

2022

# The Westminster Model and the Destabilizing of Democracy in the Caribbean

Peter L. René  
*Walden University*

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# Walden University

College of Health Sciences and Public Policy

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2022

Abstract

The Westminster Model and the Destabilizing of Democracy in the Caribbean

by

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MA, Walden University, 2016

BS, The University of Houston-Downtown, 1994

Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Public Policy and Administration

Law & Public Policy

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May 2022

## Abstract

The problem with the Westminster model is the model's lack of governance, oversight and colonial mindset which has led to a crisis that includes severe government corruption, deepening poverty, upticks in crime, debt and decreasing trade opportunities. This makes life harder for the citizens and threatens to destabilize the democracies with no one nation situated to cope with these existential challenges. National independence for the region was designed to maintain the status quo of colonial times while providing the illusion of autonomy and individual sovereignty. The purpose of the study was to analyze the Westminster model enacted in the Caribbean Commonwealth, assess the viability of the model in Saint Lucia, and identify areas that may improve the social and economic conditions for the people in the region. The theoretical framework for the study used the political constitutional theory to define the limits of governments power, and Caribbean dependency theory which focused on ending the external controls that countries have over the internal development of Caribbean countries. A qualitative document content analysis used with deductive data content analysis method to examine publicly available documents to examine how the framework and implementation of the Westminster model create enabling conditions for corruption, debt, and poverty in Saint Lucia and the Commonwealth Caribbean. The study findings revealed stagnant outdated constitutions, mired in colonial times with countries still bearing allegiance to Queen Elizabeth II. Constitutional reforms were recommended to address the challenges the region faces. Studying Westminster was essential for creating positive social change through a reformative social movement that seeks to change how society functions.

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## Dedication

First and above all else, I give thanks and appreciation to God for guiding me and allowing me to complete my dissertation. Our Father, Who Art in Heaven, provided me sage counsel from His Throne in the difficult times and guided me to moments of clarity. This improbable Journey of Life began at a time when nothing in my life made sense except the sound of His voice. I give thanks to God for always being my rock and salvation. “I Hold Your Oath Fulfilled.”

I dedicate this dissertation to my mom, Berthilde René Taharah for your absolute, unconditional support and belief in me. Thank you for your words of encouragement and all you did to get me over the finish line.

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## Table of Contents

List of Tables .....	v
Chapter 1: Introduction to the Study.....	1
Background.....	6
Problem Statement .....	12
Purpose of the Study .....	16
Research Question .....	17
Theoretical Framework for the Study.....	17
Nature of the Study .....	23
Definition of Terms.....	25
Assumptions.....	27
Scope and Delimitations .....	29
Limitations .....	31
Significance.....	33
Summary .....	38
Chapter 2: Literature Review .....	39
Introduction.....	39
Literature Search Strategy.....	41
Theoretical Foundation .....	42
The Political Constitutional Theory.....	42
Caribbean Dependency Theory.....	43
Literature Review Related to Key Variables and/or Concepts .....	46



Brexit and the Commonwealth Caribbean.....	56
Westminster and the issues with Independence.....	67
Summary and Conclusions .....	88
Chapter 3: Research Method.....	91
Introduction.....	91
Research Design and Rationale .....	92
Role of the Researcher .....	95
Methodology.....	97
Instrumentation .....	103
Data Analysis Plan.....	103
Type of and Procedure for Coding.....	105
Software Used for Analysis .....	105
Issues of Trustworthiness.....	106
Trust and Credibility.....	106
Credibility .....	107
Transferability.....	108
Dependability .....	108
Confirmability.....	109
Ethical Procedures .....	110
Summary.....	112
Chapter 4: Results.....	113
Introduction.....	113

Settings.....	113
Data Collection .....	114
Data Analysis .....	115
Evidence of Trustworthiness.....	124
Credibility .....	124
Transferability.....	125
Dependability .....	125
Confirmability.....	126
Results.....	126
The Saint Lucia COVID-19-Prevention-and-Control-Act 2020.....	133
COVID-19 and Debt.....	138
Themes.....	142
Theme 1 – Constitutions .....	142
Theme 2 – Colonialism.....	143
Theme 3 – Civil Liberties .....	143
Theme 4 – Debt.....	144
Summary .....	144
Chapter 5: Discussion, Conclusions, and Recommendations.....	146
Introduction.....	146
Interpretation of the Findings.....	148
Confirming the Literature .....	148
Interpretation of Findings in Context of Theoretical Framework.....	151

