that we can by definition call our own, our traditional foods, our folklore ... Folktales that are traditionally ours that have found themselves in other neighbouring islands. ... the way we raise our children, the expressions we use in Kittitian dialect. All of these aspects come together to define Kittitian culture and very often it is embodied in the ordinary man and woman of St. Kitts.”²

Director of Culture, Creighton Pension understands Kittitian culture to have some of the following traits.

“... no other aspect is more common to the Kittitian milieu than the folk aspect. It includes not only folklore but it is much broader and includes other things like bush medicine, the type of foods that we eat, etc. It is the whole way of life of the ordinary people. Kittitian culture is also a cross-fertilization of the different cultures that we have come in contact with.”³

¹ Halsted Byron, interview by author, tape recording, Charlestown, Nevis, 26 August, 2000.

² Minister Jacinth Henry-Martin, interview by author, tape recording, Basseterre, St. Kitts, 17 May, 2000.

³ Creighton Pension, interview by author, Basseterre, St. Kitts, 22 May, 2000.

Sir Probyn Innis, in addition to the quote which commences this chapter, stated that major elements of Kittitian culture can be found in the history of the island.

“Our history reveals the migration of people of African origin coming as part of the slave trade ... with their indigenous culture ... which remains ... in things like dance, attitude to family and many, many things which could not be rooted out ... We are also part of a mix which resulted from the interaction between the European culture and the African culture. In the 19th Century we had a small percentage of people of Portuguese decent. However, our history mainly includes interactions of people of European decent, people of African decent, their languages and religion, their way of life. Even the various protest movements of the slave population, the impact of slavery, not just on the people who are actually slaves but on their descendants.”⁴

For the purposes of this thesis, a working definition of culture is: the historical influences that contributed toward the way of life of the ordinary people of St. Kitts that are reflected in the language, music, dance, foods, local health remedies and other traditional ways of life including human relationships and values. However, before going into the historical aspect of St. Kitts it is necessary to provide some demographic data on the island.

Physical and Statistical Data

St. Kitts, as pointed out on the map at the beginning of the thesis, is situated at the northern end of the Leeward Islands chain of the West Indies, Nevis lies to the south-east of her sister-island. In relative terms, the island is approximately 1,300 miles from

⁴ Sir Probyn Innis, interview by author, tape recording, Basseterre, St. Kitts, 30 May, 2000.

Miami, 2000 miles from New York, and 4000 miles from London.⁵ Due to its rich loam soil, Amerindian inhabitants had called St. Kitts, Liamuiga which meant fertile land. St. Kitts has an area of 167 square kilometres (68 square miles).⁶ The population of the Federation is approximately 42,460 with 34,880 of them residing in St. Kitts.⁷ A legacy of colonial and the sugar estate experience, the majority of the inhabitants of both islands are of African decent. In racial composition, Negroes make up 94.9%, Mixed 2.6%, Whites 1.4% and the other races of Portuguese, Syrian, Lebanese, East Indian and Amerindian make up minute fractions of the remaining percentage.⁸

The chief income earner of the Federation is tourism. Prime Minister Denzil L. Douglas in his 2001 New Years Day address said that “yacht and cruise ship passengers for the first quarter of 2000, increased by 15.5 percent over the corresponding period in 1999.”⁹ Projections for stay-over visitors suggest a rise from the projected figure of 100,000 for 2000, to 120,000 passengers in 2001 and 150,000 in 2002.¹⁰ Sugarcane production is not as successful. In 2000, compared to 1999, there was the production of 314 tonnes or 1.8% more sugar and an increase in exports. There was however, a drop in net earnings from \$26 million in 1999 to \$24.3 million in 2000.¹¹ This decline is due to several factors including bad market conditions and high cost of production. Other industries include non-sugar agriculture, livestock raising, forestry, fisheries, mining and

⁵ Found at <http://www.stkittsnevis.net/information.html>.

⁶ Office of St. Kitts and Nevis Information Service, Statistical Survey St. Kitts and Nevis Area and Population, 2000.

⁷ Statistics Division, Planning Unit, Ministry of Finance, Development and Planning, St. Kitts and Nevis, *St. Kitts and Nevis Demography Digest 1998* (St. Kitts, Government Printery, 1998) Table 8, 12.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 12.

⁹ Prime Minister, Speech. “New Years Message,” By Denzil L. Douglas. (January 1, 2001).

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*

quarrying, manufacturing, electronics assembly, infomatics, financial services, rum distilling and food processing.

Early Recorded History to the Introduction of Sugar Cane

Christopher Columbus happened upon¹² St. Kitts on his second voyage, November 12, 1493.¹³ At that time, the inhabitants of the island were Caribs, a race of Amerindian people. In 1623 Britain, showed an interest and on January 28, 1624 Thomas Warner, along with his family and 14 settlers, arrived on the island.¹⁴ They were welcomed by the Carib chief, Tegreman and settled at Old Road and planted their first crop of tobacco.¹⁵ Warner was given Letters Patent to the island in 1625 by King Charles I.¹⁶ Thus St. Kitts became “the mother colony of the British West Indies.”

In October 1625, Belain D’Esnambuc, a French privateer arrived in St. Kitts, seeking to repair his badly damaged ship. In mutual agreement, both English and French decided to join forces and fortify themselves against the Spanish and the Caribs. D’Esnambuc received the backing of Cardinal Richelieu, the principal Minister of King Louis XIII and the Company of St. Christopher was established. St. Kitts was also the first island to be settled by the French in the region.

¹² I do not use the word discovered because the island was already inhabited.

¹³ Sir Probyn Innis, *Historic Basseterre: The Story of a West Indian Town* (Antigua: Antigua Printing and Publishing Ltd, 1985), 1.

¹⁴ Ibid., 2.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid.

The Carib inhabitants put up much resistance between November 1625 and August 1626,¹⁷ but in the final battle nearly all the Caribs were slaughtered and survivors fled to nearby islands. The chief portion of the fighting took place at the Stone Fort river which is said to have run blood for weeks.¹⁸ By May 13, 1627, Warner and D'Esnambuc signed a treaty stating that the English were to keep the middle section of the island and the French were to have both ends.¹⁹

In 1624, colonists had cultivated tobacco but in 1639 they switched to indigo, cotton and ginger. By the late 1640s sugar was established in the St. Kitts. With sugar came much change identifiable in the social, political and economic structure of the island. Innis has this to say:

A peasant society comprised of Europeans was transformed into a plantation society comprised in the majority of slaves imported from Africa. Many of the small farms were amalgamated in order to meet the requirements of the sugar plantation for large acreages of land. Many European small proprietors and indentured servants left the island.²⁰

King Sugar

This is the section of the history of St. Kitts that had such far-reaching social, economic, political and heavy psychological effects that its impact on the culture of the

¹⁷ Sir Probyn Innis, *Historic Basseterre: The Story of a West Indian Town* (Antigua: Antigua Printing and Publishing Ltd, 1985), 2.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid., 3.

²⁰ Ibid.

island is still very evident today. This will show how the African influence in dance, music, drama, came to St. Kitts as well as the negative cultural aspects such as an inferiority complex. Negroes were imported to the island, as slaves, as is the case of most of the other islands in the region. They came chiefly from West Africa from areas of modern Ghana, Nigeria, Senegal, Dahomey and Angola.²¹

The Spanish territories, did not begin large-scale sugar production until well into the 19th Century when large numbers of Negroes were brought to Cuba and even today in Santo Domingo (Dominican Republic) and Puerto Rico, whites still constitute a large proportion of the population.²² In the colonies, however, where sugar production began in the 1660s, labourers had to be consistently supplied to keep King Sugar on his throne.

Initially, Amerindian labour had been tried but most of them were killed, forced to work to death, succumbed to European diseases or committed suicide rather than be forced into a new way of life by Europeans – even before the commencement of the sugar industry. Indentured servants were the next labour source that was tried. They were initially white men or women, called *engagé* in France, who agreed to emigrate to the colonies at the expense of another (such as a merchant) and serve for a term, generally three years, called *trente-six mois* by the French. When the term ended, the servant was free and generally received a grant of land from three to five acres.²³ In addition to the fact that the land used for grants on the small islands soon ran out, gradually the system was abused and also came to include convicts and prisoners who had been exported,

²¹ Alvin Thompson, *The Haunting Past: Politics, Economics and Race in Caribbean Life* (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1997), 6.

²² Ibid.

²³ Eric Williams, *From Columbus to Castro: The History of the Caribbean 1492-1969* (Britain, Andre Deutsch, 1970), 96.

victims of kidnappings and soldiers seeking escape from their duties. Indentured servants included Danes, Irish, Scots, Germans and Portuguese. The Chinese, Javanese (Indonesians) as well as the East Indians came after the heyday of slavery when the slave trade was abolished and alternative labour was needed. Syrians/Lebanese came to the West Indies in the 20th Century but of their free will.²⁴ The following record of the amount of Africans who were brought into four of the islands can be compared.

<i>Years</i>	<i>Colony</i>	<i>Importation</i>	<i>Average importation per year</i>
1700 – 1786	Jamaica	610,000	7,000
1720 – 1729	Antigua	12,278	1,362
1721 – 1730	St. Kitts	10,358	1,035
1721 – 1726	Nevis	1,267	253 ²⁵

Steeped in the dark past of slavery and the psychology of justifying the action of the oppressor, historians had stated for a long time, that Negroes were chosen to cultivate the land because of their stamina and aptitude for work. Williams posits that the reason behind the importation of so many Africans, was primarily economic.

The reason was economic, not racial; it had to do not with the colour of the labourer, but the cheapness of the labour. As compared with Indian [Amerindian] and white labour, Negro slavery was eminently superior. ... The features of the man, his hair, colour and dentifrice, his “subhuman” characteristics so widely pleaded, were only the later rationalizations to justify a simple economic fact: that the colonies needed labour and resorted to Negro labour because it was cheapest and best. This was not a theory, it was a practical conclusion deduced from the personal experience

²⁴ Alvin Thompson, *The Haunting Past: Politics, Economics and Race in Caribbean Life* (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1997), 8.

²⁵ Eric Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery* (London: Andre Deutsch Ltd., 1964), 145.

of the planter. He would have gone to the moon, if necessary, for labour. Africa was nearer than the moon, nearer than the more populous countries of India and China. But their turn would come.²⁶

So then what impact did slavery have in helping to create the culture of islands like St. Kitts? Its psychological impact certainly contributed to the way of life of Caribbean people today. The Negro was transplanted in another country, devoid of familiar surroundings and his freedom taken away. He was forbidden to speak his own language, carry out his cultural practices including religion, drumming and any other activities that owners considered suspicious or threatening. Effects have transcended slavery and are now evident in the way of life of slave descendants. In looking at the dilemma of the slave an understanding can be attained of the psyche of the black Kittitian.

Although not native to the West Indies, the slave had to resign himself to this domination under extraordinary cruel and abominable conditions. They bore the same atrocities that had been meted out to the Amerindians, however, if they died from overwork or maltreatment they could be easily replaced.

Planters on the islands had a hold on their slaves that extended to psychology. Negroes have a different physical appearance from whites and so planters used this to their advantage. Their rationale fed into Scientific Racism or Social Darwinism, that theorises that blacks and non-whites are less than human, they are more like apes or the early Darwinian man. Thompson argues that the definition used by oppressors about the people that they are oppressing goes in two veins. At the lowest level, they are defined as

²⁶ Eric Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery* (London: André Deutsch Limited, 1964), 20.

“objects, things, forms of property” while at the highest they are “inferior beings who ape their oppressors.” He sees this being translated to the oppressed people as:

... myths and stereotypes ... [that] become so important in destroying their old perceptions about themselves and redefining them in the image of the oppressors. A Manichean dichotomy is established between the two groups: the oppressors are gods, the oppressed are devils; ... the oppressors are beautiful, the oppressed are ugly; ... Once this happens there is every chance of oppression and domination becoming entrenched in the lives of these individuals. At the group level, the oppressors are at pains to point out that the oppressed either have no history, or such a mean and barbaric history that is not worth being studied by civilized peoples.²⁷

Certainly Cheikh Anta Diop's *Civilization and Barbarism: An Authentic Anthropology*, and the work of several other scholars, have done much to dispel the myths that Whites/Westerners alone were capable of establishing a progressive civilization. His thesis posits that, during its scientific heyday, people of dark-skinned complexion inhabited Egypt originally from the south of Africa. He presents evidence that it was only after many invasions and when Egypt began to decline that fairer skinned Egyptians rose to positions of power. It was only in 1974 that his work was translated into English, giving people of the English-speaking Caribbean easier access to his ideology.

As such, despite evidence to the contrary, West Indians, in general, were socialized into thinking that being black or dark-skinned meant a state of inferiority. It was a well established thought in many of the islands that if an individual was not white, the next best thing was to be coloured – the lighter-skinned the better. Even as late as the

²⁷ Alvin Thompson, *The Haunting Past: Politics, Economics and Race in Caribbean Life* (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1997), 16 - 17.

1950s and 1960s, preference was given to people of “high-colour” (near white complexion) when it came to government and clerical jobs and any other sector of society that would lead to upward mobility. Whitman Brown mentions this class system in his autobiographic book on the First National Hero of St. Kitts, Robert Llewellyn Bradshaw. In it he credits, Bradshaw and his government with improving the lot of the black working class at that time. He recounts that “some [people he interviewed] insist that he [Bradshaw] gave them shoes (made it possible for them to begin wearing shoes). Others remember how he fought to make education for the masses possible. He also destroyed the blatant racism which existed in employment areas such as banks and government offices.”²⁸

This inferiority complex has also validated things that are foreign. Since things that came from the mother country were often of a higher quality than things in the colony, it soon became the thought that all colonial things are inferior. As such, one automatically assumes that everything external is better, as shall be explored in Chapter Seven.

Besides the inferiority complex, other more obvious factors that affected the Negro, and led to the present way of life on the island included the language. Since the enslaved and transplanted Africans were not allowed to speak their individual tribes’ language, today, West Indians do not speak an African language. In fact, planters often made a conscious effort to separate slaves of the same tribe so that they could not communicate and supposedly “plot” against them. Similarly, they were not allowed to

²⁸ Whitman Browne, *From Commoner to King: Robert Bradshaw – Crusader for Dignity and Justice in the Caribbean* (London, England: University Press of America, 1992), 10.

practice their religion nor drum. These are just a few of the instances of the many customs Africans had to stop, when they arrived in the Caribbean as slaves.

The Culture of St. Kitts

Language

Today, the language spoken in St. Kitts is an English creole or patois, often referred to as dialect. It is interesting to note that all of the nationals of the Commonwealth Caribbean use an English-based creole, however, with different accents, expressions and sometimes completely different infused words (sometimes from other languages) as well as created words. A common Kittitian greeting would be “Aye, wha’ happenin’ man?” The response would be “Ah dey.” “Man” in this context makes no reference to the sex of the individual but is used when addressing both males and females. The translation would be something like this: “Hi, how are you?” Response: “So so.”

Vincent Cooper, a linguist, has done much analysis of Kittitian language. He investigated examples of the Kittitian creole found in the work of several Kittitian writers including the work of Simon Hendrickson-Jones in *Sonny Jim of Sandy Point*. The following excerpt provides examples of the language of St. Kitts as found in the mentioned book.

Exhibit 3: Examples of Creative Writing in Creole, from Sonny Jim pages 14 – 52.

Page 14

“Aayu trying to fool me. Aayu want to advantage me,” she would say.
 “If you no let me stay, a gun [going] tell Mama pon [on] you Sonny.”

Page 30

Reuben: “Oman [Woman]. Wha de ass yu trying to do to me? Eh oman? Yu tink [think] a is a blasted dawg [dog]? Yu tink I is a dawg tu eat fowl head and fowl foot?”

Mama: “ Oh Lawd [Lord]. Ah can’t stan’ [stand] dis [this]. A can’t stan’ dis anymore. A gon kill Sonny.
Sonny. Ah gon kill yu.
Ah left de [the] chicken dey [there] fu [for] yu. Fu yu, man. Ah know yu like dove-dung [fried in a particular way] chicken. Ah know yu ain’t love beef. Ah gon kill Sonny. A gon kill dat boy tonite. It wuz [was] he fowl dat a kill today.”

Reuben: Yu wat [what]? Yu kill Sonny fowl? Daisy? Yu kill Daisy fu me?
Oman, yu to damn stupid. Ah hungry fu true. Me belly a growl ya. But yu blasted foolish, oman. Yu kill he fowl? Yu know how he like Daisy. And yu no give him none? I suck me teet [teeth] to dat. As we use to say in Mingo [Santo Domingo], ‘caramba.’”

Page 31

Mama: “Ah gon kill dat [that] Sonny. Sonny. Wait. Yu wait till [until] yu come een [in] tonite.”²⁹

The language itself has a certain rhythmic value to it that makes it difficult for the unaccustomed ear to understand. Each of the islands have their own specific rhythms which adds to the cultural variation of the islands.

Music

Despite slave-owners stringent attempt to terminate African music, the music that has been accepted as the cultural music of St. Kitts and Nevis has pronounced drum rhythms that are said to be derived from Africa. Dr. Hollis Liverpool, calypso moniker “The Mighty Chalkdust,” made the link in a presentation at CARIFESTA VII. He gave four points concerning the African connection.

²⁹ Vincent Cooper, “Lectal Shifting and Orthographic Representation in St. Kitts-Nevis” (paper presented at the University of the West Indies Conference, Basseterre, St. Kitts, April 30 – May 3, 2000).

1. The rhythms are poly-rhythms or rhythms upon rhythms. He explained that different drummers, in the same instance, can play two-fourths, three-fourths, six-eighths and even eight-eighths – yet they will all reflect a pulse beat. This he said is derived from Africa.
2. The extemporaneous nature of the music. Good calypsonians should be able to put words to a beat on the spur of the moment. Just as African singers have done for generations.
3. The call and response in the calypsos. Any good calypso is such that at least the chorus is able to generate crowd participation. Such is the case with David Rudder's calypso paying tribute to the first steel pan players while encouraging the revitalization of the art form.
Rudder: Ah whey [where] de man wid de hammer gone?
Crowd: Tell dem, tell dem where he gone.
 This itself being characteristic of African music
4. Satire is also steeped within calypso. Calypsonians say one thing but mean something else just as in African poetry.

Liverpool went on to explain that although the greatest influence of calypso comes from Africa there are also influences from Jazz and Blues, Latin music, European melodies and music of neighbouring islands which combine to form what he terms the “acculturation process” of calypso.³⁰

Some Kittitian calypsos originated as folk songs of the former slaves before becoming formalized calypso. This took place long before the more commercialized reggae music which several Kittitian artistes have explored, but, at Carnival time it is still the calypso that is the accepted and validated cultural music of St. Kitts. One example of a folk song turned calypso is *De Coolie Man House on Fire*. “Coolie Man” being the local term for an East Indian, in this case, one whose home caught fire. Such fires of mysterious origins are difficult to extinguish and are known locally as “jumbie fires” and are said to be incurred by employing the services of an obeah man/woman which later

³⁰ Hollis Liverpool, “Music, Continuing to Define Ourselves in a Changing World.” (paper presented at the CARIFESTA VII Symposium, Basseterre, St. Kitts, 21 August, 2000).

will be linked with African religions. Consequently, “jumbie fire” is a recurring theme because of its mystery and intrigue. An excerpt of the folk song turned calypso is as follows:

De [The] Coolie Man house on fire, de Coolie Man run away
 Dey [They] sen' motor car dey sen' bicycle, to out de fire dung [down] dey [there]
 You carn [can't] pass de Bay Road, you carn pass de sea
 But all for de sake of de beagar man, you ha' [have] to run an' call de police
 So marme, gu [go] dung to Desmond, gu dung, gu dung to Desmond gu dung
 Gu dung to Desmond gu dung, to out de fire dung dey

Another folk song tuned calypso was the tale in dialogue form between a white shop-owner and a customer who created her own word for drinking straw. It can involve the call and response that Liverpool mentioned.

Lady: Mr. Mallalieu please sell me a malt an' a haul-up
 Mr. Mallalieu please sell me a malt an' a haul-up
 Mallalieu: Lady where you come from?
 Lady: Ah come from a Phillips' Lower Works (Nevis country)
 Mallalieu: Lady where you come from?
 Lady: Ah come from a Phillips' Lower Works (Nevis country)³¹

The “Mighty Saint” sang another calypso which was not initially a folk song but documented a historical event. This calypso spoke to the arrival of AM broadcasting to St. Kitts. The calypso, entitled *ZIZ* and sung in 1962, has “Saint” explaining to his partner that even if she could not attend a live performance, she would be able to hear him on radio.

³¹ There is some dispute as to whether the woman was from Phillips' in St. Kitts or the sister island of Nevis.

I told her honey, I'll give you a guarantee
 She said, but that's impossible, which you know
 So I dialed 570 on the radio
 She said but Saint that is ZIZ
 I told her honey, don't move that dial at all
 ZIZ, is obligated to serve us all
 ZIZ, it's our local radio station
 Inter-island communication
 If you listen to it at 9:30
 You bound to hear me

It should be noted that according to professional musician, Ian Hodge, in the early days of calypso, calypsonians such as "Saint" endeavoured to use standard English. He added that it was only in later decades that the local dialect was widely used when singing calypso. It is also interesting to note that "Saint's" calypso has documented the general Kittitian opinion of the purpose of the local public radio station, i.e. to serve the people. The fact that calypso was being aired via this medium also demonstrates that the medium was a means of cultural promulgation.

"Lord Bath Towel" who picks up the popular theme of jumbie fire demonstrates the use of the local lingua in this excerpt from a later calypso.

A police went up to see de place
 He come back like he was in a race
 Out a [of] breath you cud [could] hear him say
 Inspector me na' [I am not] going back dey
 For a fellow pass wid a ben [bundle] a grass
 An' de fire went an' it light he ass
Refrain
 From Old Road to Sandy Point – fire, fire,
 Outing it was de biggest problem – fire, fire
 Well I want to see de chief inspector – fire, fire
 By me today and by you tomorrow – jumbie fire

Hodge explained that calypsonians of that era often made fun of themselves as well as the general public. The next decade of the 1970s saw the emergence of calypsonians like “Ellie Matt.” Initially a band leader, “Ellie Matt” later revealed his talent as a song writer and singer when he made calypsos such as the following in 1972, where he makes fun of Rastafarians who did not follow the dietary dictates of their religion.

Ah went down by Miss Consie, he said to buy 10 pounds of ham
 Two Rasta men were sitting, they unconcerned, they don't give a damn
 Ah went outside for a minute, when I returned it was strange to see
 The whole pack of ham done vanish, an' de Rastas smiling at me

Refrain

Stay off de swine, stay off de swine
 Das [that is] what de junkies heads telling me all de time
 Dis [this] time dey so happy
 Like a baby-chile jus' born
 Stay off de swine, an' me whole ham gone

According to Hodge, the 1980s brought a trend of more politically motivated songs. These more recent calypsos that appeared just prior to the arrival of cable television, had a thrust that changed from topical and funny to preaching and personal attacks. This trend, however, has been discouraged over the past several years, possibly from about 1998, since judges at the calypso tents have been marking down calypsonians whose songs promote division rather than constructive ideas.

Despite the politically motivated calypsos of the last two decades, there were also several songs that speak to social consciousness, such as “Crusader’s” song which

addresses the issue of Kittitian migration. He sings quite bluntly: “There is no El Dorado out there, the streets are not paved with gold my dear.”

Similarly, “Starshield” highlights the social responsibility of politicians as well as the common man in *The Good Shepherd* in which he says that both people and government have the responsibility to care for each other. “Socrates” is also known for his socially conscious calypsos which include themes like child abuse, the effects of drinking and driving, and HIV/AIDS awareness.

Religion

Residents of St. Kitts are today primarily Anglican as can be seen from the 1991 population census. Listed are the five religions with the largest congregations.

<i>Religion</i>	<i>1991</i>	<i>Percentage of Total</i>
Anglican	11,160	27.5
Methodist	10,295	25.3
Moravian	2,950	7.3
Pentecost	2,214	5.5
Roman Catholic	2,807	6.9 ³²

Despite the fact that four of the five largest congregations are of established churches, the figures do not accurately reflect attendance. It is accepted within the culture of St. Kitts to baptize children in one of the established churches, not take them to church until it is almost time for First Communion and Confirmation and then immediately after leave them to their own moral devices. As such, you may find that persons who are not

³² Statistics Division, Planning Unit, Ministry of Finance, Development and Planning, St. Kitts and Nevis, *St. Kitts and Nevis Demography Digest 1998*, Table 9, 12.

actively affiliated to any church will state boldly that they are Anglicans, when they may not have attended church or taken part in any other church activity in a long while.

A dying tradition that can be linked with religion is the Service of Song. This custom began during slavery. Competing groups sang hymns, recited long religious pieces – sometimes from John Bunyan’s *Pilgrim Progress* or chapters from the Bible, speeches were given and spelling competitions took place. The object was to see which group could pontificate the most. Each challenge began with a bit of poetry as the challenger(s) stood outside the building saying something like “Behold I stand at the door and knock . . .,” the audience would then grant him/her/them permission to enter and perform. The competitor would enter with some form of antics, whether a fancy walk or a jig. Songs often came from a hymnal entitled Sacred Songs which became known as the Sanky. When audience participation was necessary and the hymns were not memorized, one literate individual would read line by line while the audience sang the tune. Whole Bible chapters and speeches were delivered from memory. Bun and ginger-beer were distributed to the participants and the audience.

This is one example of the merger of European and the African culture. Although European Christian in language content and biblical material, the means by which the slaves, then former slaves used the dancing, poetry, incantations, and singing, speaks of Africa. It also showed resistance in that participants were mimicking the pontificating sometimes employed by the master. The long memorized passages also boosted the Negroes confidence and suggested that they were bettering the master at his own religion. The master simply thought the slaves were becoming good Christians. However, as

previously noted it is a dying tradition and much of the younger generation of St. Kitts have not attended a Service of Song.

Another ceremony which also involves supernatural powers but is not considered a religion within the Western parametres is obeah. Obeah, which was referred to in connection with the “jumbie fire” is very much a part of Kittitian culture. It has roots in Africa but is only one part of the religious practices. Mervyn Alleyne explains why this aspect may be more entrenched than other aspects of the religion.

... the conditions under which slaves lived, in particular the ban on religious assemblies by slaves and the need to mobilise spiritual forces for resistance and survival, probably combined to make obeah more important than other elements in the slaves’ religion. The original Asante word for sorcerer (*obayifo*) was preserved in the term obeah ...³³

Obeah within the context of St. Kitts is something that is practiced in secret, yet may be employed by even professed Christians. Obeah men or women are often contracted to seek revenge on someone, to force marriage, to seek out stolen objects, to obtain lifetime goals such as wealth and other ambitions or simply to cause trouble for a disliked individual. Many mishaps, diseases and even broken hearts have been blamed on obeah. “Jumbie fire” is requested of an obeah person when an object is stolen and the victim wants to expose the thief. Clothing has been known to burn off of persons or houses where the stolen articles have been kept have been gutted by fire. As recently as the summer of 2000, the local radio and television station reported a “fire of mysterious

³³ Mervyn Alleyne, *Africa: Roots of Jamaican Culture* (Trinidad, Research Associates School of Times Publications, 1988), 83.

circumstance” which caused the fire services to go back and forth because the fire would extinguish when the truck came into sight but resume when it left.

Slave Resistance

Unlike some of the larger islands whose maroons (runaway slaves), built communities in the mountains and survived until slavery ended, maroons on St. Kitts were only able to resist for short spurts of time. In 1639 there was an account of Kittitian maroons, comprising a band of approximately 60 men with women. However, they were unable to maintain their freedom for very long – except for one burly Negro who evaded capture for three years, said to be due to the protection of obeah.³⁴

Politics

The political struggle of St. Kitts has not been an easy one. Beginning with the Emancipation declaration, up until the recent past, the culture of politics was such that the majority was sometimes the minority as had been the case during slavery. Although Negroes were by far the largest ethnic group, much had to be sacrificed and leaders had to be forged with often crude tools in the refiner’s fire.

The Emancipation Proclamation of 1833 brought with it many things including mutterings of discontent among the new “working class”. Slaves in St. Kitts and in the region in general, found it difficult to understand why they still had to labour for the

³⁴ Nellis Crouse, *French Pioneers in the West Indies 1624 - 64* quoted in brochure compiled by the St. Christopher Heritage Society as part of Emancipation commemorations 1998.

master for several more years. They found out that the Assembly on Antigua decided to forego the Period of Apprenticeship and grant immediate freedom in 1834 and that St. Kitts absentee estate owner Earl Romney had provided for complete freedom for his 300 slaves even before August 1, 1834.³⁵ They also thought that a free coloured, Ralph Cleghorn, who was an advocate for free coloureds and later slave rights, had gone to England to secure their freedom. He had freed his slaves in 1832. Cleghorn, instead had gone to seek an appointment as Provost Marshall.³⁶ Knowing none of this, the soon to be apprentices thought freedom was being withheld from them and in August 1834 revolted en-mass and began the working class struggle that was to continue until the establishment of the labour union and its resultant political party.

The 1834 revolt took place under the watchwords “Me free, no bind, no work”³⁷ and saw the majority of slaves taking to the hills. There, they met up with approximately 30 maroons being led by “Markus, King of the Woods,” who led a band of Negroes some of whom had been absent from their estates for as long as six years.³⁸ When martial law was declared August 6, it was not removed until August 19. During this time troops and marines were landed in Basseterre from a warship and joined the local militia in suppressing the “revolt of the labouring classes;”³⁹ the capture of Markus and his band had been critical in ending the uprising.

³⁵ Douglas Hall, *Five of the Leewards: 1834-1870* (Barbados: Caribbean Universities Press, 1971), 17.

³⁶ Edward Cox, *Free Coloureds in the Slave Societies of St. Kitts and Grenade, 1763-1833*. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1984), 37.

³⁷ V. L. Oliver, *Caribbeana* Miscellaneous Papers Relating to the History, Genealogy, Topography and Antiquities of the British West Indies. Vol 6 of 6. (London: Mitchell, Hughes and Clark, 1919), 32.

³⁸ Bonhham Richardson, *Caribbean Migrants: Environment and Human Survival on St. Kitts and Nevis* (Knoxville, The University of Tennessee Press, 1983), 75.

³⁹ Sir Probyn Innis, *Historic Basseterre: The Story of a West Indian Town* (Antigua: Antigua Printing and Publishing Ltd., 1985), 31.

Following the end of Apprenticeship it may be assumed that the workers would seek to improve their lot by leaving the oppressive conditions of the plantation and possibly became a peasantry. Innis explains that this was very difficult, if not impossible to do in the context of the plantation system of St. Kitts.

There was no Crown Land or abandoned estates which the free people could occupy; there was no scope in the island for a free peasantry. The plantocracy was able to call upon an armoury of sanctions to keep the free blacks in their assigned place. Contract Acts were devised to bind them to estate labour. Vagrancy laws were available to punish those who showed a preference for leisure or a distaste for estate labour. Licensing laws were rigidly enforced so as to restrict their entry into urban trades and small businesses.⁴⁰

An example of one of these Acts that surprisingly was passed following slavery and continued in another variation in 1922, was the Master and Servants Act of 1849. This Act as the name implies “regulated labour relations in the territory until 1922 when it was replaced by an updated Masters and Servants Ordinance. This contract legislation was not repealed until 1938 following labour disturbances which affected St. Kitts and most of the British Caribbean during the late 1930s.”⁴¹ As the preamble of the original Act states it was passed for the “securing of the continuous labour.”

Therefore, in retrospect, it should have been no surprise when another working class revolt took place in 1896. Referred to as the Portuguese Riots, the apparent cause of the industrial dispute was that the labourers on Joapuin Farara’s estate in Needsmust

⁴⁰ Sir Probyn Innis, *Historic Basseterre: The Story of a West Indian Town* (Antigua: Antigua Printing and Publishing Ltd., 1985), 31.

⁴¹ Glen Richards, “Race Labour and the Colonial State in St. Kitts-Nevis 1897 - 1922” (paper presented at the University of the West Indies Conference, St. Kitts, April 30 – May 3, 2000), 6.

demanded higher wages and were refused. As such, from February – March of 1896, sugar cane was burnt, stores in the Portuguese sections of Basseterre, namely Newtown and Bakers Corner were set on fire or looted in addition to other incidents throughout the island against Portuguese.⁴² After suppressing the riots with marines and one or more warships which remained stationed on the coast until April, the lot of the working class returned to how it had been previously. Rather than some form of compromise with their workers, the estate proprietors, merchants and property owners requested and received a volunteer defence force. The workers on the island therefore fell victim to even more stringent restrictions.

Even with these limitations the working class persisted in their fight for equality and many uprisings took place including those of 1905, 1916, 1917, 1935, 1940, 1943 and 1948. Space does not permit more detail, however, it was not until Laughlan McKinnon, Thomas Manchester and Matthew Sebastian laid the foundation for the work that was to be carried out by the First National Hero of St. Kitts, Robert Llewellyn Bradshaw that the working class saw improvement in their lot. As Browne states: to the people, “he was a champion and liberator who came at the correct time. ‘Papa’ Bradshaw delivered the masses from hopelessness; he participated in the drive to restore their humanity.”⁴³

Bradshaw was the first Premier of the Associated State of St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla and he fought to improve the lot of the working class. Bradshaw’s ultimate goal

⁴² Sir Probyn Innis, *Historic Basseterre: The Story of a West Indian Town* (Antigua: Antigua Printing and Publishing Ltd., 1985), 52.

⁴³ Whitman Browne, *From Commoner to King: Robert Bradshaw – Crusader for Dignity and Justice in the Caribbean* (London, England: University Press of America, 1992), 33.

for St. Kitts and Nevis (Anguilla seceded in 1967) was Independence. Independence for St. Kitts and Nevis was a major platform issue in the 1975 elections and actual independence talks with Britain began in 1977. However, Bradshaw was not to taste its sweetness, for he died in 1978.

During the time of Bradshaw, Labour leaders established that it was necessary for a symbiotic link to be forged between the workers' fight for equality and the rise of labour unions which had previously been outlawed in the region. Despite being accused of politicising the union, men like Bradshaw throughout the region saw no other option than to make "the workers organisation a viable political force."⁴⁴ Such men included Norman Manley of Jamaica, Vere Bird of Antigua and Grantly Adams of Barbados. They set the tone for that particular political culture of the latter decades of the 1900s that continues even today. Browne puts it this way:

The greatest impact the labour union movements had on St. Kitts, Nevis, Anguilla and the rest of the Caribbean was political. Following the mass activism, social attitudes that persisted for hundreds of years and had been accepted as fixed began to change. In time, despite lingering limitations, leaders from the workers group began to find places in the Legislative Council. No longer did one have to be a planter, white, or near white, to become part of the legislative process on the islands.⁴⁵

Naturally this sparked off other improvements in the lot of the majority on St. Kitts. Bradshaw and his administration, the St. Kitts and Nevis Labour Party have been

⁴⁴ Whitman Browne, *From Commoner to King: Robert Bradshaw – Crusader for Dignity and Justice in the Caribbean* (London, England: University Press of America, 1992), 158.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 160.

credited with enabling the ordinary black man an opportunity to quality, free education; improved sanitation and health systems; and upward mobility in all aspects ranging from economic to social. It was during this period of the history of St. Kitts that the majority began to hold their own and many of the cultural traditions that today are being threatened became grounded.

Marcus Garvey

This Jamaican pioneer had an influence on blacks the world over, including St. Kitts. He visited the island and gave a speech on November 2, 1937. Over the next two days the Union Messenger printed the full text of his speech. This paper happened to be the mouthpiece of the Labour Union. In his speech, he states that it is God's will that man, particularly the black man, take charge of his own destiny.

God has given every man a mind with possibilities for development. It does not matter what your father and mother were before you. ... Whatever you want in the world go after getting it yourself. No man will get something for you that he wants for himself. ... Try to make your little country the best spot in the world. Get hold of the land and don't let it get away from you. The men who own the land make the laws.⁴⁶

Garvey's presentation in St. Kitts reached a wide cross section of the society and had an impact on the morale of the working class which was still agitating for equality.

⁴⁶ *The Union Messenger*, "Mr. Marcus Garvey," 3 and 4 November 1937.

Migration

Following Emancipation another aspect that became grounded in Kittitian culture was migration. Since working conditions were deplorable many persons saved money, borrowed or sought sponsorship to leave the island. As such, Kittitians travelled to countries such as Trinidad, Bermuda, Cuba, Santo Domingo, Tortola, Panama, Curaçao and Brazil, Britain and the U.S. Mass migration took place particularly during the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s.⁴⁷ As Richardson notes: “[l]ivehood migration from several small West Indian islands has long since become legitimated by time. It is now a traditional process, a process that paradoxically calls for people to leave, though often to return again, in order to maintain and improve what they had left behind.”⁴⁸ Initially, these job seekers intended to send money home and eventually return; however, many of them did not and the result was Kittitian diasporas in each of these countries. Jessica Byron also has done much research on migration patterns of Kittitians in the region. In reference to the Leeward Islands she states quite simply:

A constant process of migration and the formation of small diasporic links have been the medium by which these very small and isolated island communities have constructed umbilical cords of economic sustenance and have made themselves the focal reference points for much larger transnational communities in a globalized world.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ Alvin Thompson, *The Haunting Past: Politics, Economics and Race in Caribbean Life* (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1997), 20.

⁴⁸ Bonham Richardson, *Caribbean Migrants: Environment and Human Survival on St. Kitts and Nevis* (Knoxville, University of Tennessee Press, 1983), 6.

⁴⁹ Jessica Byron, “The Return of Cocolos: Migration, Identity and Regionalism in the Leeward Islands” (paper presented at the University of the West Indies Conference, St. Kitts, April 30 – May 3, 2000), 7.

Byron also demonstrates that these emigrants continued their customs in their new homes which resulted in the transplanting of certain cultural habits including cultural dance troupes which today survive in varied forms in Santo Domingo, Bermuda and elsewhere.

Cultural Performances

In this aspect, the people of St. Kitts drew from all of their influences, whether it was the British influence, the plantation experience or the African heritage. Most of these activities took place over the Christmas season. The cane field workers were given a small bonus that became known as “goat water” (a stew made from mutton). It was a happy time when workers thoroughly cleaned and outfitted their houses with new curtains and any other type of affordable decoration for the Christmas season. Many Kittitians who had not been to church in a while, did their annual duty. There was also “serenading” which involved groups of individuals singing well known songs. Like carolling, particular requests could be made of them and they were in turn given money and Christmas treats including wine, rum and cake. There were also many performances by cultural troupes, three of which shall be mentioned.

One of the more celebrated cultural performances is called “De Bull.” It is the re-enactment of a tale that took place on Mansions Estate concerning one of the prize bulls which fell ill and was dying. A police and a doctor were called in. While trying to tend to the bull the doctor is attacked by the dog. The bull when finally injected is rejuvenated, particularly in his sexual prowess. The performers are dressed in character costumes and add much humour to the performance. The performance concludes with the bull (equip with a mask with real bull horns) running into the crowd and chasing

children and unwary women. Although this performance draws from an actual event that took place (though highly embellished) there are still the elements of colonial oppression. The working class could not retreat from the land (plantation), which it is the centre of all activities, even recreational activities. The police symbolise force and control which initially was in the hands of the planter and his driver. The “resurrection” symbolises the overcoming of odds and freedom. The bull performance is accompanied by cultural music played by a “String Band” whose instruments include: a drum, a triangle, a blowing pipe and flute whose merry and short quips are the backbone of the melody.

Another performance was “Neagre Business,” which was the re-enactment of particular events that took place in the community throughout the year. Today, this art-form in its true sense has died and is only recorded in the memory of the older generation, though Zack Nisbett has been trying to revive it. Again displaying much humour and embellishment, stories were re-enacted of fights between two women over one man, naïve persons who had been tricked into accepting bad business deals, even tales of obeah traps gone bad. Again accompanied by cultural music, the tunes are different from that of the other cultural performances. Thus, residents of communities automatically knew which troupes were coming from the music each one played. This performance had mainly African origins.

The “Masquerades” demonstrated elements of several of the influences in the culture of St. Kitts. Not only do they have a particular dance, to their cultural music, that is an art in itself but their costume also speaks of diverse heritage. Some of the dance steps includes pairs of dancers facing each other and trying to outdo each other with gyrating waist gestures and antics such as bending over backwards and touching their

heads to the ground. This is said to speak of certain African dancing. The costume consists of a crown of feathers and wooden ax, a ribbon and mirror covered tunic and pant and a mask that also suggests Africa. Migrants took the performance of this particular troupe to Bermuda, where it became the “Gumbay” troupe, likewise in Santo Domingo it has survived in an assimilated form as outlined in *Los Cocolos de Nadal Walcot* by Dagoberto Tejeda Ortíz.