Limitations of the Study.....	161
Recommendations.....	163
Saint Lucia Should Implement Constitutional Reforms .....	163
The Caribbean Nations Should Replace the Privy Council .....	165
Climate Change at the Micro Level .....	166
The Caribbean Dependency Theory Should Be Revived .....	167
Implications.....	168
Implications for Positive Social Change.....	168
Conclusions.....	170
References.....	171
Appendix A: Theme, Subthemes in the Literature Review .....	192
Appendix B: Theme, Subthemes Caribbean Original Independence Order .....	194
Appendix C: Caribbean Nations Original Independence Order/Act .....	196
Appendix D: State of Emergency & COVID-19 Legislation .....	199
Appendix E: Theme, Subthemes Caribbean State of Emergency/COVID-19 Acts .....	203
Appendix F: Theme, Subthemes Saint Lucia State of Emergency/COVID-19 Act .....	205
Appendix G: Tourism earnings as a percentage share of exports in SIDS, 201 .....	206

## List of Tables

Table 1 Former British Colonies and Dates of Independence .....	53
Table 2 Constitutional History of the Commonwealth Caribbean.....	59
Table 3 COVID-19 Financial Assistance to The Caribbean, 2020.....	72
Table 4 Blacklisted: The EU List of “Non-Cooperative” Tax Jurisdictions in the Caribbean ....	74
Table 5 Public Theme, Subtheme - Similar Language in Caribbean Constitutions .....	118
Table 6 Colonial Theme, Subtheme in the Literature Review.....	124

## List of Figures

Figure 1 Public Theme, Subtheme from Caribbean Constitutions .....	116
Figure 2 Word Cloud top 150 Words - Visualization of Themes of the Literature Review.....	121
Figure 3 Hierarchy Chart Sunburst of the Current Literature.....	128
Figure 4 Word Cloud top 150 Words - Public Officials Code Themes in Current Literature....	130
Figure 5 Word Cloud top 150 Words - Caribbean State of Emergency/COVID-19 Acts.....	132
Figure 6 Word Cloud of the top 150 Words - Saint Lucia COVID-19 - Act 2020 Themes.....	135
Figure 7 Pie Chart of COVID-19 - Debt and their affects in the Caribbean - Themes .....	139
Figure 8 Saint Lucia Debt-to-GDP .....	141

## Chapter 1: Introduction to the Study

The Westminster model is the parliamentary system of government established in the former British colonies upon gaining independence from the United Kingdom. The model is based on the British constitution and their Westminster government. The model has been credited for bringing stable governments to the former colonies. The problem with the Westminster model in its current form is its lack of proper governance and oversight. It still maintains a colonial mindset that has led to a crisis in the region over the past two decades. This includes severe government corruption, deepening poverty, upticks in crime, debt, and decreasing trade opportunities, making life harder for the region's citizens under the Westminster model. The customary way of conceptualizing the Westminster model is to view it as a democratic parliamentary system of government, influenced by the British system of government. Scholars who study parliamentary systems such as Dag Anckar, Matthew Louis Bishop, Norman Girvan, Cynthia Barrow-Giles, and Kate Quinn, whose ideas were explored in Chapter 2, are familiar with the term Westminster model, widely used in academic and practitioner literature.

Beyond the world of academics, the term is not widely known, and there is a substantial amount of confusion about the definition. Scholars often use it without definition, partly due to the belief that it is so well known that a proper definition is not necessary. Some analysis and research on the model show that this may not necessarily be the situation. The Westminster model is the form of government in many former colonies and possessions of the British Empire and is associated with many countries worldwide. When many of the colonies were sought and granted independence, the Westminster model was the British government's franchise gift to

their former possessions, which created relatively stable democracies post colonization.

According to Russell and Serban (2020), for some authors, it is (erroneously) a term interchangeable with parliamentarism; for others, it is a special case of parliamentarism, founded on a majoritarian electoral system. For many public administration scholars, the term instead denotes something about civil service culture, while others associate it with centralization.