Cultural performances have lost their prominence in the midst of Carnival performances which also take place over the Christmas season. They are now included in the Carnival parades, but the younger generation seems to have lost appreciation for them. Young persons often seem unwilling to take the time to learn the art-form so that it will be carried on. Cable television is one of the detractors since evenings can be spent looking at favourite programmes rather than rehearsing. However, cable cannot take all of the blame. Other modern youth past-times can range from logging onto the Internet to playing video games.

Values

In the early 1900s Kittitian society was very polite. Neighbours looked out for each other and it was considered almost a crime to pass someone, particularly an older person, and not bid them good day. Older persons can recall receiving beatings because it was reported to a parent that a greeting had not been extended. Crimes affecting individuals were considered crimes of the community and the offender was either stopped on the spot by a neighbour or was reported to the authorities. It was also often said that one could not starve in St. Kitts. In addition to the abundant fruit trees and cane fields

which supplied many a meal, it was not uncommon for a neighbour to give a less fortunate person food. It can be argued that this sense of community is in the spirit of African community, but it can be also suggested that the severe working conditions caused people of the ordinary working class to cling together in order to survive against insurmountable odds.

Also in those days (early 1900s), most people did not have much choice but to make do with what was at hand. Often illnesses were cured with bush medicines, a craft that is being promoted once again, though one has to wonder if it is because of a return of traditional skills or because there seems to be a push and a validation for natural remedies in the West. In days gone by most persons could readily say which bush was good for particular ailments, today, though interest is returning, most persons cannot do so.

Vanity was also frowned upon. Even if there were requests made of relatives abroad and worst yet instances of outright vanity, they were quickly subdued if not squashed by a mother determined to “raise her children the right way.” This does not fit into the culture of today’s consumerism, which is promoted by cable television. In Chapter Five there is mention of Surlin’s study which found University students from the Caribbean to be less materialistic when compared to Canadian and American students.

Today, many of these values and traditions have changed. As previously noted, all of the blame cannot be placed on U.S. Cable television for there are other Americanisation factors involved. However, Chapter Six investigates the means of resistance within the Kittitian society in order to estimate its susceptibility to Americanisation. Chapter Four addresses the communication policy and television programming of St. Kitts.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Communication Policy and Television Programming **of St. Kitts**

The convergence over the past two decades of the technologies of broadcasting and telecommunications has not only widened the landscape which regulators must address but transformed the substance of regulation. This is no less true in developing countries as in the more advanced, because convergence has had, as one of its raisons d'être, its own internationalisation. The choices made by countries in the next few years, will have a crucial effect on their economic, and to some extent social and political, development in the next several decades; indeed the choices made in some countries will significantly affect those developments in others.

Martin Mordecai

In 1983 the official documentation for the arrival of U.S. cable television to St. Kitts was completed, but by mid-1984 there was mixed reaction to its coming. The government had arranged for its establishment without consulting the general public. As such, the opposition vocally objected to this maneuver. It was therefore one of the St. Kitts and Nevis' general elections platform issues for the 1984 elections. Despite the public outcry the government continued cable's establishment as planned. The infrastructure of St. Kitts is such that a main-road runs around the island – alongside which most of the villages developed, and from which subsidiary roads lead to several other dwelling areas, as can be seen from the map of St. Kitts and Nevis. As such, when cable was introduced, Basseterre (the capital) received it first, then the laying of cable lines followed the main road running into the outskirts of the capital and into the rural

areas, branching out in both westward and eastward directions. The existing communication policy is solely technical and does not relate to television content guidelines. What it does speak to is protection against long-standing monopolies such as that established in the region by Cable and Wireless during the colonial period. Several such acts have been implemented in the Caribbean region via the OECS telecom project which shall be elaborated on later. A combination of the stealthy establishment of cable by the government and the lack of a communications policy that dealt specifically with content were the conditions under which cable entered the Kittitian society. The purpose of this chapter is to investigate the presence of U.S. cable television and the type of television programming available on the island.

U.S. cable television was legally established in St. Kitts, September 12, 1983, via the Companies Act, (CAP. 335). The company in question, St. Kitts-Nevis Cable Communications Ltd. is private and limited by shares. Run by a board of directors, the purposes of the company are “to furnish a cable communications service and similar services disseminated by means of Hertzian waves, including industrial, commercial and educational and other similar television services in St. Kitts and Nevis; as well as to erect and maintain cable wires, antennae and associated television appliances throughout St. Kitts and Nevis.”¹ The company is also a member of the Caribbean Cable Television Association. At first there were only 12 channels, but as the whole island was wired, business improved and customer demands rose and so packages with more channels were offered.²

¹ The Companies Act 1996, (No. 22 of 1996), Federation of St. Christopher and Nevis.

² Judith Hewlett, interview by author, Basseterre, St. Kitts, 9 January, 2001.

The largest percentage of shares, 60%, was owned by Ridgewood Investments, an American investor, 20% was owned by government and 20% by local shareholders.³ It is interesting to note the controversy surrounding the establishment of cable television in St. Kitts. The opposition at that time, the St. Kitts and Nevis Labour Party objected to the absence of public consultation and the cable television theme fed into the campaigning for the 1984 elections. The government at that time was the People's Action Movement (P.A.M.). As Lent notes, the *Labour Spokesman* (which is the mouthpiece of the Labour Party), on May 5, 1984 reported that "an agreement to introduce cable television was worked out in a letter of intent from the premier to the home affairs minister on 22 July 1983."⁴ The *Labour Spokesman* further revealed that:

... the cable franchise had been sold to St. Kitts-Nevis Cable Ltd. for U.S.\$625,000 with stipulations that the cable system could use ZIZ-TV facilities if it upgraded the station's equipment by a value of U.S.\$60,000 by 31 December 1983. The deal further called for the providing of an access channel to the government's ZIZ-TV and for allowing all channels to simultaneously carry subjects of significant national importance. The cable company was to pay for pole attachments at about U.S. \$.40 per pole per year and for the franchise at 3 percent of gross profits.⁵

A Labour Spokesman editorial of May 16, 1984 condemned Premier Kennedy Simmonds for "entering into a joint ownership of cable television without public disclosure, an act of 'arrogance' ..."⁶ Additionally in an interview conducted by Lent with J. N. France, then editor of the Labour Spokesman, it was revealed that it was only

³ John Lent, *Mass Communications in the Caribbean* (Iowa, Iowa State University Press, 1990), 46 - 47.

⁴ Ibid., 46.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

after publication of the editorial that Simmonds explained that the government had secured 20% of the shares in the cable company in exchange for the use of its television premises, facilities, and duty free concessions. It had also received 20% equity to be made available to the public.⁷ This explanation came almost one year after the fact.

In the 1980s, 12 channels were used by cable but there was the capacity for 36. Two were allocated to the local broadcaster, one to Antigua's public broadcasting station, ABS-TV and the other nine to U.S. stations. One of the channels allocated to ZIZ featured information (flight announcements, parliamentary proceedings, etc.) and could be used like a telex system, while the other carried the regular programme schedule. For that cable package St. Kitts residents paid U.S. \$10 per month and for an extra U.S.\$4 subscribers could get another two channels, one devoted to movies.⁸ In a 1984 interview with Lent, then manager of ZIZ, Goldwin Caines said that there was no threat of competition from cable since ZIZ could be accessed by both the cable channel and direct signal. Furthermore he stated several objectives of the station that included:

bring[ing] the foreign content down to 40 percent because he believed the St. Kitts culture had been hurt as a result of foreign TV. He said that there was a big drive to produce local shows, mainly of a cultural and educational level. According to Caines, ZIZ-TV would offer shows that "tell the people about where they live, what is happening around them and what makes the country run. We will produce shows to motivate people to produce more food. We could be a movie house, but TV in a developing country is too expensive to have that."⁹

⁷ John Lent, *Mass Communications in the Caribbean* (Iowa, Iowa State University Press, 1990), 46.

⁸ Ibid., 47.

⁹ Ibid.

Today (2001), it is possible to choose from cable packages offering up to 54 channels, there is one channel allocated to the local broadcaster (time is shared with the Fox Family Network), no other Caribbean stations are allocated channels, and the monthly fee for the basic cable package of 12 channels is EC\$64 which works out to approximately U.S.\$24. Additional packages and their costs can be seen in Appendix Two. In addition, it appears that in terms of Caines' objectives some progress has been made. There has been a decline in U.S. content on ZIZ. The public service broadcaster provides an avenue for exposure to NGOs wanting to host panel discussions or have live talk back sessions with the general public or even to air social issues (of course at a fee). However, it is unfortunate that specific programmes do not have a regular schedule and the panel discussions occur sporadically. The decline in U.S. content is also due to the incorporation of CMC programming and local information/feature programmes. Also, the drive continues mainly on the part of the St. Kitts and Nevis Information Service (which undertakes government public relations) to produce informative and nationalistic programming which seems to appeal to the taste of residents as expressed by respondents surveyed in Chapter Five. There are also other private endeavours such as the "Woman to Woman" series that highlights the attainments of women in the Kittitian society. Achievements have been made, however, this does not remove the fact that much more can be done, considering the untapped potential of ZIZ and the possible participation of additional private endeavours.

When cable arrived, in addition to the Labour Party's protest, there was also concern raised by the churches on the island. Their concerns had more of a moral base in that they spoke out mainly against the adult content of movies that were shown at nights

on the movie channels such as Showtime. Shows on these channels included graphic violence, glorified criminal underworlds and explicit sex. Despite the outcries, however, many Kittitians still purchased cable as the lines went up around the island. Many individuals did not seem to mind having 24 hour viewing time compared to the limited fare offered by ZIZ and nearby regional public service stations.

St. Kitts was not the only island to offer some protest at the arrival of cable television, and as can be expected all responses were not the same. As documented by Lent, in 1984 St. Lucia received free programming, needing only an antenna for reception via Helen Television Service, Soufriere Community Television and Southern TV. There were soon cries that “performance of students at school suffered; that there were negative effects on the outlook of Caribbean people; that political perceptions were formed by the constant diet of U.S. news and the American line on international affairs; and that the commercials caused a frustrating situation for viewers.”¹⁰ In this case Prime Minister John Compton and cabinet members criticized satellite television and legal action was taken which resulted in reduces hours of transmission and regulation after November 1986. After this action Cable and Wireless decided to tape certain British and American programmes and air them for a fee. Lent quotes Earl Bousquet who felt very strongly about the matter: “St. Lucia has moved from a period when US cultural penetration and invasion of cultural sovereignty by satellite took place on a 24-hour uninterrupted basis, to a period when the penetration is now regulated, with the victim drinking the poison in smaller doses. Worst of all, the victim now has to pay for the canned cultural poison.”¹¹

¹⁰ John Lent, *Mass Communications in the Caribbean* (Iowa, Iowa State University Press, 1990), 49.

¹¹ Ibid.

The owning of satellite dishes on St. Kitts was a rarity, in that the few that were on the island were owned by persons of the higher income bracket. Even today, the amount of satellite dish owners is not documented. However, there is no telling if the much smaller Direct to Home satellites will become a trend. This would expose residents to a wider variety of programming that is not restricted to U.S.-oriented shows.

Going back to cable television, there are still no policies that provide guidelines to television programming. The two communication policies that do exist, concern telecommunications in the area of licensing and infrastructure details. These acts were passed federally, and impact both St. Kitts and Nevis. The first Telecommunications Act of St. Kitts and Nevis dates back to 1951 and states that all telecommunications have to be licensed by a telecommunications officer or an authorized person.¹² The new Telecommunications Act of 2000, passed in 1999, was implemented the following year.¹³ The creation of the act falls under one of the initiatives of the Organisation of the Eastern Caribbean States (OECS) Telecommunications Reform Project. Under this project, the governments of the OECS which include Antigua and Barbuda, The Commonwealth of Dominica, Grenada, St. Kitts and Nevis, St. Lucia, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, Anguilla and the British Virgin Islands acknowledged that “[t]elecommunications is recognised as being the critical element for economic diversification and it was agreed that there was need for competition in the sector.”¹⁴ On many of the Commonwealth Caribbean islands Cable and Wireless continues to have a monopoly in the telecommunication sector which is a legacy from the colonial era when decades-long

¹² The Telecommunication Act, June 11, 1951, CAP 203 1623, Chapter 203, St. Christopher and Nevis.

¹³ The Telecommunications Act, 2000, No. 2 of 2000, , St. Christopher and Nevis.

¹⁴ Background of OECS Telecommunications Reform Project found at <http://www.oecs.org>

contracts were signed with the then administrators. Under the telecom project the OECS is working to terminate such contracts through negotiations with Cable and Wireless, as well as to update telecommunications acts. The new telecommunications act in St. Kitts and Nevis, has nothing to do with programming content, but rather with the transmission aspects of broadcasting. In fact, whereas the act is designed to protect against long-standing monopolies such as that once held by Cable and Wireless and to open up the market to other service providers, the act also has the propensity to increase the number of cable transmissions received by St. Kitts and Nevis.

Rather than imply that nothing at all is being done, it must be mentioned that the author was assured by the Minister of Culture, the Honourable Jacinth Henry-Martin in an interview held in the summer of 2000, that a draft cultural policy document discusses means of resistance to entities that threaten the intrinsic culture of St. Kitts and Nevis. However, it must be noted that the local broadcasting station does not fall under the same ministry, instead it falls under the Prime Minister's portfolio.

“There is a draft cultural policy document but it still has to be taken to the people. We still for example have to air it on national radio and TV so that our nationals can have an input, it has to be ratified, before being called our national cultural policy. But that draft document does speak to areas of our culture; and the role the ministry through its department of culture can play on its own or in collaboration with other agencies that work for similar causes, to make sure that we preserve, promote and work together to keep our culture alive.”¹⁵

¹⁵ Minister Jacinth Henry-Martin, interview by author, tape recording, Basseterre, St. Kitts, May 23, 2000.

Air-time Provided to Local Broadcasters in the Federation

Presently, St. Kitts and Nevis Cable which provides U.S. cable transmission to St. Kitts, has 10 satellite receivers each of which can provide 24 channels.¹⁶ One of these channels shares broadcasting time with the local public broadcasting station, ZIZ Broadcasting Corporation (ZBC). Therefore, ZBC begins programming at 4:00 p.m. each day and signs off at approximately 11:00 p.m., at which time Fox Family Channel comes back on until the next day of ZBC programming. Exceptions would occur when the National Parliament is aired live during working hours or when Carnival parades are also aired live over the Carnival season.

A similar situation takes place in Nevis, whose cable provider is now Nevis Cable. This provider supplies a channel for public broadcasting as well, however, Nevis also airs some ZBC programming as well. As such, the already limited public broadcasting time is shared between Nevis Information Service and ZBC. Programming on the Nevis channel would run something like this: ZBC programming from 4:00 p.m., Nevis local channel from about 7:00 p.m. until sign off, when the U.S. channel comes back on.

In comparison, there are several cable packages that can be obtained at varying prices. The basic package, which is the cheapest, offers 13 channels inclusive of the one shared by ZIZ. It offers a range of viewing options including, cartoons on Cartoon Network, sports on ESPN International, news on CNN, environmental and scientific exploration on Discovery, health issues on Health Network, religious programming on

¹⁶ Judith Hewlett, interview by author Basseterre, St. Kitts, 9 January, 2001.

TBN and EWTN/INSP and entertainment on Fox Family, WGN and USA. When choosing a particular cable package the customer first has to purchase the first tier which is the basic cable package. This is shown in the cable tier structure and rates in Appendix Two.

Limited Market Size

There are certain limitations that affect both St. Kitts and Nevis that have to be taken into consideration. It is much cheaper to purchase U.S. programming than to produce local programming and on the development scale of things, funds that would have been delegated to a public service station, have to be used elsewhere for more urgent needs. With a 34,880 population, the market (which has a choice of watching or not watching indigenous programming) is very small. In fact, Stewart Krohn, president of the Caribbean Broadcasting Union (CBU) and a keynote speaker at the June 21 - 22, 2000 Caribbean Broadcasting Union / International Telecommunications Union / Friedrich - Ebert - Stiftung / United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation Conference, held in Barbados, mentions that the television audience market on any given Caribbean island is very small.

... local production is expensive and our markets are tiny. The biggest nation in the English speaking Caribbean is Jamaica with 2.5 million people - mostly poor people, by the way. That many eyeballs may look fantastic to those of us with markets less than one-tenth that size, but in the larger scheme of things, in terms of buying power and advertising

dollars that big bad Jamaican market is about the equivalent of a medium size U.S. town. ...

But wait there is good news. If we counted all of CARICOM as a single market - remember the single market and economy? ... that market would now total 6 million. Add Haiti, Cuba, the Dominican Republic we've got around 30 million.¹⁷

Despite the fact that the Caribbean Community / Caribbean Common Market (CARICOM) celebrated its 25th Anniversary in 1999 and much has been done in terms of regional trade exchanges and material goods, telecommunication and cultural goods simply do not figure very high on scale of priorities. As such, over the years residents have been supplied with so much foreign programming, even on the local station itself, that their palates are now accustomed to the technological standards set by foreign films. These film producers have access to the latest technically advanced equipment and trained technicians knowledgeable in the latest techniques, unlike the struggling producers in the Caribbean region. Prior to the arrival of cable television, the author remembers as a child, viewing "Peyton Place", "Dallas", "To Catch a Thief", "The Incredible Hulk", "Swiss Family Robinson" and various Hollywood movies. Today, foreign programming aired on ZBC which originates in the U.S. include "Sesame Street", "The Bold and the Beautiful", "The Young and the Restless" and "As the World Turns" as well as U.S. music videos usually taken from Black Entertainment Television (BET). The latter are used as time fillers. U.S. movies are also occasionally aired on Saturday evenings.

Short History of Media in St. Kitts

In the early stages, like in Britain, Kittitian newspapers were connected to the political parties and so were partisan. By the time independence came around there were still two main newspapers connected to the two main political parties. *The Democrat* Newspaper, is the instrument of P.A.M., while the other major newspaper, the *Labour Spokesman*, is the instrument of St. Kitts and Nevis Labour Party. There are also two other newspapers, the Observer and the Leeward Times. In terms of broadcast, even prior to independence, the government controlled the one radio and later television station. In the 1960s, ZIZ Radio aired both British and local concerns. It is interesting to note that the station was started with an EC\$1¼ million loan from Cable and Wireless.¹⁸ Initially, BBC news and British news magazines were a popular feature, as were comedy and classical music. However, local commentators did much to supply local news and promote local cultural music as well. The television aspect of ZBC begun in 1972 and functioned mainly on the same level as the radio station in that it aired mainly British programmes, local news and topical interviews. However Lent quotes Everold Hosein's study of 1976 that stated there was overwhelming foreign programming being aired on ZIZ television. The study states that in 1975, ZIZ television aired 90% foreign programming.¹⁹ Thus the Kittitian appetite was already whet for foreign programming. In fact, by the 1980s when cable was introduced, Lent recorded that 60 - 65% of the

¹⁷ Krohn, Stewart. "Indigenous Content Development - Reality or Myth." (paper presented at CBU/FES/ITU/UNESCO Seminar on *Challenges to Broadcasting in the Caribbean*, 21 & 22, June, 2000).

¹⁸ John Lent, *Mass Communications in the Caribbean* (Iowa, Iowa State University Press, 1990), 89.

¹⁹ John Lent, *Third World Mass Media and their Search for Modernity: The Case of the Commonwealth Caribbean 1717 - 1976* (London, Associated University Presses, 1977), 144.

programming on ZIZ television consisted of U.S. originated shows.²⁰ As such, cable television, which began airing in 1984, was continuing the exposure to U.S. programming that had begun in the 1970s. It must be noted that in the early 1970s most Kittitians would not have had the economic resources nor even the interest in purchasing a television set and antennae to ensure reception.

As of 2000, according to Judith Hewlett, manager of administration of the St. Kitts-Nevis Cable Company, St. Kitts has approximately 8,000 cable subscribers. She explained that the number fluctuates but remains close to that amount because there may be disconnections due to deferred payments as well as reconnections and completely new connections during any given month. According to the U.N. Statistical Yearbook 1999, there are 264 televisions per 1,000 inhabitants.²¹ So with a population of 34,880 there are approximately 9,208 televisions on the island. The difference between 9,208 and 8,000 is 1,208. This says that only 13.12% of the television sets on St. Kitts are not connected to cable. This clearly demonstrates that most persons who have television sets are subscribers of U.S. cable programming. As such, it suggests that U.S. cable television is very present among Kittitian television viewers. Since U.S. cable television is one of the cheaper means of exposure to Americanisation and because of its subtle infiltration and introduction to the other Americanisation factors it can lead to neocolonialism.

With print, radio and even local television broadcasting, there are opportunities for residents to respond via articles and letters to the editor, radio talk back shows or television panel discussions with question and answer periods. In addition to this, actual

²⁰ John Lent, *Mass Communications in the Caribbean* (Iowa, Iowa State University Press, 1990), 47.

²¹ U.N. *Statistical Yearbook* (USA, UNESCO Publishing and Bernan Press 1999), IV-218.

cultural events are often featured in print, on radio and on local television. This gives an opportunity for local opinion to be perpetuated, local ways of life to be expressed and culture to be validated. With U.S. cable television there are few opportunities for Kittitian or even Caribbean expression.

These opportunities present themselves when certain events such as CARIFESTA VII or other events may be previewed on CNN or BET. CARIFESTA, which is the premier cultural event of the region, took place for the seventh time during the summer of 2000 in St. Kitts. On the surface, it might appear that cable companies by giving previews of such events, are taking the initiative and allowing diverse cultural activities to be shown on their channels; however, this particular event took place after detailed arrangements. The Kittitian Department of Culture and the Ministry of Tourism had to do much orchestration before the final arrangements of television protocol could be worked out to enable CARIFESTA previews to be aired on a CNN programme, Hot Spots. Such instances take place occasionally and certainly not on a regular basis. Also such minute exposure is just a pale reflection of Kittitian/Caribbean culture. However, how do Kittitians feel about both local and U.S. cable television programming?

CHAPTER FIVE

Findings of Survey Conducted in St. Kitts

Tapio Varis (1984) documented the global flow of television programmes which showed that Latin America and the Caribbean and parts of Africa and Asia, had the highest levels of imported content. The lowest importer was the United States (2%); Western Europe imported approximately 30% and Canada 38%. In the Caribbean, the level of importation ranged from a 'low' of 76% in Jamaica to a high of 95% in Montserrat in the mid 1980's.

Hilary Brown

When the cultural dependency theory first became a topical issue in the Caribbean region, there was much discussion that often bordered on outright alarm concerning protecting the culture, maintaining independence and preserving the identity of the people of the region. However, it was not until much later that studies/surveys were undertaken to determine whether or not the fears of certain Caribbean cultural theorists were well founded. In St. Kitts the topic of the impact of cable television on the local culture always generates much interest, yet, to the knowledge of the author no statistical study had previously been undertaken. However, because of local interest in the topic, it is quite possible that analyses may have been conducted for panel discussions and the like, yet even if this was the case none have been previously recorded in print. This chapter therefore seeks to note similar studies undertaken in the region and to introduce a survey and findings that were undertaken by the author in St. Kitts.

**“American Media Impact on Jamaican Youth:
The Cultural Dependency Thesis”**

Hilary Brown, researched the issue of American media and its effect on Jamaican youth. Her study began by putting forth two hypotheses: “the more time spent with foreign media the less is one’s orientation towards Jamaican culture and the greater one’s orientation towards American culture”¹ and “the higher the level of foreign media use the higher the level of consumerism.”² The sample consisted of 952 subjects from 17 schools in three areas. Adolescents ranged in age from 10 - 19 and the survey was conducted between October 1992 and January 1993.

One conclusion was that the youth of the 1980s and 1990s have greater access to foreign cultures via the media, which results in wider interests and a greater appreciation for what is not local. This serves as a challenge to the local media as well as to the nation as a whole if active pride in one’s national identity is to be encouraged.

She also observes that the youth in her study were looking for a better way of life and because of the images that the U.S. perpetuates, there is the impression among the young people that the U.S. offers this. Those youth, however, who came from middle class homes seemed more willing to remain in Jamaica and strive to survive in their land of birth. The poorer youth expressed the need to escape their first environment and travel to the U.S. which they consider a panacea for poverty.

¹ Hilary Brown, “American Media Impact on Jamaican Youth: The Cultural Dependency Thesis” *Globalization, Communications and Caribbean Identity* ed. Hopeton Dunn (Kingston, Jamaica: Ian Randle Publishers Ltd., 1995), 62.

² Ibid.

Brown concluded that the lion's share of the impetus should be undertaken by the local media. She also stressed the importance of national policies to "guide and nurture the development of vibrant cultural industries and culturally appropriate media."³

**"Television and the Americanization of the Trinbagonian Youth:
A Study of Six Secondary Schools"**

Lynette Lashley, undertook the study of youth in the twin-island state of Trinidad and Tobago. She queried "how deep an influence is American television entertainment programming on the youth of Trinidad and Tobago (Trinbagonian)"⁴ and "Is there a preference for American television entertainment programming over Trinidadian programming."⁵ Lashley's sample consisted of 914 youth between the ages of 11 - 18, in six schools.

The conclusion was that American television had a deep influence on Trinbagonian youth. Lashley also stated that American programmes affected their way of speech and dress and they had a preference for American culture. It was determined that the youth wanted to live the lifestyle that they saw on television. She also found that there was a preference for American programming over local programming.

³ Hilary Brown, "American Media Impact on Jamaican Youth: The Cultural Dependency Thesis" *Globalization, Communications and Caribbean Identity* ed. Hopeton Dunn (Kingston, Jamaica: Ian Randle Publishers Ltd., 1995), 78.

⁴ Lynette Lashley, "Television and the Americanization of the Trinbagonian Youth: A Study of Six Secondary Schools" *Globalization, Communications and Caribbean Identity*, 86.

⁵ Ibid.

Like Brown, Lashley notes that there is limited locally-made programming which may be one of the reasons for the acquired and preferred taste for American programming.

Other Regional Studies

Other regional studies include two undertaken by S. H. Surlin. As Brown notes, one was a cross cultural investigation of American, Canadian and Caribbean university students which concluded that the “reality” projected in U.S. television was far removed from the reality of Caribbean life. She also made reference to a second study by Surlin which found that Caribbean students projected a more “humanistic” value profile while American and Canadian students projected a more “materialistic” profile.⁶

Brown also noted a study conducted in Belize, Central America which found that the amount of time that an individual watches U.S. television positively correlated with that person’s attitude towards the consumption of U.S. products and negatively associated with the attitude towards local products.⁷

⁶ Hilary Brown, “American Media Impact on Jamaican Youth: The Cultural Dependency Thesis” *Globalization, Communications and Caribbean Identity* ed. Hopeton Dunn (Kingston, Jamaica: Ian Randle Publishers Ltd., 1995), 60.

⁷ Ibid.

The Kittitian Case

St. Kitts as a small developing country, has limited economic resources, so the production of cultural industry articles, such as movies or mini-series, often out of no other choice, are rated very low on the scale of necessary expenditure. So when faced with the decision of purchasing cheap American programming versus the time-consuming task of making the more expensive local programming, the former is often chosen. This occurs in the programming offered by the local television station which consists of U.S. originated programming, CMC programmes and local programming. The exception to this occurs after the Carnival season when some of the local cultural events that took place are aired without major editing. The same occurs when there are shows from local community festivals and the like. The airing of activities taped during CARIFESTA VII were also good examples. Also live airing of the National Parliament during working hours has also occurred.

Some Kittitians seem to have an appetite for soap operas. The local broadcasting station airs "As the World Turns" at 6:00 p.m., while "The Bold and the Beautiful" commences at about 9:15 p.m. and is followed by "The Young and the Restless." An example of a programming schedule for a typical weekday evening can be found in Appendix One.

The local cable company provides a basic cable package that consists of 13 channels, one of which is shared with the local television station. As such, even with the basic package, residents are exposed to 12 channels that offer 24-hour U.S. oriented

programming. The other channel is shared between ZBC and Fox Family Channel.

Other more costly packages provide access to more channels. The cable packages offered in St. Kitts, including their cost, can be found in the Appendix Two.

Research Questions

Residents of St. Kitts and Nevis are exposed to a great deal of American programming. Is it possible that it has an effect on Kittitians and their culture? This query gave rise to the following research questions:

Research Question I

Is U.S. cable programming more appealing to Kittitians than local broadcast programming?

Research Question II

Today, are Kittitians more aware of elements of the American culture and are there elements in Kittitian culture to counter-balance Americanisation effects?

Despite the fact that this study concerns the impact of media on the culture of St. Kitts, it must be acknowledged that there are other factors that also lead to changes in a country's culture. Without going into detail, some of the other factors that can cause American culture to come to the attention of residents include migration of one's

relatives, which introduces other factors such as presents of American articles; visiting the U.S.; shopping in U.S.-type malls; exposure to U.S. literature, especially magazines, and attending university in the U.S. It can however, be noted that in some instances cable television can act as an introduction to some of these other factors and reinforce them. For instance, a Kittitian could see an advertisement about clothing on cable and then feel the need to visit the U.S. to shop for these articles, thus enforcing Americanisation via the introduction given by cable.

Cable television, however, is easily accessible and does not involve one leaving the country, waiting for a package from a relative nor spending a small fortune on an education. The cost has increased since cable was first established and as at November 20, 2000, the basic package of 13 channels cost EC\$37.00, approximately US\$14.00 per month. The fact is cable television is easily accessible and not too expensive.

Method

The sample under investigation consists of 281 adults aged 21 years and up. Subjects resided around the island, coming from the capital, two towns and 15 villages. It was conducted between June and August, 2000.

Survey interviews were conducted randomly via one adult in every second household in that particular community. The individual from that home who agreed to take part in the survey had to be at least 21 years of age. This was necessary since the individual had to state his or her employment status as well as give an annual income.

Interviewers recorded the respondents' answers and offered any clarification or answered any queries that the respondents may have had. It took approximately 20 minutes to complete a survey. In certain instances the survey was completed by the respondent without the aid of the interviewer. A copy of the questionnaire can be found in Appendix Three.

Results

Due to the small size of the sample, the results will be used to do a qualitative rather than a quantitative analysis. With a larger sample size, detailed quantitative analysis could prove a very interesting undertaking, perhaps at the doctoral level. This analysis will be limited to a basic description of the sample results.

Although the survey may not be representative of residents of the island of St. Kitts it can give an idea of viewing preferences and the perceived awareness of the surveyed Kittitians to the American culture and the strength of the local culture to provide alternatives. This will show how resistant some Kittitians may be to assimilation of American culture and if assimilation does take place are they retaining some of the more significant aspects of Kittitian culture.

Demographics and Survey Highlights

Population demographics of St. Kitts will be presented for comparison with the demographics of the sample that was collected. This will demonstrate to what degree the

sample is or is not representative of the population of St. Kitts. The population and sample percentages that are displayed come from the two categories of each demographic segment with the greatest amount of respondents.

Survey respondents came from 18 areas within St. Kitts. The majority 28.6% came from the capital Basseterre and 18.2% came from Sandy Point. Government Statistics of 1998 revealed that 39.6% of Kittitians live in Basseterre and 9.7% live in Sandy Point.⁸

Survey respondents were age 21 and over and of these 48.7% are between 21 - 30 and 33.8% are between 31 and 40 years of age. According to the same government source, 31.4% of the population are between 20 - 29 and 26.1% are between 30 - 39 years of age.⁹

60.8% of survey respondents earned less than EC\$25,000, 26.3% earned EC\$25,001 - EC\$35,000 and 12.9% earned EC\$35,001 and over. The data received from the St. Kitts and Nevis Social Security Board is worked out by average wage. As such, it may not give a true reflection of the individual amounts earned since individuals of the same age range will have varying levels of income which are then worked out as an average. By manipulating the data, it was found that 99.16% is the total average of Kittitians that earn less than EC\$25,000. On the other hand, when the figures for men alone were used, 88.26% is the average of males who earn less than EC\$25,000.¹⁰ It

⁸ Statistics Division, Planning Unit, Ministry of Finance, Development and Planning. *St. Kitts and Nevis Demography Digest 1998*, 1.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 6.

¹⁰ St. Christopher and Nevis Social Security Board, *Distribution of Average Wage Rates by Age and Gender 1999*.

must be noted that earning less than \$EC\$25,000 does not suggest that the respondent is poor but rather it was a point at which to begin categorising income.

Survey respondents comprised 63.9% full-time workers and 12.8% part-time workers. The Social Security did not have a breakdown for full-time and part-time workers.

Among respondents 61.6% were female and 38% were males. Population statistics revealed that there are 50.7% females and 49.3% males in St. Kitts.¹¹

Survey highlights:

- Most respondents had televisions
- Almost all of those with televisions subscribed to cable television
- Less than half of those with televisions supported cultural activities
- On ZIZ respondents watched mostly news, soap operas and sports
- On cable respondents watched mostly movies, news and sports
- Just over half of the respondents felt that ZIZ did not show enough cultural material
- Most respondents perceived that since the arrival of cable they had become more aware of things like brand name clothing
- Most people support local cultural activities occasionally
- Most respondents had never travelled to the U.S.

¹¹ Statistics Division, Planning Unit, Ministry of Finance, Development and Planning. *St. Kitts and Nevis Demography Digest 1998*, 6.

Television in the Home

As previously noted, there are 264 televisions per 1,000 inhabitants on St. Kitts and Nevis.¹² Conversely, of the 281 adults surveyed, 87.2% had televisions and 12.8% did not. The largest percentage of respondents who did not have televisions (36.1%) were retired. This is compared to full-time and part-time workers, the unemployed, housewives, and other.

Respondents that do not own televisions travel less frequently to the U.S. than respondents with televisions. Among respondents who did not have televisions, 31.6% supported local cultural activities 0-5 times per year, and the same percent supported it 6-10 times per year. As was discovered with all other categories, Carnival was the activity supported most; 75% of respondents with no televisions supported this cultural activity. The majority, 77.1%, of non television-owning respondents, had *never* travelled to the U.S. This is compared to those who rarely travel to the U.S. and those who travel once, twice or three and more times per year. 71.4% of non television-owning respondents did not receive clothing from relatives abroad compared to those who did.

95.4% of respondents who did have televisions, subscribed to cable. 37.3% had the basic package. Overwhelmingly though, 86.5% of television-owing respondents did not have an alternative means of television reception. There was a small percentage, 7.0%, who also had an antennae and 6.6% who owned satellite dishes.

42.6% of respondents with televisions, supported local cultural activities 0-5 times per year. However, like those without televisions, they mainly supported Carnival,

¹² U.N., *Statistical Yearbook* (USA, UNESCO Publishing and Bernan Press, 1999), IV-218.

but a fraction lower at 71%. 31.3% of television-owning respondents, said that they *rarely* travel to the U.S. and 56.3% said relatives abroad send clothing.

Since respondents with televisions travel more often to the U.S. it can imply that the images that are seen on television encourage them to want to travel there, as well as it could imply that they have more money to spend. Yet, non-television-owning respondents as well as television owning respondents both fell in the same income bracket of earning less than EC\$25,000.

Viewing patterns

Respondents watched U.S. cable television more often than ZIZ. Overall, 78.1% of respondents who watched ZIZ, did so between 0 - 10 hours. They were mainly female, between the ages of 21-30, and full- time workers earning less than EC\$25,000. Cable television painted a different picture since 34.2% was the majority who watched it, and they did so 31 hours and over. However, these results may be simply due to the fact that there is only one ZBC while there are 54 cable channels, as well as the fact that these channels air for 24 hours compared to the short time that ZBC is on the air. As such, it is more adequate to compare the type of programming offered such as sports, news, soaps, documentaries, comedy, movies and mini-series, the data collected did not include individual U.S stations. The chart and graph below shows the results as among the individual respondents.

Type of Programming Viewed on ZBC and Cable

Programming viewed	ZBC viewers	Cable viewers
Sports	27.8	48.3
News	67.5	51.7
Soaps	35.9	39.7
Documentaries	15.4	20.9
Comedy	11.5	44.0
Movies	21.8	78.2
Mini-Series	12.4	31.9
Other	20.4	50.0

Table One **Graph One**

As such, the most frequently watched programme on ZIZ was the evening news with soap operas being the next programme of choice, followed by sports. On the other hand, for cable, the most frequently watched programme was movies followed by the news and then sports. Even though ZIZ has less offerings than cable it is clear from the

graph that the local news is second after cable television movies in viewership. This suggests that Kittitians want to know about what is going on in their immediate environment. Additionally, the results imply that most respondents tune in to ZIZ to look at the news and then the soaps and that those people who have access to cable watch mostly the movies and then the news. It was also interesting to find out about the interests of the people who watch the news on ZIZ and the movies on cable. This allowed us to find out from the sample being used, whether these specific individuals supported cultural activities and what were their demographics.

Both ZIZ news watchers and cable movie watchers were mostly females between the ages of 21-30 and worked full time for less than EC\$25,000. 96.2%, who watched ZIZ news were cable subscribers. 35.3% of ZIZ news-watchers also watched cable and did so mostly 31 and more hours per week. 45.1% of ZIZ news-watchers, supported cultural activities; they did so 0-5 times per year. Again the cultural activity most often supported was Carnival.

Just over three quarters (78.1%) of respondents who watched cable movies also watched ZIZ, they did so mostly between 0-10 hours. As could have been assumed, the majority, 69.9% watched ZIZ mostly for news. 44.2% of cable movie-watchers supported cultural activities 0-5 times per year. The cultural activity of choice was Carnival. Carnival is an activity that displays the culture of the island, provides entertainment and allows participation in the “street mas” (active participation including being a member of the parading troupes and bands but also dancing and singing while watching from the side of the street and getting into the whole “spirit” of the event). Carnival also provides a social outlet for the reunion of residents and visiting members of the diaspora, who

sometimes visit over the Christmas season. The later often serves as a motivation for residents to attend since it also a forum to meet old friends who live abroad.

ZIZ Cultural Material

68.5% of respondents felt that ZIZ did not show enough local cultural material. Of these respondents, 78.3% watch ZIZ, though mostly between 0-10 hours. 31.4% of respondents who desired more cultural material, watched cable mostly 11-20 hours. Again respondents mostly supported local entertainment 0-5 times per year, their preference being Carnival. Respondents who desired more cultural material were also mostly females and worked full-time for less than EC\$25,000, but 47.9% of them were between the ages of 21-30. Just over three-quarters (79.7%) of these respondents gave suggestions of what they thought should be shown on ZIZ to make it more cultural. Their ideas mainly focused on heritage films and documentaries on African peoples and Carib and Arawak peoples as well as historical films on the island and Caribbean region as a whole. It was also expressed that there was a need for Kittitian film productions. Respondents desiring more cultural material also remarked that they were disappointed that much of the material shown on ZIZ was American/foreign. The presentation/quality of the local productions was also a disappointment for them. A few did express that the news and the St. Kitts and Nevis Information Service programmes were two of the bright spots, though there was still room for improvement. A graph of the desires of respondents who felt that ZIZ should show more cultural material would look like this.

Graph Two

Just under a third (31.5%) of the respondents felt that ZIZ showed enough cultural material. 75.7% of these respondents watched ZIZ, though mostly between the 0-10 hours. In addition, 52.7% of respondents who said that ZIZ showed enough cultural material, viewed cable 31 and more hours per week. Overall, 47.1% supported cultural activities, 6-10 times per year. They again mostly supported Carnival.

Most respondents who said that ZIZ showed enough cultural material, viewed cable more often than those respondents who said the opposite. In addition, respondents who said that ZIZ was showing enough cultural material supported cultural activities more often than those who felt that ZIZ did not show enough cultural material. This might imply that for these particular respondents, either ZIZ was indeed supplying enough cultural material or they were receiving enough cultural material via cultural activities. However, the fact still remains, that in the sample used, the majority of the respondents felt that ZIZ did not show enough cultural material. This majority was

between the ages of 21-30, worked full-time and earned less than EC\$25,000 but 53.4% of them were male.

In essence, it was mostly males who said that ZIZ did not show enough cultural material and they watched a fair amount of cable television and barely supported local entertainment. On the other hand, those who said it showed enough cultural material gave strong support to cultural activities.

Awareness of Fashion Brands

This subsection takes into consideration the respondents' *perception* of their own awareness. A survey was not conducted prior to the arrival of cable television to enable comparison.

Most respondents, perceived that since the inception of cable television there have been more awareness to things like brand name clothing which they are exposed to through promotions like advertisements. The following table and graph show the percentage of perceived awareness.