When Trinidad and Tobago gained their independence from the United Kingdom (UK) on August 1, 1962, closely followed by Jamaica on August 6, 1962, both former colonies were ceded the Westminster model by the United Kingdom, their former colonizers. The model at the time was conceptualized as “members of the family” of Westminster. However, compared to Westminster in the UK, the model bears more family resemblance than family members. Many scholars attempted to precisely define what the Westminster model in the Caribbean means; however, in doing so, the class of scholars created muddled and confusing attributes as to a precise definition of the model. According to Russell and Serban (2020),

...on examination, it no longer meets even the – relatively weak – requirements for family resemblance. To end the muddle and the risk of flawed inferences and false generalization, comparative scholars should drop this term and select cases based on more precise attributes instead. (p. 1)

To understand why Westminster should be dropped, comparative politics must be defined.

Scholars such as the late Jamaican economist Norman Girvan, Professor Emeritus and Professorial Research Fellow, Institute of International Relations, The University of the West Indies, who wrote extensively throughout his career about some of the adverse effects of the Westminster model and all its trappings of the colonial past, never precisely defined the model.

Girvan was very critical of the Westminster model and saw it as “part of a larger ‘independence pact’ designed to maintain the status quo in the English-speaking Caribbean and assesses the major challenges facing the region today” (Girvan, 2015 p.1). The first attempt at defining the model was by Stanley Alexander De Smith in 1961 and 1964. De Smith outlined his view of the Westminster model as follows:

a constitutional system in which the head of state is not the effective head of government; in which the effective head of government is a Prime minister presiding over a Cabinet composed of Ministers over whose appointment and removal he has at least a substantial measure of control; in which the effective executive branch of government is parliamentary in as much as Ministers must be members of the legislature; and in which Ministers are collectively and individually responsible to a freely elected and representative legislature. (Bishop, 2010, p. 422)

This form of government in place in the Commonwealth Caribbean, former British colonies that are now independent nations in the British Commonwealth Realm (Antigua and Barbuda, The Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Dominica, Grenada, Guyana, Jamaica, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent, and the Grenadine, Trinidad, and Tobago), is based on the British Westminster government; however, something as gone slightly off track with how it is implemented in these island nations, when compared to Westminster in the United Kingdom, or Canada and Australia, for example. This Westminster model has a strong executive, the Prime minister, in which almost all power lies. As the head of the ruling party, the Prime minister and his cabinet ministers are free to enact whatever policies they choose with little to no fear that the



minority or opposition can offer any acts or amendments to prevent the majority's will. Girvan (2015) stated that "politics is a perpetual game of alternating 'ins' and 'outs' and Winner Takes All...Government is reduced to a prime ministerial dictatorship. Long-term development issues are hardly ever on the agenda of popular political discourse" (p. 100).

Studying Westminster is essential for creating social change in the region, specifically, a reformative social movement seeking to change society. Between 1962 and 1983, most of the United Kingdom's Caribbean colonies gained full independence through a consensual and agreed-upon process of constitutional decolonization. Independence for these former colonies did not represent a clean break from the colonial past; Westminster, given to these nations as they were granted their independence, today has these nations dependent on the United Kingdom through its political institutions and norms based on the British Westminster model of government. These colonies' original concept for independence was for these nations to have autonomy and bring about positive change for their people. In the words of the late Norman Girvan, whose reflections conclude this collection, "[this] implanting of colonial ways of thinking into native elites was one of the outstanding successes of British policy in the Caribbean" (Quinn, 2015, p. 1). Since independence, constitutional laws in the English-speaking Caribbean (ESC) have changed very little. "Democracy in the Pacific, for example, tends to be more consensual than in the ESC where the majoritarian impulse is more entrenched" (Elkins et al., 2011, p. 7).

The primary reason why consensual governments are not present in the Commonwealth Caribbean is that Westminster is a majoritarian, parliamentary form of government. Nine of the 12 Commonwealth nations have a government where the executive is accountable to their

Cabinet of Ministers. The latter are appointed to the cabinet by the head of government. The only exception where the people directly elect the leader of the government in Dominica, Guyana, and Trinidad and Tobago; their original constitution was changed to provide for direct elections of their head of state. The constitution under the Westminster model gives almost all the power in the government to the prime minister. The completion of my dissertation can provide and suggest guidance for laying a foundation to bring about social change to the Commonwealth Caribbean: a recommendation in how these countries elect their leaders and a modification in how as citizens, though, for example, a constitutional reform initiative, which could allow the citizens to exert more influence over their elected representations in Parliament and feel empowered to have some control over the election system. At the very least, I would like to add this research to the dialogue that has already begun in the region on constitutional reform and investigate and provide further analysis of Westminster and its viability as a future form of government for the area.