Awareness Level of Fashion Brands

Awareness Level	Percentage of Awareness
Less Aware	10.7
Just as Aware	14.2
More Aware	75.1

Table Two

Graph Three

ZIZ television airs mostly local and regional advertisements. However there are also some advertisements of large transnational corporations such as Coca Cola and Luvs Pampers.

The largest group of respondents (75.1%) believed they are “more aware”. 77.4% of them watched mostly 0-10 hours of ZIZ. Cable viewing of the same group of “more aware” respondents reflected a different pattern in that 37.7%, watched mostly 31 and more hours of cable per week, which happened to be the highest television viewing category. On ZIZ they watch mostly the news and then soaps, while on cable they watch mostly movies and then they suggested other options. The other viewing options that they provided included Christian programming, BET and cartoons. “Most aware” respondents *rarely* (i.e. occasionally as opposed to never) travel to the U.S. and most of them have relatives abroad who send clothing. They were mostly female between the ages of 21-30 who worked full-time and earned less than EC\$25,000 per year.

Respondents who believe they are “just as aware” of brands (14.2%) fall within the same category in terms of how often they watch ZIZ, however their viewing of cable is different. They watch less cable, specifically 34.5% in the viewing range of 0-10 hours compared to the “more aware” respondents’ viewing pattern of 31 hours and more. The programmes viewed on ZIZ and cable were the same as for the respondents who said that they were “more aware.” The “just as aware” respondents *rarely* travel to the U.S. and exactly 50% of them receive clothing from relatives abroad. They were mostly female between the ages of 21-30 and worked full-time earning less than EC\$25,000.

The smallest group of respondents (10.7%) were “less aware”. They watch the same amount of ZIZ programming as the other two categories of awareness. However, cable viewing differed once again. Just over a third (34.8%) of “less aware” respondents watched 11-20 hours of cable. The programmes viewed on ZIZ and cable were the same as for the other two awareness categories. However, in terms of travelling to the U.S., 29.2% said that they never did and the same percentage said that they went there once. Just over half (54.2%) of them received clothing from relatives abroad. They were mostly females between the ages of 21-30 and were full-time workers who earned less than EC\$25,000 per year.

It was interesting to note that respondents who perceived that they were more aware of brands watched the most cable of the three awareness categories and their relatives sent them the most clothing. This could suggest that they had two means of exposure to Americanisation via cable and clothing sent by relatives.

Support of Cultural Activities

So then with this awareness of certain aspects of American culture, did the respondents in any way support local cultural activities? The answer is yes, though to varying degrees. For instance, as Table Three and Graph Four show, as the amount of times that that cultural activities is supported rises, the percentage of respondents who support them declines. Most respondents support local cultural activities but not very often.

Support of Local Cultural Activities

How Many Times Supported	Percentage of Support Times
0 - 5 times	41.7
6 - 10 times	36.6
11 - 15 times	12.8
16+ times	8.9

Table Three

Graph Four

In general most respondents supported Carnival/Culturama, yet these festivals take place only once per year. The next event, which was supported most, was community festivals. Graph Five also shows support of bands, theatre and youth-related activities.

Graph Five

41.7% of respondents supported the performance of local cultural entertainment 0-5 times per year. Like most respondents they chiefly supported Carnival/Culturama which was followed closely by Community Festivals. Persons who supported cultural activities were mostly females between the ages of 21-30 and worked full-time earning less than EC\$25,000.

Two other Means of Exposure to U.S. Cultural Ideology

The majority of people surveyed had *never* travelled to the U.S. Which means they would have had to be exposed to American ways of life by alternate means. Also the next largest number of respondents were those who *rarely* (as opposed to once, twice or three or more times per year) travelled to the U.S. The following is a graph of the results.

Graph Six

It was interesting to find out the type of people who travelled to the U.S. the most amount of times. These respondents have a similar pattern to the general responses in terms of support of cultural activities i.e. supporting them mostly 0-5 times per year and Carnival/Culturama being the most supported activity. However, these respondents worked full time earning less than EC\$25,000, but it was mostly males (56.7%) between the ages of 31-40 who mostly travelled to the U.S. On the other hand, respondents who had never travelled to the U.S. were mostly females between the ages of 21-30 and full-

time workers earning less than EC25,000. Clearly the male respondents travelled more often.

Discussion

Research Question I

The results from the survey show that respondents find U.S. cable programming more appealing than local broadcast programming. The viewership questions given on ZBC and cable, demonstrate that more hours of cable are viewed than ZBC. It could be said that this greater viewing period is so because of Cable's longer airing time. However, certain types of American programming is just favoured because it has to be recalled that American programming is also accessible on ZIZ. Respondents also viewed soaps on ZBC at evenings. Although the amount of local and regional programming has increased over the years there is still a high percentage of foreign/American programming.

Although news was the most frequently watched programme on ZBC, local news only lasts approximately 45 minutes and is followed (on week days) by Caribbean Newslane. Compare this hour of local and regional news to the most frequently watched programme on cable, which is movies. A movie (interrupted by advertisements) lasts anywhere from an hour and a half to three hours. However, another ZBC favourite among respondents was sports – CMC airs many West Indies cricket matches live. As such, it can be implied that respondents are keen on knowing the happenings in St.

Kitts/Caribbean via the news as well as apparently retaining a sense of national and Caribbean identity in their support of cricket/sports. However, there is still no getting away from the American content of ZBC programming.

According to sample results, the second highest rated programme on ZBC is American soap operas, since no local nor regional soap operas are shown. Many studies, including those by Tamar Liebes and Elihu Katz as well as Ien Ang have been done on the interpretation of these soap operas. It seems that the culture of the country from which the television programming originates is not simply adopted by the receiving country but instead goes through a process of encoding and decoding.¹³ This suggests that several factors surrounding the interpretation of the programme, will influence its reception by the residents of the country on the receiving end. This shall be discussed in more detail in Chapter Seven.

According to respondent results, the second highest rated programme on cable is the news. This also is another means of cultural promotion by the U.S. The style and method of reporting the news is very unlike the news reporting done in St. Kitts, not that there is not room for improvement. Additionally, Western news coverage of developing countries tends to be more on the negative side, as was discussed in Chapter Two. In St. Kitts, the government has promoted mainly a developmental theory when it comes to the broadcast media, thus providing information on specific areas that will assist residents in their day to day functions. All of this is accentuated by the fact that the government still owns both the television and radio station.

¹³ Stuart Hall, "Encoding/Decoding," *Culture, Media, Language: Working Papers in Cultural Studies 1972-79* (London, Hutchinson & Co. Ltd., 1980), 128 - 138.

However, overall and judging from viewing patterns, respondents have a preference for American programming, whether it is aired on cable or on ZBC. How it is interpreted is another matter.

Research Question II

Today compared to when cable first arrived, respondents believed that they are more aware of elements of American culture. The question becomes more difficult when one tries to figure out to what degree this knowledge influences their behaviour and how much the culture changes. Again such might pose an interesting topic for a doctoral thesis.

What does concern this thesis is: since cable does have a part to play in U.S. cultural promulgation – whether overtly, subconsciously or providing impetus for other Americanisation effects – are there counter activities within the Kittitian culture which can serve as checks and balances.

It was evident that cultural activities which could take on the role of countering Americanisation effects are poorly supported by respondents. Results from respondents show that more regular activities such as youth related activities and theatre receive little support. These are some of the activities that may actually have served as material for ZBC productions. Yet the support does not seem to be there. The blame can be placed on Americanisation influences or on “modernity and its ending of history,” as shall be explored in the Chapter Seven.

Most respondents believed that they were more aware of American brands. It can be implied that since the majority of them never went to, or rarely travelled to the U.S., there would have to be an alternate means of finding out about American brands, such as via cable television. Just over half of the respondents did state that relatives did send them fashionable clothing. This suggests that most respondents can be learning about American fashion trends through both methods, i.e. cable and clothing sent by relatives. These of course are just two of the many means of exposure to American culture. Although Carnival/Culturama and community festivals seemed to be the first choices of most in terms of supporting cultural activities, they only take place once per year.

As such, while most respondents believe that they are more aware of American trends, they do not necessarily undertake activities to counter the effects.

Conclusion

The first query revealed that that cable television programming is more appealing while the second query revealed that respondents believed that they are more aware of brands, however cultural activities that could possibly counter such effects were not being supported. Is it the glamour of cable television and its American programming that makes it more attractive? And if respondents don't necessarily want to go out on evenings, what can be done to make local television programming just as attractive and more indigenous?

Some Kittitians, often wear American clothing, adopt the American accents even when talking among peers, accept consumerism and in extension adopt a materialistic way of life. Is cable television to take part of the blame? Perhaps looking as some of the means of resistance will shed some light on this aspect.

CHAPTER SIX

Available Means of Resistance to the Effects of U.S. Cable Television on St. Kitts

As to exactly what will be on “The Caribbean Channel”, that lies beyond the time-frame of this discussion, but after several years of thought it appears that the best route is to begin with a music and news-based format. It would quickly move to build a solid prime time block complete with dramas, sitcoms, magazines, and many other genres, some of which we have not yet even invented. Above all, The Caribbean Channel will have to quickly develop its own unique personality – not the bland “coat-and-tie television” we too often see on our region’s screens, but a more authentic version which relates more closely to the real lives of real people.

Stewart Krohn

Within Kittitian society there are specific activities that reinforce the culture of St. Kitts both via modern channels of communication such as the television as well as via more traditional means such as attending cultural activities. In the opening quote taken from Krohn’s Keynote Address at the CBU/FES/ITU/UNESCO Seminar on Challenges to Broadcasting in the Caribbean held in 2000, he notes that the proposal for a Caribbean Channel has been in the discussion phase for some time. Yet today, the idea still has not become reality. On the other hand, cultural performances have been around for generations. Yet respondents from Chapter Five demonstrate that there is a decline in the frequency of support for the more traditional expressions of culture. This chapter investigates these specific means of resistance, as well as others, evident within the Kittitian and Caribbean society that may contribute to the retention of the more significant markers of Kittitian culture despite exposure to U.S. cable television and other foreign influences.

Televised Means of Resistance

Present means of resistance to cable television in St. Kitts includes ZBC local programming, ZBC membership of the CMC and the airing of its regional programming, methods undertaken by religious organisations to encourage changes in local programming, organisations that stimulate cultural – even environmental consciousness and culturally motivated events and activities. By these methods Kittitians are able to have alternatives to viewing of U.S. oriented television programming.

As previously noted, although each of the islands has its own intrinsic culture, there are visible similarities, especially concerning the colonial past. As such, CMC television programming demonstrates that there are more similarities than differences in the Commonwealth Caribbean. This may range from the techniques applied to news features to rhythms applied to cultural music. These types of exchanges have always occurred due to the close proximity of the islands and migration that usually takes place between islands by persons seeking work.¹ Kittitians who had migrated to other islands took with them the techniques of the Sagwa, Masquerades, Giant Despair and Indian Bull Fighters, all traditional dance troupes.² Television can do, what migration has done, via technological advances causing the reduction of time and space.

This rapid transfer of culture is exactly what this thesis cites as one of the capabilities of cable television. Chapter Seven explores the cultural risks involved in globalisation, including discourses on homogenisation. If such occurs, it would be detrimental to the chief

¹ Jessica Byron, "The return of the Cocolos: Migration, Identity and Regionalism in the Leeward Islands" (paper presented at the University of the West Indies Conference, St. Kitts, April 30 - May 3, 2000), 7.

² Ibid., 13.

income earner of the island. As the Minister of Tourism states, visitors now come to the region not only for sun and sand but also for a different cultural experience.³

Local Productions and Aired Discussions

As previously noted, there are some local productions that are aired on ZIZ television. In addition to local news packages there are also news and information features. These documentaries are on a wide variety of topics that may be informative, entertaining or featuring aspects of government ministries. Most often the St. Kitts and Nevis Information Service produces them. Government speeches and opening ceremonies are also aired. Additionally, NGOs and sometimes individuals take the opportunity to air speeches when celebrating a certain activity/anniversary. Panel discussions or audience call-in programmes are also featured and occasionally there may be a show by individuals that discusses certain topical issues. As such, ZIZ television does offer its audience local fare sometimes of high quality in terms of both content and presentation. However, the audience cannot refrain from making comparisons with cable. This was voiced by some of the survey respondents in the previous chapter. In addition, ZIZ has not tried its hand at an entertainment series nor a movie. This may be due to technical and staffing limitations. However, another factor that augments ZIZ cultural programming is CMC productions.

Caribbean Media Corporation

CMC, was formed in 1999 by a merger between CANA and CBU that were both an agency and union instrumental in its own right. As such, prior to the merger, St. Kitts and

³ Minister G.A. Dwyer Astaphan, interview by author, Basseterre, St. Kitts, 17 May 2000.

Nevis received television programming from CBU and radio transmissions and news network transmissions from CANA. By the time the merger took place, the Federations of St. Kitts and Nevis was already one of 20 full television members and 13 associate members of CBU. This linking of territories of the region give credence to Krohn's theory that it is only by a combination of the island markets that there is any hope of having a presence in the world market of television programming. Associate members includes a contact person at Canada's CBC, France's Societ Nationale de Radio Television Francaise, the U.K.'s BBC, and USA's CNN.⁴

Going back to Krohn's perception, it is necessary to take a closer look at CMC and the benefits to St. Kitts and Nevis as one of its members. Before the CMC merger, CANA, as an individual entity, concentrated more on the news network aspect of broadcasting. Incorporated in 1976 as an independent non-profit-making company, CANA had maintained its non-partisanship despite being "owned by shareholders, 15 private and public mass media of the Commonwealth Caribbean region."⁵ As previously noted CANA was successful in its mandate of:

increasing regional information flow "between the countries and territories of the Caribbean Region and between the Region and the rest of the world" and to make available news written from a Caribbean perspective with the framework of objectivity and professionalism as defined in the agency's Guidebook and legal documents. CANA's overall objective was "to provide members with an efficient and independent News Service."⁶

⁴ "Our Members" found at <http://www.caribunion.com/members/>

⁵ Marlene Cuthbert, "A Model for a Small Independent News Agency: CANA and CANA Radio," *Mass Media and the Caribbean*, eds. Stuart Surlin and Walter Soderlund (New York, Gordon and Breach, 1990), 403.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 404.

After achieving these objectives CANA decided to expand its services even further. As such, Marlene Cuthbert documents General Manager, Harry Mayers as stating that the establishment of CANA Radio in 1984 was 1) a logical step in the developments of the regional news agency in its attempt to cater to all media in the region; 2) to fill a perceived need for special news and other programs that could demonstrate the linkage between countries in the region; 3) as a project that could enhance CANA's financial stability.⁷ CANA was also successful in this venture. However, the creation of CMC meant that both CANA and CBU could increase their services.

Previous to the merger, CBU dealt with both the radio and television services aspect. Seeing much development since its establishment in 1970, CBU, prior to the merger, had a mission to "stimulate the flow of material among radio and television member stations in the Caribbean region."⁸ As such, enveloped within the merged corporation, CMC as an entity, represents both the private and public sector broadcast systems in the Dutch, English, French and Spanish speaking Caribbean countries. Associate membership is also granted to production facilities and broadcasters outside of the region. The CBU section is based in Barbados, coordinated by a Secretariat, directed by a policy making Board of Directors and run by a management team. CBU is also a member of the "World Broadcasting Unions (WBU) representing eight of the largest and most senior broadcasting unions from Europe, North America, Africa, and the Asia Pacific Rim"⁹

⁷ Marlene Cuthbert, "A Model for a Small Independent News Agency: CANA and CANA Radio," *Mass Media and the Caribbean*, eds. Stuart Surlin and Walter Soderlund (New York, Gordon and Breach, 1990), 410.

⁸ "About Us" found at <http://www.caribunion.com/CBU/>

⁹ "World Broadcast Unions look at digital trends" found at http://nabanet.com/news/wbu_28_06_00.html

Several governments of the region initiated CBU yet, just like CANA, it maintained autonomy and bore certain responsibilities as a regional news exchange service, as cited on its web page.

The CBU is a non-profit organisation independent of government control and without government funding.

The CBU through a variety of programmes provide unique opportunities integrating our people through the media industry.

The CBU has operated the region's only television news exchange and produces the region's only television newscast.¹⁰

In order to carry out its objectives as well as to live up to the above statements, CBU provides certain services and airs certain programmes, several of which ZBC subscribes to.

- News - Caribbean Newslane, Caribbean News Review and Caribvision.
- Sports - 2000 Olympics, At the Wicket, Basketball, Caribbean Sports Digest, CARIFTA 2000, Cricket, Western Union Football.
- Programmes - Caribbean Business, Caribscope, Riddim Express, Talk Caribbean
- Special Events - Caribbean Song Festival
- Services - Marketing Services, Production Services, Satellite Services, Transmission Schedule
- Other - Classifieds, Chat, Broadcasting Hall of Fame, Broadcasting Awards, Public Opinion, Feedback, Advertise with Us, Jobs @ CBU, Industry/Literature Reports, Press Releases, List of Members, About Us, Members Only, Board Members Only.¹¹

As a member of CMC, ZBC has the advantage of obtaining all of the programming and services at membership cost. The programming which is obtained via satellite feed, and which Kittitians have the option of watching are: Caribbean Newslane, At the Wicket, Caribbean Sports Digest, Cricket, Caribscope, Talk Caribbean, Caribbean Song Festival and

¹⁰ "About Us" found at <http://www.caribunion.com/CBU/>

¹¹ Ibid.

the Broadcasting Awards. In addition to sporting events, the interviews that take place on Talk Caribbean and the exchange of news on Caribbean Newslane, the magazine programme Caribscope and the Caribbean Song Festival do much to promote the culture of the region.

Sporting events, especially cricket, evoke the competitive spirit within the West Indian, and they go a long way towards Caribbean integration, particularly when the West Indian team is playing against an international opponent. At the Wicket, a commentary and call in show on cricket matches and coverage of cricket matches awaken the fervour of many a Caribbean individual. Sport Digest is a more inclusive programme and involves interviews with and profiles of regional sports figures and their teams and also gives running commentary on the seasonal sporting events.

Talk Caribbean may be said to promote both Caribbean integration and culture. In this programme that is aired in 15 countries, Caribbean personalities, whether they be athletes, ministers of government or cultural artistes are interviewed by the host of the show. The viewing audience is then invited to call in with their comments and questions. Interviewees included: Oliver Samuel (comedian and actor), Sir Vivian Richards (former captain of the West Indies cricket team), Dame Eugenia Charles (former prime minister of the Commonwealth of Dominica), the Mighty Gaby and Red Plastic Bag (calypsonians) and Gravy (cricket mascot).¹²

Caribbean Newslane is aired Monday through Friday, and is "15-minute round-up of the top news and sports stories in the region each day, with a travel forecast ..."¹³ It serves as an exchange of information more than anything else. Member countries submit short news

¹² "Talk Caribbean" found at <http://www.caribunion.com/TalkCaribbean/>

¹³ "Caribbean Newslane" found at <http://www.caribunion.com/CaribbeanNewslane/>

items produced in their studios, which are then introduced by a CBU newsreader on the programme.

Caribscope on the other hand is a half-hour television magazine that goes more in-depth on topical issues in the region. It is the longest running programme of its kind in the region and

... has brought more than a thousand features on various aspects of Caribbean lifestyle, heritage and festivities to the screens of TV sets in the region. In more recent years, Caribscope has also been aired in some West Indian communities in the U.S.

The 30 minute programme is transmitted weekly from the CBU secretariat via satellite to over 20 countries. Caribscope provides valuable insights into the lives and traditions of Caribbean people.¹⁴

Examples of features would include methods of preservation of the Surinamese rainforest, how a teenager in Antigua began a library in a chicken coop and a historical journey through St. Kitts. Of all of CBU programmes, the author would venture to say that this magazine does the most towards the promotion of the culture of the region, particularly since all countries of the region have an opportunity to air features on topics of their choice. The variety of regional programmes cut across a wide cross-section of topical Caribbean issues.

Other specialized activities such as the Caribbean Song Festival and the Caribbean Broadcast Awards have their place as well. The 15 year old Caribbean Song Festival is a competition in which each Caribbean island is invited to submit one original song, which is performed on the night of the competition. The music can be drawn from any of the musical influences of the region. Prizes are given to the three top positions with the top prize recently

¹⁴ "Caribscope" found at <http://www.caribunion.com/Caribscope/>

being as extravagant as a recent model car. As such, this competition promotes not only competitiveness but also creativity and island nationalism, also the fact that it is viewed regionally means that viewers are exposed to the cultural and innovative music styles of the region.

Quite possibly CBU's song festival may have been modelled after the Eurovision song competition. Similarly, this competition is organised by Eurovision which is a Europe-wide television distribution network run by the European Broadcasting Union (EBU).¹⁵ The first competition took place in 1956 during Europe's rebuilding after World War II. As Geoff Harrison notes: "It was realised that by pooling resources, programmes could be made for sharing over the whole of Europe, thus reducing cost."¹⁶ Its means of displaying the various musical forms of EBU members also cannot be underestimated.

The Caribbean Broadcast Awards is also aired regionally and is a means of rewarding the member media houses for their contributions to the field throughout the year. As successor of the Caribbean Merit Awards, the Caribbean Broadcast Awards, inaugurated in 2000, "starts a new era of recognising that traditional production for radio and television still has a role to play but the new media services must also be welcomed. Hence, the Awards has categories for excellence in website development, commercial production for radio and television as well as public service announcements."¹⁷ In order to enter the specific categories whether it be for best health documentary, best advertisement, best feature etc., the media houses of the region provide samples of the work that they would like to be nominated for a specific category. The winners are then chosen by a panel of judges selected by CBU

¹⁵ "BBC Online – Eurovision Song Contest – History" found at <http://www.bbc.co.uk/eurovision/history.shtml>.

¹⁶ Geoff Harrison, "Eurovision History" found at <http://www.geocities.com/TelevisionCity/1812/history.htm>.

¹⁷ "Caribbean Broadcast Awards" found at <http://www.caribunion.com/CaribbeanBroadcastAwards/>

and awards are presented on the evening of the ceremony. Notable media practitioners of the region are also inducted into the Broadcasting Hall of Fame on that evening.

It can be appreciated that these programmes which ZBC subscribes to, and that Kittitians have the option of viewing, have great potential in promoting not only regional unity but cultural pride as well. CMC is indeed doing its part in cultural promulgation but it has its limitations. Some of the events cited take place once per year, or once per week, Caribbean Newslane is the only programme that takes place every evening from Monday through Friday. Cable television is present 24 hours per day, seven days per week and 365 days per year (i.e. almost, because allowances have to be made for the times when there are transmission difficulties or when electricity is off.)

CMC as an entity on its own cannot compete with the volume of programming of U.S. cable. In St. Kitts, its programmes come through the local station, which as was demonstrated from the surveys, is not watched as often as cable. An effort was made in 1998, to revamp ZIZ with the assistance of the Caribbean Communication Network (CCN). The venture seems to have failed, and several attempts were made to speak with the former and the present manager of ZIZ, who took over October 16, 2000, but all to no avail. There has been minimal restructuring, the purchase of some computerised equipment, and a minimal upgrade in salaries but the worker morale and the overall programming remain relatively the same. At the moment, the association between ZBC and CCN seems to be one that is not open for public query.

CBU before becoming part of CMC, also provided other services to television stations of the region wishing to expand their scale of activities, to develop and to restructure. Marketing services include: providing advertising space on regional programmes, produced

advertisements, consultancy, website advertising etc. There are also production services that include: editing services, tape dubbing, tape conversions etc. Satellite services include uplink services enabling members to send programmes to clients in North America, technical support, installation and troubleshooting of members satellite equipment and maintenance and repair.

CBU, before it became CMC, had actually already embarked on an initiative to increase its viewership outside of the Caribbean as well. Ironically, or maybe with the post-modernist consumerism in mind, it had formed alliances that help it to tap into the Caribbean diaspora in U.S. by using the same cable television system to its advantage. The Cable of St. Kitts, however, does not provide this channel. It is a new network of TTV.

Tropical Television Network (TTV) had introduced a new network targeting satellite viewers in the Caribbean and Latin America.

A joint effort of Atlanta-based Tropic International Group Inc., the Caribbean Broadcasting Union, and Caribbean Satellite Services of Aruba, TTV specifically hopes to capitalize on the U.S.\$40 million Caribbean market in the U.S.¹⁸

It must be noted that one of the partners in this cooperative effort is a U.S. company, based in Atlanta.

So then as a member state of CMC, St. Kitts may receive the filtered down benefit of having some of its items aired internationally or even by having some of the services provided by CMC. However, the question must be asked: Are Kittitians themselves doing anything to provide a cultural alternative to watching television? Is there another means of resistance? There are a few entities within the society that are visibly making an effort.

¹⁸ OECS, Regional Profile, (1999), R35.

Other Means of Resistance

Christian Resistance

There are church associations who from the very beginning made an outcry against the influences of cable television. Although this was made on moral grounds, their work still provides an alternative to spending one's evenings behind the television set. In addition to the members of the various denominations being encouraged by their leaders to stay away from the vices on television by simply not looking at certain programmes, there are also two main Christian organisations on the island that take more of an activist role. They are the St. Kitts Christian Council and the St. Kitts Evangelical Association.

The denominations represented by the Christian Council include Catholic, Anglican, Methodist, Moravian, and the Salvation Army. The chairperson of the council is rotated annually among the denominations and there are various outreach committees that deal with things like poor relief, care of the elderly, disaster mitigation and general societal concerns. Under the last category would fall issues like providing guidelines for the conduct of rivaling political parties during elections and the dangers of cable television. As such both Christian bodies spoke out against the degrading and discriminatory elements that surfaced during the campaigning prior to the 1993 elections.

The membership of the Evangelical Association includes most of the other denominations on the island, such as the Baptists, Pentecost and Church of God. It also carries out various outreach activities and has been known to lobby in association with the Christian Council, when it is felt that certain basic human rights are being affronted.

Pertaining to cable television both the council and association agree on its detrimental effects on family life which translates into a dysfunctional Kittitian society. Rev. Elroy Christopher, chairman of the St. Kitts Christian Council said that cable television contains both good and bad elements, ranging from Christian broadcasting to violent programmes. He explained that “the council has had occasion to meet with government representatives and the broadcasting manager to discuss the type of programming aired. The concern of the council was that certain things were being aired that were not uplifting to the society and there was a need for more balance between negative and positive influences.”¹⁹ According to Asquith Elms, executive secretary of the Christian Council, as late as December 13, 2000 a meeting was held to discuss such matters with the general manager of ZBC.²⁰ It can be deduced that the St. Kitts Christian Council feels that there are more negative than positive influences coming through cable television.

St. Christopher Heritage Society

The St. Christopher Heritage Society which commenced in 1989 has done much to awaken historical pride in Kittitians. It was established mainly out of the concerns that were being raised by Kittitians concerning the survival of the indigenous culture in the midst of foreign culture. One of its objectives was to create a more informed society. As such, some of its activities include providing research facilities (which supplied some of the material for this thesis), maintaining heritage projects, organising trips to various historical and ecological sites, the publication of a quarterly newsletter and in general creating an awareness of the past

¹⁹ Elroy Christopher, interview by author, Basseterre, St. Kitts, 10 January, 2000.

²⁰ Asquith Elms, interview by author, Basseterre, St. Kitts, 10 January, 2000.

and using it as a means of survival in the future. The society also has a watchdog role in drawing attention to factors within the society that can be detrimental to the culture and environment of St. Kitts.

As such, the Heritage Society has been given the important task of supervising the National Museum. Under the leadership of a museum director, a committee consists of members of both government and society representatives. Over the years, the St. Christopher Heritage Society has undertaken many ventures that have helped to preserve the Heritage and culture of St. Kitts.

Caribbean Festival of Arts and Culture VII

An activity hosted by the government of St. Kitts and Nevis over the summer of 2000 (August 17 - 26) did much to promote not only regional culture but specific Kittitian culture as well. The event being referred to is the Caribbean Festival of Arts. This event was the seventh held since its inauguration in 1972; the first was held in Guyana. Dr. Edwin Carrington, the Secretary General of CARICOM describes it this way:

CARIFESTA VII is a celebration of our achievements as Caribbean people, expressed through our Culture and Arts. It provides the people of the Caribbean, including the Diaspora, with an opportunity for reflecting on our legacy, for consolidating our cultural heritage and for moving on to the new heights of creativity.²¹

He wove in the theme of CARIFESTA, which was “Reflecting, Consolidating, Moving On,”

²¹ Edwin Carrington, “Message from secretary-general of CARICOM,” *CARIFESTA VII Magazine* (2000): 7.

into his message. The activities of CARIFESTA included different displays and expressions of art such as visual, audio, film, video, music, literary, dramatic, dance, culinary etc., as well as symposiums, exhibitions, and opening and closing ceremonies.

The local CARIFESTA core committee and the various sub-committees were able to group all of the mentioned art forms into several avenues of display. In The Grand Market each island presented wares for sale that ranged from sculpture and basketry to fashion and food. Kids Zone (which was a new feature) allowed children to learn steel pan playing, dancing, kite-making and other activities designed to “artistically stimulate children through art and to foster a greater appreciation for our cultural heritage through mediums such as storytelling.”²² Youth Focus although providing workshops on gymnastics and drumming, also sought to educate the youth of the region by providing them “a forum to express their views on the state of affairs in the region ... share with other young adults in the Caribbean, marvel at their similarities and explore their differences.”²³ Performing Arts provided sites for the expression of Caribbean theatre, oral traditions, music, dance and folk art; the Film and Video Festival allowed for the viewing of a variety of films and videos which have been produced in the Caribbean region; and Visual arts exposed the work of “Caribbean artists who have long struggled to attain the recognition that they deserve.”²⁴ The exhibit, “Urban Life in the Caribbean Region,” created by and for the people of the region, was on display during CARIFESTA and included work from artists of twenty Caribbean countries.²⁵

The Symposium allowed various renowned local and regional academics, artists and

²² “Kid’s Zone, Youth Focus,” *CARIFESTA VII magazine* (2000): 19.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ “Performing Arts, Visual Arts, Film and Video Festival,” *CARIFESTA VII Magazine* (2000): 21.

²⁵ Ibid.

visionaries to address the theme “Continuing to Define Ourselves in a Challenging World.”

There were panel discussion presentations from the likes of Professor George Lamming, author of “In the Castle of my Skin;” Ian Randle, owner of Randle Publishing House in Jamaica; Dr. Hollis “Chalkdust” Liverpool, historian and calypsonian; David Edgecombe, playwright and actor from Montserrat; and Gairy Knight, musician and lecturer at the local St. Kitts Clarence Fitzroy Bryant College. Literary Arts provided an opportunity for interaction with Caribbean literary geniuses while providing exposure to little-known writers. There were poetry and various literary readings followed by discussions with the audience, a book fair and several book launchings. Culinary Arts allowed local and regional chefs to display and sell their traditional dishes at CARIFESTA Kitchen which was located in a specific section of the Grand Market. Indigenous people’s focus ensured that the region did not forget its past. The Caribs of Dominica, Garifunas, Mayans from Belize and indigenous people from Suriname and Guyana took part by presenting at the opening ceremony, conducting sunset and sunrise ceremonies at the site of the Carib massacre in St. Kitts, and displaying craft at the Grand Market and at the Nevis location (Culturama City).

The Super Concerts, another innovation of the planning sub-committees, showcased the music of the region, as presented by artistes ranging from the more traditional Mighty Sparrow and Jimmy Cliff to recently emerged groups and artistes like Krossfyah and Beenie Man. The Grand Parade, another local innovation allowed onlookers/participants to experience “Caribbean revelry and mas” as its best, with creative, colourful costumes, and “jammin’” through the streets to regional music.

So then what did St. Kitts and Nevis get out of this monumental undertaking besides hard work before, during and after – including having to create accommodation for all of the

regional visitors? Both the government and nationals thoroughly enjoyed hosting and attending CARIFESTA. The government in particular was pleased to host the festival because not only was St. Kitts the first OECS country to do so, but it also happened to be the smallest island to do so thus far. As Prime Minister Dr. Denzil L. Douglas stated:

As a small Caribbean nation, the hosting of the Caribbean Festival of Arts is particularly a proud moment for the people of this country. We have worked diligently over the past year to bring to the national, Caribbean and international arena a blend of cultural experience that will serve to stimulate all our senses.²⁶

Besides the detailed preparations that took place a year before the event to renovate, upgrade and in some cases build performance/presentation sites, prepare and build accommodation sites, plan and organise the events, press conference etc., there were also particular local cultural activities within the island itself that is of specific concern to this paper. St. Kitts is known throughout the region for rising to the challenge and in order not to fall short in its own cultural presentation, the Department of Culture took an active part in reviving indigenous folklore and art. Workshops were held in various cultural presentations such as Drumming, Mock Jumbie, David and Goliath, Clowns and the like. The CARIFESTA Committee also outlined some of the preliminary spin-offs that they felt would benefit St. Kitts and Nevis specifically.

- Heightened awareness of the Arts through promotion of the approaching festival
- training for host country technicians, artists, administrators – upgrading of existing facilities and construction of new venues

²⁶ Denzil Douglas, "Message from Hon. Dr. Denzil L. Douglas," *CARIFESTA VII Magazine* (2000): 3.

- publicity and promotion of the festival would also favourably impact the country's tourism sector and increase regional and international awareness of St. Kitts and Nevis

A value cannot be placed on the benefits received from the awareness of the arts, the training and the upgrading of facilities. Due to the anticipation of CARIFESTA and the visible excitement prior to the festival, many residents were inspired to take part in cultural performances. As such, CARIFESTA also served to promote nationalism and renewed pride in the Federation of St. Kitts and Nevis. The festival obtained at least one of its objectives that is to: "engender growth in Culture and the Arts even as participating countries prepare for the event."

It must be mentioned that in the period leading up to the event, ZBC aired promotions that included interviews of the participating artists, videos, films, music videos etc. As the events progressed, ZBC also aired past events and continued to air them even after the festival. In the author's opinion, the station took the opportunity to record and air the events since there was hardly any production cost. This in itself implies that given the financial means, the training and the opportunity to obtain cultural material, more than likely the local station would rise to modern production challenges. The government of St. Kitts and Nevis expected nothing less from ZBC. In fact, the government put so much effort into ensuring the efficient coordination of the event that when CMC refused, at the last minute, to provide live coverage of at least the opening ceremony, the Prime Minister stated at a press conference that the matter would be taken up at the next CARICOM meeting. He however, did not follow through with the threat. CMC's explanation was that they had to cover a live sporting event.

There were all sorts of insinuations as to why CMC did not provide live coverage, including the fact that St. Kitts is one of the smaller islands and not significant enough for an extra effort to be made. This insinuation is related to Richardson's assertion that: "differences among these Caribbean states – differences usually between the larger and smaller islands – have continuously frustrated attempts at political and economic federation."²⁷ Even on CMC's own "At the Wicket" programme that was aired during CARIFESTA; during the call in section, a national of Antigua introduced himself, stated that he was in St. Kitts and queried why CMC had not provided live coverage. Despite this, and from all reports, it was said that CARIFESTA VII was one of the best ever. Sadly the festival only takes place approximately every four years. Additionally, it will be interesting to observe whether all of the enthusiasm and cultural promotion will continue after CARIFESTA or will it only resume when preparations begin for the CARIFESTA VIII to be held in 2004 in Surinam.

In addition to regional events, there are some local events that provide another means of resistance to cable television. These events involve leaving the house and going out into the community. The premier event that is supported the most is Carnival as was seen from the survey results. This cultural activity usually has some preliminary events before Christmas then continues with main events such as the Queen Show, Calypso Show, Talented Teen Show, Street Jamming, Carnival Parade, Folklore Presentations etc. Despite the fact that during this time, residents leave their homes and take to the streets where they meet returning nationals (friends and family) and enjoy the sensual experiences of the festive

²⁷ Bonham Richardson, *Caribbean Migrants: Environment and Human Survival on St. Kitts and Nevis* (Knoxville, University of Tennessee Press, 1983), 4.

event, it only takes place once per year.

Likewise, there is an annual Music Festival that takes place over the summer and brings together local, regional and international artistes, the likes of the local Grand Masters, the regional XTATIC, and the American Shanice. The music appeals to a wide variety of music tastes including that for calypso, socca, reggae, dancehall, jazz, R & B and traditional and new gospel. There was no Music Festival in 2000 because the national effort went towards the hosting of CARIFESTA VII. Once again however, the Music Festival takes place once per year.

There has been a revival of several community festivals around the island, which in themselves are miniature carnivals and take place at different times throughout the year, though likewise annually. The department of culture had done much to promote and support such undertakings. The department has also spearheaded the Schools' Drama Festival which showcases the theatrical talent of school aged children, but it also is an annual event.

So then are there any regular community events of cultural value that can be attended by residents say on a weekly, fortnightly or even monthly basis? The answer, is no. There are things to do, such as dining out and dancing but the cultural value in such experiences is limited. Occasionally and rather sporadically, there will be theatrical productions by local playwright, "Bouncing" Williams, and other local directors/producers, visiting productions as well as church hosted events which include Christian plays, gospel concerts and the like. However, there are no theatrical seasons and the like. The challenge would be to draw residents out of their homes to attend such events.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Television Programming and Culture within the Context of Globalisation

... contemporary information/communication (infocom) technologies have ushered in an era in which humanity's environment has become global, giving rise to forms of cultural expression which, transcending both time and place, are themselves global. However, access to, and the development and control of these media(ing) technologies by a few, limits the participation of the majority in creating this nascent global culture both in its physical-technological as well as in its expressive forms.

Aggrey Brown

Cable television as a means of communication has been able to function rather well within globalisation. American cable television, which is being investigated in reference to St. Kitts, reaches all over the world, spreading mainly the American point of view of world matters and showcasing the American standard of audio-visual entertainment. Mike Featherstone notes that one aspect of global culture in terms of the incorporation of heterogeneous cultures into a dominant culture, can be seen as “a form, a space or field, made possible through improved means of communication in which different cultures meet and clash.”¹ However, in terms of the amount of control of this dominant culture, theorists such as John Tomlinson, Nestor Garcia Canclini and Jesus Martin-Barbero argue that within the communication field all is not pure cultural imperialism but rather developing countries have an opportunity at some means of exchange. In addition, Ulf Hannerz adds to the debate by demonstrating that the relationship between the centre and the periphery is not easily defined. However, despite

¹ Mike Featherstone, *Undoing Culture : Globalization, Postmodernism and Identity*(London, Sage Production Ltd., 1995), 6.

this, within the parametres of global cultural industries, certain countries will have greater influence than others; in the case of cable television networks with the furthest international reach, the U.S. has that influence. Proponents of the cultural imperialism theory include Herbert Schiller, Edward Said and Lash and Urry. As such, this chapter will show that there are two sides to the argument of cultural imperialism surrounding the audio visual industry. It will draw from points already made within the paper, and then using the Kittitian and Caribbean environment as its base, demonstrate whether or not cable television fosters neocolonialism.

Within the context of the Caribbean, development is one of the key issues that may lead to the acquisition of certain globally accepted technologies. As Featherstone notes “the idea of progress implies some direction in history, and suggests the finitude of history, the eventual deliverance into, or arrival at a better or ideal social life or ‘good society.’”² He notes that this issue of progress was the key assumption of modernity’s account of Western history. In fact, “salvation and redemption ... became transformed into the belief in progress through the development of science and technology to bring about the perfectibility of man and human society.”³ By the time the process of postmodernism was introduced it was not necessarily a new era but a new stage of development that exposed the flaws of modernity.⁴ As Featherstone notes postmodernism can be thus seen as “the end of history” not in its objective process but in the awareness of it as a unitary process. As such, he argues that within such a construct:

² Mike Featherstone, *Undoing Culture : Globalization, Postmodernism and Identity*(London, Sage Production Ltd., 1995), 87.

³ Ibid., 88.

⁴ Ibid., 87 - 88.

There clearly are global developments and processes that increasingly bind together the individual histories of particular nation states and blocs, yet the confidence with which they could be incorporated into a single, explanatory, global historical narrative has been lost.⁵

This does not necessarily apply to the Caribbean, in that with their fragile economies many islands are still in the process of modernity. This is why in the Commonwealth Caribbean there is still a great reliance on the West for technological assistance, whether in terms of creating/manufacturing equipment or in terms of supplying or donating it.

St. Kitts, typical of the English-speaking Caribbean, did not have very strong culturally-based television programming prior to the arrival of cable television. However, at that time, the only competition was from the other public stations in the region if they were accessible via antennae. Even though the programming from these other public service broadcasters may not have been wholly regional, for foreign programming was already being imported,⁶ it was not the saturation of 24 hour broadcasting as provided by cable television. When cable television arrived, rather than it being adapted to fit into the culture, the reverse seems to have occurred, i.e. the Kittitian lifestyle seemed to be continually compared to the standards being set by the programmes aired on cable television. Whereas before the national broadcaster, working with the government would decide which programmes to air, it was now the private cable company providing the

⁵ Mike Featherstone, *Undoing Culture : Globalization, Postmodernism and Identity*(London, Sage Production Ltd., 1995), 88.