While it may not be feasible for these nations to abandon Westminster altogether, constitutional reform represents one possible avenue that could be enacted to bring these countries more in line with how a truly democratic representative government works. "The result is that constitutional reforms have been conservative with a small 'c,' directed toward perfecting the system by preserving its essence intact" (Sutton, 1999, p. 69). Constitutional reforms in the region continue to be a challenge, and there is no mechanism to drive this process since it is a process that is, again, in the hands of the Prime minister. The challenge for social change in the region is that change in the Westminster model, drawing heavily from the colonial past, fails to locate power in the hands of the people. Since sitting members of the parliaments are unlikely to

propose institutional changes that will threaten or reduce the power, finding a mechanism for constitutional reform may be the chief catalyst for a social change in the English-speaking Caribbean. Chief among these catalysts will be fully operational integrity commissions to identify and root out government corruption on all levels.

Chapter 1 of the study first details the purpose of the study and the background information concerning the Westminster model in Saint Lucia and, in broader terms, the Commonwealth Caribbean, and how Westminster's lack of proper governance, the enforcement of laws, oversight, and a colonial mindset have led to a crisis in the region over the past two decades. This crisis has produced a high level of crime, increasing debt, deepening poverty, making life difficult for the citizens in Saint Lucia and the Caribbean. Second, the problem statement focuses on how the constitutions in the Caribbean have created governments that have destabilized the region since the colonies gained independence beginning in 1962. Third, this chapter included the purpose of the study, the research question, the theoretical framework, the study's nature, the study's limitations, and its significance. Lastly, Chapter 1 concludes with a summary of the chapter and provides transition information to Chapter 2.

### **Background**

From a panoramic 10,000-foot view, islands of the Caribbean Community present a picture of thriving and maturing democracies, with bustling metropolitan cities. However, when making a deeper analysis into the region, a different, more alarming image emerges. "...beneath the surface, there is a strong undercurrent of corruption, lack of transparency and persistent democratic deficits that continue to pose a challenge for the post-independent state" (Barrow-Giles, 2011 p. 287). Iyanda (2012) stated that corruption is defined as the unlawful use of official

power or influence by an official of the government either to enrich himself or further his course and any other person at the expense of the public, in contravention of his oath of office and contrary to the conventions or laws that are in force. The root of systemic corruption in the Caribbean can be directly linked to political parties winning huge, lopsided majorities in Parliament. In Saint Lucia, while ruling governments representing both parties have changed often in the last fifteen years, heavily tilted parliaments resulted and remain troubling. Lopsided parliaments fail to adequately represent the will of the political electorate in the country. But they also fail to provide suitable opportunities for checks and balances in parliament and the legislation presented by the prime minister and his cabinet. In the 1997 general election in Saint Lucia, The Saint Lucia Labour Party won 16 of the 17 seats in Parliament, leaving an opposition of one in Parliament. In the 2001 general election, the Saint Lucia Labour Party won 14 of 17 seats, leaving the opposition party with three representatives in Parliament: both are examples of heavily skewed parliaments, which created an air of invincibility for the majority, with little or no level of scrutiny to their policies, no accountability, unchecked powers, produced opportunities for government corruption.

Corruption has been an issue in the Commonwealth Caribbean since the first colonies, Jamaica (August 6, 1962) and Trinidad and Tobago (August 31, 1962), were granted independence from the United Kingdom. They inherited the UK's democratic regimes and governmental institutions by almost acclamation. There are several reasons why corruption is rampant at an alarming rate in the Commonwealth Caribbean, chief among them, as mentioned in this study, is the constitutions created at the time of independence for these nations: much which mirror each other; another reason for corruption in these governments is due to the almost

unlimited powers given to the country's chief executive, the prime minister. One of the inheritances of Westminster is the deep entrenched two-party system, which sees these parties fiercely competing for power in environments conducive for coercive politics and networks for self-enrichment. But what are the profoundly underlying theories or reasons why corruption is such a vital component of these Caribbean nations? What are other factors at play to explain this sustained corruption since independence? A more important question is why have these democracies flourished with a history of corruption? Many scholars identify specific phenomena to explain this. The great majority of English-speaking Commonwealth Caribbean countries have had continual democracies since independence – despite economic crises, low levels of income, and economic growth in some of the Caribbean islands, drug trafficking leads to urban violence and corruption. Two scholars identified two overriding factors that they believe account for democratic sustainability even though many countries in the region face substantial socioeconomic difficulties. Woods (2007) theorized that “these factors are size and a political culture of patronage politics that integrates the different socio-economic and ethnic strata of Caribbean society into the political process” (p. 203). Due to the small geographic size of these nations, the ruling class and the elites all know each other, allowing them to direct how resources and financial assets are allocated and who gains and, more importantly, remain in power. Not only are all politics local, but they are also highly personal.