⁶ John Lent documents this in both *Third World Mass Media and Their Search for Modernity* (1977) and *Mass Communications in the Caribbean* (1990).

channels, and from among which, the general public would decide what to watch.

This freedom of choice may quite readily be compared to the free market element of globalization. The argument would be that various types of programming on cable should be made available and citizens should be able to choose as in a free market environment. Yet, just as there are discrepancies in the free trade concept, there are also many in the cable television scenario.

The World Trade Organisation (WTO) formally emerged in January 1, 1995 and became fully operational January 1, 1997. Initially, it was a new codified institutional framework for the Covered Agreements of the Uruguay Round. It has greater power than the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and is the premier legal and institutional foundation of the global multilateral trading system.⁷ However, by 1999 developing countries began to express dissatisfaction that the major benefits in textiles and agriculture, agreed upon in the Uruguay Round, remained outstanding.⁸ In addition to this, Andreas Marschner states that: “with more members, a larger share in the world trade, and fewer opportunities to free-ride, developing countries now have a greater stake in the world trading system and more legitimate claim on participation in the WTO’s decision-making process. Neither the E.U. nor the United States considered this change as they prepared for the Seattle conference.”⁹ The results were protests, which have since reoccurred at the European Union Summit of 2000 in Nice, France¹⁰ and the World

⁷ Shelandra Sharma, “The World Trade Organisation and Implications for Developing Countries,” *SAIS Review* 17.2 (1997): 61.

⁸ Andreas Marschner, “The New Lobbying: Interest Groups, Governments, and the WTO in Seattle,” *SAIS Review* 21.1 (2001): 160.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 159 - 160.

¹⁰ *CNN.com*, “Violence Flares at EU Summit,” 7 December 2000.

Economic Forum of 2001 in Davos, Switzerland.¹¹ Dissatisfaction with WTO was also expressed on environmental and trade union matters.¹²

In terms of the U.S. cable television programming provided to St. Kitts, the foremost discrepancy is that only U.S.-based programming is provided by the only cable outlet on the island. If all were equal then other types of English or even translated foreign language programming would be provided, or there would even be another cable company providing these options. Simply put, if Kittitians were to have a more “free” and diverse choice more non-American programming would also have to be supplied. In addition local programming would be upgraded to the point where it could viably compete with cable programming.

Some Theories that Suggest a Dominant Culture within Globalisation

The following theorists suggest that the concept of globalisation provides the means for cultural imperialism. As such, the economic and technological power of certain countries in the West, and particularly the U.S., have contributed towards the dominant culture within globalisation. As shall be demonstrated, in terms of the import of cable television, St. Kitts is very open to cultural imperialism.

Stuart Hall argues that there is a dominant culture within globalization and this culture, he finds to be mainly American. This thesis has already provided statistics to

¹¹ *CNN.com*, “Davos Globalism Adopts a Conscience,” 31 January 2001.

¹² Andreas Marschner, “The New Lobbying: Interest Groups, Governments, and the WTO in Seattle,” 160.

show that the U.S. is in a strong position in terms of export of their cultural industries to the Caribbean and Latin America; and like Hall states, they have “dominated by television and by film, and by the image, imagery, and styles of mass advertising.”¹³

Globalisation provides a safe harbour with its push for the removal of trade barriers and the support of transnational corporations; among the many other economic machinations within the concept.

Similarly, Edward Said argues that Europe became what it is by causing non-Europeans to feel inferior and that this continues in the present era within globalisation.¹⁴ This feeling of inferiority quite often causes the residents of a developing country to think that goods and services coming from outside of the country, specifically a country of the West, are mostly of a better quality. This is evidenced particularly in terms of consultant services, where quite often locals may have a localised knowledge of the issue being analysed but also may have the education and experience to come to specific deductions. Yet, it is common practice to have foreign consultants come in at high cost, who sometimes give institutions advice that had previously been stated by a local, but had not been accepted.

As Said notes such feelings of inferiority have their root in colonialism and give rise to other factors that may not be readily admitted. In St. Kitts this feeling of inferiority extends to technical ability, causing a general impression among residents that local productions will never be able to attain the standards of the U.S. productions, which sometimes make use of the latest and rather expensive technology in making their films.

¹³ Stuart Hall, “The Local and the Global: Globalisation and Ethnicities,” *Culture, Globalization and the World System*, ed. A.D. King (London: Macmillan, 1991), 27.

¹⁴ Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1993), 70.

This leads to one of the reasons for a preference of cable viewing over ZIZ viewing, although local productions should be judged more on their content than on presentation.

Like Hall, Lash and Urry, state that the dominant culture within globalisation is American. They further add that the transnational dealings contribute toward creating “winners and losers”¹⁵ within globalisation. As such, certain countries do well in the system while others do not. St. Kitts as an individual island already is at a disadvantage because of its size. However, if it works with the other Caribbean islands as Krohn suggests, the possibility of becoming visible within globalisation is increased. However, the Caribbean seems to be making use of the same U.S. cable system to air Caribbean issues, as previously noted by the introduction of the TTV new network. However, the cable provider in St. Kitts does not offer this channel and still, it is not possible to lose sight of the fact that the programming originates out of the U.S. and as stated it is chiefly a money-making venture.

Herbert Schiller argues that media-cultural imperialism is “a subset of the *general* system of imperialism. It is not freestanding; the media-cultural component in a developed, corporate economy supports the economic objectives of the decisive industrial-financial sectors.”¹⁶ Further he notes that Third World countries are vulnerable to particularly American cultural exports. Schiller finds that it is the U.S. that contributes greatly towards the dominant culture of globalisation, but in terms of cultural industries he feels that cable television is assisted by other factors when it comes to cultural imperialism. He cites visiting U.S. malls, theme parks and American fast food

¹⁵ S. Lash and J. Urry, *Economies of Signs and Space*, (London: Sage, 1994).

¹⁶ Herbert Schiller, “Not Yet the Post-Imperialism Era” *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 8(1): 14.

franchises, among other methods of Americanising the world. In the case of St. Kitts, residents would have to travel abroad to visit authentic malls and theme parks and there is only one American fast food chain outlet in St. Kitts. KFC, does have its customers but it is expensive compared to other fast food outlets and it does not offer many of the specials that residents see advertised at other KFC locations. Outside of Schiller's theory other means of Americanisation can include reading U.S. literature such as magazines and attending U.S. universities. Both methods are accessible to Kittitians though attending universities is a much more expensive option. As such, cable television and magazines are the easiest and cheapest methods of gaining exposure to U.S. cultural influences. This still does not eliminate the fact that cable can act as an introduction to some of these other means of Americanisation.

Some Theories that Show Contributions of Developing Countries

Toward the Global Culture

It is rather tempting to investigate only theorists who support the thesis at hand, but in order to provide a balanced argument is also necessary to look at some of those who oppose it as well. These theorists provide various reasons as to why they feel that other cultures and ethnic groupings have ample opportunities to contribute to the culture within globalisation.

Nestor Garcia Canclini argues that the presence of large ethnic diasporas within the U.S. suggests that the American culture itself is no longer purely Western.¹⁷ The proposition is then that the culture being offered within globalisation is not only Western but has flavouring of the various ethnic groups who have migrated to the U.S. This is certainly true and certainly there is a large Caribbean diaspora in the U.S. There is no denying, as previously mentioned that the presence of such ethnic groups influence the main culture by promoting their customs, particularly those that display culture in music, dance, theatre etc.

Jesus Martin-Barbero continues Canclini's point and notes that the "homogenizing development [is] upset by the counter-tempo of profound differences and cultural discontinuities."¹⁸ As such, the American culture changes due to these various ethnic influences. Although both theorists were making particular reference to Latino diasporas, influences that come from the Caribbean diaspora would include Reggae as well as Hip Hop which is said to have certain Caribbean influences. St. Kitts as an individual country would be hard pressed to make its presence felt within the Caribbean diasporic influences in the U.S. Consequently, among the Caribbean cultural expressions, the Kittitian presence is limited.

John Tomlinson notes that "the sheer presence of Western, or even specifically American, cultural goods distributed around the world is not a self-evident cultural fact, but something which always need interpreting."¹⁹ So then, how do Kittitians interpret

¹⁷ Nestor Garcia Canclini, "Cultural Reconversion" *The Crisis of Contemporary Latin American Culture*, ed. G. Yudice et al. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992).

¹⁸ Jesus Martin-Barbero, *Communication Culture and Hegemony*. (London: Sage, 1993), 149.

¹⁹ John Tomlinson, "Cultural Globalization and Cultural Imperialism" *International Communication and Globalization: A Critical Introduction*, ed. Ali Mohammadi (London: Sage Publications, 1997), 180.

U.S. cable programming? According to the respondents of the survey used in Chapter Five, the cable programme type which was viewed the most was movies and this was followed by news. Kittitians are quite clear on the fact that movies are not real. However, this does not stop them imitating the dress and sometimes speech of the actors.

Among respondents, another favourite was soaps. Also supporting the theory of varying interpretations are Tamar Liebes and Elihu Katz who investigated the varying cultural responses to the soap “Dallas” among Russians, Moroccan Arabs, Israelis in kibbutzim as well as among natives of Los Angeles and Tokyo. It was found that the groups had different interpretations. The Moroccan Jews and Arabs were more moralistic in their comments, the Russians, who were recent arrivals to Israel, were critical of the aesthetics of the show, the Americans and kibbutz groups were generally more critical of the show as were the Japanese.²⁰

It must also be noted that the Moroccan group had to read subtitles and “Dallas” was the only viewing choice on a Sunday evening. Previous to the study, “Dallas” had failed in Japan after six months and the focus group was seeing it anew. Japanese had other viewing choices including a Japanese version of a soap opera; and they felt that “Dallas” was inconsistent with Japanese expectations of home drama.

It is interesting to compare these conditions to those in St. Kitts. Misinterpretation due to translation is reduced since most Kittitians understand American English quite well. Soap operas are not the only viewing choice at particular times but it is the only choice in soap operas since no local or regional soaps are being aired. Since

²⁰ Tamar Liebes and Elihu Katz, *The Export of Meaning: Cross Cultural Readings of Dallas* (Oxford: Oxford University Press Inc. 1990).

the conditions are different, the interpretation will reflect this. In the case of the Moroccans it was their only viewing choice, they had to read subtitles, they were critical and the society overall is more reserved. Kittitians can be reserved at certain times but in general it is a more relaxed society when compared to Moroccan Jew and Arab strictness. As noted by Liebes and Katz, the Japanese were simply weary of anything that hinted at the possibility of cultural imperialism and they had local choices.

As such, since there are not as many barriers to interpretation, Kittitians will retain much of the original meaning of the soaps. Soaps and film thus provide material for conversations, fashion may be imitated and certain events will be put on hold until the evening soaps have ended. Culture is seriously affected in the latter case since it may affect attendance to certain local cultural activities. Another setback is the fact that there are no locally produced soaps nor the airing of Caribbean soaps. Liebes and Katz themselves note: “that indigenous soap operas are more popular, or certainly no less popular, than the much more elaborate imported ones.”²¹

Another perspective on the issue of interpretation is that of Stuart Hall. He argues that interpretation has a large part to do with how a film is encoded and then decoded. Hall notes that there are certain codes which have a certain universality of understanding across cultures.²² However, there are certain other iconic signs that are vulnerable to being accepted as the real thing as well as connotative meaning that comes from the codes of

²¹ Ibid., 131.

²² Stuart Hall, “Encoding/Decoding,” *Culture, Media, Language: Working Papers in Cultural Studies, 1972-79* (London, Hutchinson and Co. Ltd., 1980), 132.

the originating culture and so can take on more dimensions when it is decoded.²³ He goes on to explain that:

The domains of 'preferred meanings' have the whole social order embedded in them as a set of meanings, practices and beliefs: the everyday knowledge of social structures, of 'how things work for all practical purposes in this culture', the rank order of power and interest and the structure of legitimations, limits and sanctions. Thus to clarify a 'misunderstanding' at the connotative level, we must refer, *through* the codes, to the orders of social life, of economic and political power and of ideology.²⁴

Here is where it can be accepted that soaps and other types of cable programming may not be decoded with the full meaning of the encoder. St. Kitts having a different cultural background than that of the U.S. gives credence to the fact that programming will not be understood in exactly the same way that it was created. However, this does not remove the fact that over the years so much American programming have been aired in the Caribbean that a great deal of the material has Halls "universality of understanding."

Relationship between Globalisation and Cultural Imperialism

The analogy can be made with globalisation and cultural imperialism in that developing countries are made to feel dependent on the developed countries that create the largest amount of a desired cultural industry. Primarily, the rationale on the part of

²³ Stuart Hall, "Encoding/Decoding," *Culture, Media, Language: Working Papers in Cultural Studies, 1972-79* (London, Hutchinson and Co. Ltd., 1980), 133.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 134.

English-speaking developing countries was that the materials/contents are in English, they are cheap, and the viewing choice seems almost limitless compared to the local and few regional public broadcasting stations. Kittitians, however, did have their moment of uncertainty but still accepted in the end, and now would be hard pressed if certain regulations were put in place.

However, in accepting this technology, there is limited opportunity for reciprocal exchange in terms of specifically Kittitian culture but the chances increase with Caribbean culture as a whole. Television programming filled with cultural mores are being sent out to developing nations such as St. Kitts, yet, the countries in the U.S. where these channels are based have limited knowledge about St. Kitts, the culture and its people. The presence of TTV's new network is the exception.

Capitalism and Culture

Developed countries may sometimes house branches of large transnational corporations that conduct business all over the world and are involved in what has been termed by Lash and Urry, as quoted in Tomlinson as, "capitalist globalisation."²⁵ Within the construct of globalisation, transnational capitalists have the opportunity to expand their markets, increase production and make even more money on the world market. Information technology makes it relatively easy for global business transactions to take

²⁵ John Tomlinson, "Cultural Globalization and Cultural Imperialism" *International Communication and Globalization: A Critical Introduction*, ed. Ali Mohammadi (London: Sage Productions, 1997), 178.

place but at the same time it creates a culture of this type of business dealings. Clearly it will be the corporations that have access to the most modern means of communication that will conduct business the most efficiently and will close deals before the competition is even alerted of a possible business transaction.

Communication is also very important since the transnational nature of these capitalists dictate that they have several bases in different locations of the world. It is therefore very important for the headquarters to communicate efficiently and swiftly with its various branches and coordinate efforts at a moment's notice. It is this coordination of efforts that encourages a particular "culture" within the transnational corporation itself. This culture will therefore begin at the headquarters and be dispersed to the various other branches throughout the world. As such, employees all over the world will be taught the "business code" and the efficiency with which it is conducted will determine how quickly one rises within the ranks of the corporation. This impacts the culture of these nation-states in which these capitalist corporations are based. This is particularly true where a particular branch of the corporation provides a large employment base at a particular locale. As Featherstone notes in reference to Mattelart and Schiller's model of cultural imperialism: "the weight of economic power possessed by US corporations backed by the world's most powerful nation-state is sufficient to provide points of entry into national markets around the globe. In effect culture follows the economy."²⁶

There is also the phenomenon of consumerism that arises whenever there is a very large market. Global capitalism encourages this phenomenon. In order to expand their

²⁶ Mike Featherstone, *Undoing Culture: Globalization, Posmodernism and Identity* (London: Sage Productions Ltd., 1995), 8.

markets and ensure continued purchase of their goods or services, producers/transnational corporations have to convince the consumer that their products are necessary.

Advertising is a critical element and by means of psychological manipulation, which has been developed into an art by some transnational countries of the West, particularly the U.S.; prospective customers are convinced that they must purchase these goods or products to ensure their future well-being and happiness. Images of the corporations' products are thus broadcast internationally thus spreading the concept and "culture" of consumerism at the same time. One renowned example being Coca Cola.

The media, even cable television, are not exempt when it comes to transnational corporations. There are several cable corporations, around the world including: BBC, Sky TV, Doorarshan and Zee TV. BSkyB and its offshoot JSkyB originated as corporations of Rupert Murdoch. It would be expected that the mentioned corporations would be bastions of the culture from which they have originated. Particularly since they are operating from a specific cultural setting and within that context, initially catering to a target audience of the same culture. However, even such cable companies import what may be considered international programming from transnational cable networks such as CNN.

Today, satellite transmissions continue to increase with the orbiting of more and more satellites. In 1990 A. Wilson recorded in *Space Directory* that 147 or so active satellites were in geo-stationary orbit which produced an increase in television services delivered by satellite.²⁷ In 1988 there were 35 to 40 satellite delivered services across

²⁷ Christopher Paterson, "Global Television News Services" *Media in Global Context: A Reader*, eds. Annabelle Sreberny-Mohammadi, Dwayne Winseck et. Al (London: Arnold Publishing Ltd., 1997), 61.

Europe compared to 1993 when the number was closer to 130. Satellite technologies are increasing and in extension television related services. There are certainly benefits in this, but the question is where is this taking place? In developed countries or under the direct control of these countries. Countries in the West, as in the example shown, have the economic resources to place satellites in orbit. Developing countries on the other hand quite often do not have the money to make their own programming, not to mention orbit a satellite or even to establish satellite up-link technologies. Once again the technologies are in the hands of the developed countries and their transnational corporations. In the Caribbean, an exception would be CMC's satellite up-link services.

With the north-south flow of these audio-visual effects, the psychological effects not only arise from the content of the programmes and the "culture" of the transnational corporations but also establish a certain dissatisfaction with one's culture as a whole. After being bombarded with all of these images of a totally different culture on the television screen, one cannot help but compare them to one's own lifestyle as noted by Hilary Brown. This may lead to a feeling of inferiority. H. Hveem as quoted in Sreberny-Mohammadi, agrees with the concept.

Thus technology transfer often reflects a deep loss of confidence in one's own culture and raises the question of how far techno-economic dissociation can proceed without corresponding measures in the cultural realm.²⁸

²⁸ Annabelle Sreberny-Mohammadi, "The Many Cultural Faces of Imperialism" *Beyond Cultural Imperialism: Globalization, Communication and the New International Order* eds. Peter Golding and Phil Harris (London: Sage Publications, 1997), 66.

In the case of St. Kitts, there is state of the art communication in terms of world-wide access via the telephone, due to the technologies made available by Cable and Wireless. The World Telecommunications Development Report of 1999 states that in St. Kitts and Nevis there are 77.0% residential phones.²⁹ In fact, St. Kitts and Nevis was classified by the report as an “upper middle income country,” which in terms of the report is an economy “with a GNP per capita of more than U.S.\$ 3’126 and less than U.S.\$9’655.”³⁰ The St. Kitts and Nevis percapita in 1997, when the statistics were recorded, was U.S.\$6’589.³¹ Yet, there is still deficiency when it comes to satellite technologies. Access is possible via CMC, however, this can prove costly and it is regional rather than local; but this seems more appropriate in the global context. However, a possibility of obtaining individual satellite technology would be through the aid of a developed country. Say for instance if such a country with the necessary resources were to set-up the satellite technology and enable the operation by St. Kitts, as has taken place in several countries including India, and closer to home Columbia and Venezuela, then it would be possible. Yet, such an act would be promoting the same cultural dependency thesis. Despite, the advantages that would be gained from such an arrangement, this dishing out of favours still places the technological control in the hands of the developed nation and in turn begs the question of what type of diplomacy and political sashaying would have to take place between the two countries before final arrangements were made.

²⁹ ITU, World Telecommunications Development Report: Mobile Cellular (Switzerland, 1999), IV-218.

³⁰ Ibid., ix.

³¹ Ibid., A-6.

The Root of Dominant Culture within Globalisation

As has been demonstrated throughout this thesis, American culture is having an effect on the indigenous Kittitian culture. Globalisation greatly assists in perpetuating American cultural mores not only via the transnational economic “cultures” and consumerism but also by the simple means of causing residents of developing countries to adapt certain traits within their culture. The power and the influence of the U.S. is such that they dominate in many avenues including political prowess, economic wealth (although at present their economy seems to be in decline), military might and even in terms of the cultural industries. Sometimes blockbuster Hollywood films use up enormous sums of money. This of course is not possible in developing countries where prioritising becomes essential, particularly when the decision may be between replacing the infrastructure after a hurricane versus outfitting a national arts centre.

Yet, there is another layer to American films and movies that contribute to another of the dominant elements within the global culture. The concept of a free market introduces marketing strategies. Within marketing it is necessary to differentiate products and not simply by the country but also by the brand. Since presentations/promotions will advocate that certain brands will deliver a certain desired quality, it is necessary to convince the consumer of this. This advocates consumerism in order to continuously increase the market.

Offshoots of film, and not necessarily the film itself, now are being used to advertise products. These offshoots can include advertising of products within the film

itself, the products used to promote films and the advertising that takes place in movie theatres and on videos.

The ideology within the films themselves as well as the various offshoots of promotions within the American film industry come together as a powerful force. A force that Kittitian society may not want to resist. A force that many residents are oblivious to because they are enjoying the present “brand” of American programming. The programming under investigation possesses a certain ephemeral quality that causes American cultural mores to dominate the main culture found within globalisation and can lead to neocolonialism.

Tomlinson agrees that within globalisation it is not only important to investigate the issue of economic culture but also the mentioned cultural aspect as well.

There is a sense here that global capitalism is significant not only in terms of its economic power, and thus its bearing on the material well-being of everyone on the planet, but also on our cultural experience – the very way in which we understand our day-to-day lives. This is the point at which the cultural imperialism argument engages, urging us to understand globalization as the process whereby all global cultures are inexorably drawn into the sphere of influence of one single ‘capitalist culture.’³²

However, as previously mentioned the large diasporic element present in the U.S. also makes its contribution to the American dominated global culture. There has been a large global appreciation for Latin American music and art but then there is a large Latin American population within the U.S. which most certainly will advocate, out of nostalgia, retention of ethnic identity or for various other reasons, Latin American cultural articles.

³² John Tomlinson, “Cultural Globalization and Cultural Imperialism,” *International Communication and Globalization: A Critical Introduction*, ed. Ali Mohammadi (London: Sage Production, 1997), 178 - 179.

The Caribbean diaspora also makes its presence felt in the U.S. particularly in the music arena.

In terms of the film industry, there seems to be preference for a certain type of movie. Although movies are created all over the world, Hollywood movies seem to go global while movies created elsewhere mainly seem to remain in specialty markets. Even just the terms used to categorise movies is significant. Hollywood movies are termed just that “Hollywood movies,” whereas movies from the other parts of the world are termed for example “European movies” or simply “Foreign movies.” The Indian Bollywood industry does seem to have a measure of success, in supplying the Indian market as well as that of its diasporas, however, even the name seems to be a mutation of the famed Hollywood. The Caribbean as a whole has no such movie industry.

Yet is there the possibility of a merging of the local and the global within globalisation? Featherstone posits that this is so. In addition to stating that the global structure provides space for expressions of certain less dominant cultures, he notes that global cultural flows are restricted because of the demand for equal participation in the global arena.

The current phase of globalisation is one in which nation-states in the West have had to learn to tolerate a greater diversity within their boundaries which manifest themselves in greater multiculturalism and polyethnicity. This is also in part a consequence of their inability to channel and manipulate global cultural flows successfully, especially among those of people, information and images, which increases the demand of equal participation, citizenship rights and greater autonomy on the part of regional, ethnic and other minorities. Those who talk about

such issues within nation-states are also more aware that they are talking to others outside the nation-state.³³

As such, global public opinion concerning the limitations of globalisation are being debated among various nations of the world and the peaceful and violent protests continue. It will be interesting to observe the outcome of the Summit of the Americas meeting to be held in Quebec City in April 2000.

However, Featherstone also notes that since cultures are not static there is constant adapting to shifting in people's consciousness in symbolic boundaries. He notes that:

.. there has been an extension of cultural repertoires and an enhancement of the resourcefulness of various groups to create new symbolic modes of affiliation and belonging, as well as struggling to rework and reshape the meaning of existing signs, to undermine existing symbolic hierarchies, for their own particular purposes in ways that become difficult for those in the dominant cultural centres to ignore.³⁴

Yet, as he quotes Hannerz, he notes that there are also strategies that may be put in place by nation-states to adapt to the global culture. In essence, it is the particular country that will determine what it will accept and what it will not, in the name of ensuring its national identity. He notes that there is the attempt to:

outline some of the absorption/assimilation/resistance strategies which peripheral cultures can adapt towards the mass and consumer culture images and goods originating from metropolitan centres (Hannerz, 1991). In the first place it is apparent that once we investigate actual cases the

³³ Mike Featherstone, *Undoing Culture: Globalization, Postmodernism and Identity* (London, Sage Production Ltd., 1995), 91.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 110.

situation is exceedingly complex. It is not just a question of the everyday practical culture of local inhabitants giving way to globally marketed products. Such market culture/local culture interactions are usually mediated by the nation-state, which in the process of creating a national identity will educate and employ its own range of cultural specialists and intermediaries.³⁵

As such, when making the comparison to the situation in St. Kitts, it is possible to agree with Featherstone up to the point where there is not total absorption of the global culture, and globally marketed products. However, there is difficulty in the area of the employment of cultural specialists and intermediaries. Certainly some developing countries may have conducted some research in determining what to accept and what to refuse, but up until recently St. Kitts and Nevis did not consider the significance of culture in the global arena. It was only after the 1995 elections that a Ministry of Culture was established and it is only now that a cultural policy is being developed after almost 18 years of independence. As such, not much research has gone into this area.

Conclusion

Culture and cable television and globalisation. Three very different entities but all related and applicable to the process of development. However, in the process of striving for development certain things have to be taken into consideration. It might be argued that access to U.S. cable demonstrates access to technology, however, will the culture of St.

³⁵ Mike Featherstone, *Undoing Culture: Globalization, Postmodernism and Identity* (London, Sage Production Ltd., 1995), 116.

Kitts be strengthened or even perpetuated within this technology?

There is a definite dialectical link between technology and culture. Aggrey Brown puts it this way:

Culture and technology then, are analytically distinct but dialectically related phenomena. Technology helps to shape and produce culture as culture creates and employs technology. Thus, societies in their myriad manifestations are products of a complex dialectic: the interplay between cultural expression – itself a dialectic – and technological application.³⁶

When developing countries employed the technology of cable television, if all things had been equal in globalisation then the Caribbean culture of which St. Kitts has a part, would have been dispersed to the rest of the world. It is only recently with the introduction of TTV's new network that there is such a possibility within American cable networks. In the same way that culture is not static, likewise, neither is technology. Technology, however, seems to have the upper hand. Once invited in, it will try to change and manipulate what had previously been there. It is up to developing countries to establish balances and checks so that the main vestiges of the original culture remain in place. Since culture does change and respond to various stimuli, it is important that a balance be maintained so that it is allowed the space to change but at the same time not become a carbon copy of the dominant features evident within the globalised culture.

Americanisation which is one of the manifestations of neocolonialism is very

³⁶ Aggrey Brown, "Caribbean Cultures and Mass Communication Technology: Re-examining the Cultural Dependency Thesis." *Globalization, Communication and Caribbean Identity*, ed. Hopeton Dunn (Jamaica, Ian Randle Publishers Ltd., 1995), 40 - 41.

present in Kittitian society. Due to its openness, knowledge of English and interpretation of American programming, the culture of St. Kitts is easy prey. The American slang is adopted, chiefly the American urban style of dress is copied and American values are emulated. Worst yet consumerism is catching on and Kittitians seem to be developing a more materialistic attitude towards life in general. All of the blame for this certainly cannot be placed on the cultural mores coming through the television but it has to accept some of the blame. It can be an introduction of the American lifestyle to Kittitians who have no other means of exposure. As such, the subtle suggestions within U.S. programming may also encourage Kittitians to act on other impulses that will also serve as means of cultural promulgation. Due to the fashion trends displayed on American advertisements a resident may feel the urge to go shopping in the U.S. or visit a theme park. However, these methods are more expensive than purchasing a television set and a cable package. Services offered by the St. Kitts and Nevis Cable continue to expand, for in a telephone interview with Judith Hewlett, manager of administration, the author was informed that as of April, 2001, St. Kitts-Nevis Cable would be offering internet services to its clients.³⁷

Within the Kittitian society there are factors that could serve as means of resistance. These can involve cultural activities that would mean leaving one's home and taking part in the societal milieu. Here again competition from cable television is encountered for certain prime time television shows have such a hold on the Kittitian psyche that many will not leave their homes until these programmes are finished.

³⁷ Judith Hewlett, interview by author, telephone, 5 April, 2001.

Although the mentioned cultural activities have the potential to counter Americanisation, as observed from the survey, many of them seem to have declined in popularity.

Therefore it seems the chief means of resistance should come from an entity with similar trapping to cable television. ZBC does provide local and regional programming but there is a great deal of untapped potential that would have the ability to hold even more of the interest of Kittitians. Survey respondents provided many suggestions of what they thought should be aired on ZIZ to make it more appealing to them. The rational is, that if such programmes were shown, they would watch more than the evening news and soaps and sports.

ZBC, as such, has to provide the major impetus in the resistance to neocolonialism. There is no getting away from the fact that the media is a powerful tool. ZBC therefore has to be restructured so that it can not only compete with global cable channels but so that it can use globalisation to its advantage. It is very important to retain links with CMC and other regional organisations but a means of national singularity also has to be attained. ZBC will need much support, if such objectives were to be undertaken, and not only economically, technically and professionally, but also support from the general public. As such, it is suggested that both government and the private sector take part. Government will have to provide financial and policy support in terms of content guidelines and the protection and promotion of indigenous programming. These guidelines do not necessarily have to suggest limitations on U.S. programming (since Kittitians are already psychologically hooked) but rather provide an incentive to acquire other types of international programming. The participation of the private sector will have to be chiefly economical. Funding can be provided for more local productions.

A cultural industry will have to be established. It can begin now via *ZIZ* programming, however this would place extra work on the staff and tie-up already overworked facilities. However, if the private sector were to step in and provide the financial backing this would be possible. It has to be realised that there is money to be made in cultural industries. If this is not possible at present, it can be undertaken in the future. Better yet, it can be done at the regional level, giving different Caribbean countries the opportunity to produce their own films and partake in friendly competition. Also, St. Kitts first has to make its presence felt in the Caribbean region, possibly by setting such a high production standard that when the Caribbean is represented globally, distinct Kittitian features will stand out. These features will not be recognised by persons who are unfamiliar with St. Kitts, but they will give Kittitians and those in the diaspora a sense of pride and nationalism.

The government however, seems to be aware that the essential markers of Kittitian culture must be retained. One of the initiatives outlined in their 2000 Manifesto was the introduction of music, dance, photography, film-making and painting into the public high school curriculum.³⁸ A specific date was not put on commencing these activities but if the St. Kitts and Nevis government were to follow through on its proposal to introduce film studies in the secondary school curriculum, much could be done in the cultural industries area.

With the pending possibility of initial training taking place on the home ground, there is a chance that some persons may at least stay a while before moving on to additional training and more lucrative job markets. A cultural aspect of Kittitian society

³⁸ Labour Manifesto found at <http://www.stkittsnevis.net>

that may act in favour of this means of resistance is that most young people in the Kittitian society do not immediately go to university following secondary school. The primary cause for this, however, stems from the fact that they may not have the financial means to do so.

There are two tertiary learning institutions in the Caribbean region namely, the University of the West Indies (UWI) - three campuses; and the University of the Virgin islands (UVI) - two campuses. Therefore if Kittitian students do decide to study in the region, they have to travel to another island. If the choice is UWI, the first year of the programme can be completed at the local Clarence Fitzroy Bryant College³⁹ but then the remaining three or four years have to be completed abroad causing expenses to include tuition, book expenses, room and board as well as airfare. Also Kittitians who do not choose to attend UWI, go to a U.S. or European University and have to value in the currency rates of the region which uses the Eastern Caribbean dollar. There are limited undergraduate scholarships but that in itself can be the subject of another thesis. In addition to not having enough money to study immediately after completing secondary school, there are also individuals who choose to gain experience in the working field before continuing their education.

The fact that many post-secondary students work for several years, before leaving to study, could factor in as an advantage for a possible film industry for the Federation of St. Kitts and Nevis. Even if their training is not put to use in a full-time job they could at least conduct evening stints. The government might then seriously consider providing incentives for some of these individuals to stay and eventually return to the island after

³⁹ University of the West Indies handbook.

additional training abroad. If such took place in the future, much competition in terms of viewing would be pitted against Hollywood movies.

However, what of other types of cultural activities? Apparently, community cultural activities are having a hard time competing with the more fast-paced technological advances of today. The solution is to allow both to co-exist, in a climate of symbiotic insularity. Culture will have to use media technologies to ensure its survival, while media technologies will have to come to appreciate the value potential of culture – whether economic or otherwise.

Despite its potential as a means of the promulgation of U.S. cultural mores, globalisation can be used as an ally in the instance of the promotion of culture. TTV's venture is only a start in this process. Caribbean culture is very rich and diverse and the dominant culture within globalisation could benefit greatly from it. The author does not have a suggestion as to how such a niche can be attained in the global market at present, since there is much to be desired in the present Caribbean cultural industry. However, a long-term strategic operation on the part of Caribbean/Kittitian cultural artistes can be employed. This would naturally include the “soon to be” film industry.

Overall, Americanisation is very present in Kittitian society. Cable television has its part to play and the absence of a communication or cultural policy with reference to cultural content does not help. As such, it is only a combination of various means of resistance that are left to fight against American neocolonialism. Even cultural artists are hard pressed to remain in St. Kitts if economics is a critical factor. What of the future? The ability to monitor or halt the progress of Americanisation, which is the dominant

culture within globalisation, is in the hands of Kittitians and Caribbean peoples themselves.

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APPENDIX ONE

Typical Thursday Programming: Thursday, February 15, 2001

Time	Programme
4:00 p.m.	Sign On
4:02 p.m.	Sesame Street (Cable)
5:00 p.m.	Rory and Me (Cable)
5:30 p.m.	Barney and Friends (Cable)
6:00 p.m.	As the World Turns (Cable)
7:00 p.m.	ZIZ Evening News (Local)
7:45 p.m.	Caribbean Newslane (CMC)
8:00 p.m.	St. Kitts and Nevis Information Service Programme
8:30 p.m.	Caribscope (CMC)
9:15 p.m.	The Bold and the Beautiful (Cable)
9:45 p.m.	The Young and the Restless (Cable)
10:05 p.m.	Lotto Draw (Local) <i>Y & R is paused for drawing.</i>
10:30 p.m.	Rebroadcast of ZIZ Evening News and Caribbean Newslane

APPENDIX TWO

THE CABLE TIER STRUCTURE AND RATES

November 20, 2000

BASIC **EC\$37.00**

2 – Cartoon Network	10 – NUE
2 – EXPN, Int'l	11 – USA
4 – NBC	12 – CBS
5 – Fox Family/ZIZ	13 – TBN
6 – Discovery	23 – EWTN/INSP
8 – CNN	24 – HEALTH NETWORK
9 – WGN	

PREMIUM TIER 1 – EC\$20.00

7-HBO

PREMIUM TIER 2 – EC\$30
(MUST BE FIRST TIER SUBSCRIBER)

14 – CNN Headline	28 – CMT
15 – ABC	30 – VH-1
16 – A & E	31 – ESPN
17 – TNT	32 – Cinemax
18 – TBS	33 – Learning Channel
19 – Lifetime	34 – Sci Fi Channel
20 – Fox	35 – CNBC
21 – ETV	36 – SPECIAL EVENTS
22 – PBS	37 – Weather Channel
26 – TVLAND	38 – BBC World
	39 – History Channel

PREMIUM – EC\$10.00
(MUST SUBSCRIBE TO TIER 1 & 2)

41 – UPN 38
42 – ESPN2
43 – Turner Classic Movies
44 – Nickelodeon
45 – Fox Sports World
46 – Court TV
47 – Encore
48 – BBC America
49 – Fox News Channel
50 – Fox Family Channel (24 hours)
51 – ZDTV
52 – Goodlife Tv/Nostalgia
53 – C-Span
54 – City Tv (Canada)

SUPER PREMIUM TIER – EC\$10.00 EACH
(MUST BE FIRST AND PREMIUM TIER 1 SUBSCRIBER)

Subscriber can choose any one, two, three or four of the following

25 – DISNEY 27 – THE MOVIE CHANNEL 29 – SHOWTIME 40 – STARZ

FM STATIONS – (NO CHARGE EXCEPT FOR INSTALLATION OF \$30.00)

93.2 – GEM	101.5 – BBC WORLD SERVICE
96.0 – ZIZ – FM	102.5 – LIGHT AND LIVELY ROCK
99.5 – Soft Hits	103.5 – CLASSICAL
100.1 – Sun – FM – (Antigua)	104.5 – COUNTRY AND WESTERN
100.5 – Easy Listening	105.5 – JAZZ

APPENDIX THREE

The results of the following survey are being compiled for use by Morven Daniel in her thesis concerning: *The relationship between U.S. cable television and Kittitian culture*. It will be used for not other purpose. As affirmed in the informed consent form, your identity will be kept strictly confidential.

1. Is there a television in your home? Yes ☐ No ☐
If no, continue with # 13.
2. Do you subscribe to cable television? Yes ☐ No ☐
If no, continue with # 4.
3. Which cable package do you have? Basic ☐ First Tier ☐ Premium Tier ☐
Premium Tier 2 ☐ All channels ☐
4. What is your alternative means of receiving television programming?
Antennae ☐ Satellite Dish ☐ No alternative means ☐
5. How often do you watch ZIZ per week? 0 – 10 hours ☐ 11 – 20 hours ☐
21 – 30 hours ☐ 31 hours and more ☐
6. What is your choice programming on ZIZ? (Check as many as applicable)
Sports ☐ News ☐ Soap Operas ☐ Documentaries ☐
Comedy ☐ Movies ☐ Mini Series ☐
Other, specify _____
7. How often do you watch cable television per week? 0 – 10 hours ☐
11 – 20 hours ☐ 21 – 30 hours ☐ 31 hours and more ☐
8. What is your choice programming on cable television? (Check as many as applicable)
Sports ☐ News ☐ Soap Operas ☐ Documentaries ☐
Comedy ☐ Movies ☐ Mini Series ☐
Other, specify _____
9. In your opinion, does ZIZ show enough intrinsic cultural material such as cultural dance performances (masquerade, bull etc. folk singing, poetry readings, local dramatic presentations, television programmes).
Yes ☐ No ☐
10. If not, ZIZ should show more: Cultural dance performances ☐ Folk singing ☐
Poetry readings ☐ Local dramatic presentations ☐ Kittitian film productions ☐
Suggestions _____

PTO

11. Today, compared to the early 1980s, before the arrival of cable television, are you:
 Less aware ☐ Just as aware ☐ More aware ☐
 Of American fashion trends (cargo pants, khaki clothing) and brand names such as
 Calvin Klein, Polo, Ralph Lauren, Guess and sporting brands like Nike.
12. If you had been less aware of such trends in the early 1980's do you feel encouraged
 by television advertisements to order/purchase such clothing articles?
 Yes ☐ Sometimes ☐ No ☐
13. Do you support local entertainment? (Check as many as applicable)
 Carnival/Culturama ☐ Local/Regional bands ☐ Local theatre productions ☐
 Community Festivals ☐ Youth cultural activities ☐
 Other – Specify _____
14. How many times in the past year have you supported the activities in #13?
 0 – 5 times ☐ 6 – 10 times ☐ 11 – 15 ☐ 16 times and more ☐
15. On average, how often do you travel to the U.S./Puerto Rico/the U.S. Virgin Islands?
 Never did ☐ Rarely ☐ Once per year ☐ Twice per year ☐
 Three or more times ☐
16. Do relatives or friends in the U.S./Puerto Rico/ the U.S. Virgin Islands occasionally
 send “fashionable” clothing, foodstuff etc. Yes ☐ No ☐

Now for a few personal questions.

17. Village/Town of residence? _____
18. Tick the appropriate age range. 21 – 30 ☐ 31 – 40 ☐ 41 – 50 ☐
 51 – 60 ☐ 61 and over ☐
19. Sex. Male ☐ Female ☐
20. Employment status. Full-time ☐ Part-time ☐ Unemployed ☐
 Retired ☐ Housewife ☐ Other (student etc.) ☐
21. Income per annum (\$EC) Less than \$25,000 ☐ \$25,001 – \$35,000 ☐
 \$35,000 and above ☐

Approved by
 Carleton University Ethics Committee