Previously mentioned was the intense and engrained two-party system created by the Westminster model. Voting for one party becomes generational, and members of each party in control of the State apparatus are expected to be fierce and bitter partisans if they were to reap housing, social, and at times, economic benefits from their party. “In the process, political

parties were able to cement their control over entire communities, which ultimately became fortresses for politicians and political parties” (Barrow-Giles, 2011, p. 290). Barrow-Giles points out that this leads to corruption, stating that “the region is replete with numerous illustrations of the pervasive influence of corruption and the unwillingness of several governments to tackle this issue in a serious and sustained manner” (p. 285). Various scandals on several islands indicate that democracy is in danger throughout the Caribbean.

Research by Sutton (2013) on the need for constitution reform in the Commonwealth Caribbean was summarized in the Organization of American States (OAS) conference on Westminster in the Caribbean as the excessive authority and overwhelming power constitutionally granted to the prime minister. Sutton have indicated that a growing and a sustained number of scholars believe that the Westminster model is harmful to the former British Colonies in what’s known as the Caribbean Commonwealth and the need for constitutional reforms as the engine to spur changes in the political culture in these Caribbean nations.

The consensus is that there is a need for either serious reform of the Westminster model or to abandon this form of government and institute a more democratic form of government that will more convincingly guarantee and protect civil rights and liberties. The majority of the scholars called for a change in the governments of these Caribbean island nations, and the chief critic and the loudest anti-Westminster voice was Professor Norman Girvan. He was among the earliest critics of the shortcomings of the Westminster model. Girvan (2015) viewed this model more as an “independence pact” used by the British government to maintain the old colonial ties: the laws, the traditions, and way of life while giving the appearance of independence to the former Caribbean colonies. Girvan stated that “The implanting of colonial ways of thinking into

native elites was one of the outstanding successes of British policy in the Caribbean. It was key to the entrenchment of Westminster government in the soon-to-be-independent” (p. 97)

Another examination of the Westminster model shows that the Caribbean’s post-colonial past has yielded little change, which compelled these Caribbean nations to seek independence from The United Kingdom almost 50 years ago. According to Hinds (2008), “formal democracy in the Caribbean has not been matched by an evolution of substantive democracy whereby political, ethnic, and socioeconomic equality have emerged as central components of the region’s political culture” (p. 403). The consensus between the three additional authors is the need for serious reforms with the structure of the governments in the region.

British colonialism was not limited to the Caribbean region and questions why comparisons with former colonies in the Pacific have not frequently been made. A study by Corbett and Veenendaal was conducted that included 19 countries of the Caribbean and Pacific that shared the Westminster model. Research indicated that countries in the Pacific, such as Fiji, have strayed from the original intent of Westminster in response to the perceived issues with the model. “In Fiji, the now abrogated 1997 constitution experimented with a multi-party cabinet, which challenged the Westminster tradition of ministerial responsibility...” (Corbett & Veenendaal, 2016, p. 10).

The introduction to my study outlines several issues that the Westminster model has caused in the Commonwealth Caribbean. These include rising debt, increasing poverty, and increasing government corruption. In the past decade, however, new issues have risen to add additional pressures on these Caribbean democracies, putting stress on Westminster as a viable form of government in the Caribbean.

These additional pressures include the British Exit (Brexit) from the European Union (EU), climate change, tourism and its comparison to colonialism, constitutional reforms, sovereignty, democracy, justice, and the need for the development of a Westminster model of government that does not include Queen Elizabeth II as Head of State. Specifically, Brexit presents a significant challenge and will require substantial political and economic involvements of Caribbean governments and CARICOM in, among other things, finding and developing new trading partners. Once completed, Brexit will leave the Commonwealth Caribbean without an official trade agreement with the UK. The good financial and trade status these Caribbean nations enjoyed through the British advocacy will be lost.

On June 23, 2016, in a referendum, by a narrow margin, 52% of British voters opted for Britain to leave the EU, with 48% voting to stay, in what came to be known as Brexit. The vote to leave the EU stemmed from, among other issues, political and economic inequalities between Britain and the international partners and the anti-immigration and anti-establishment feelings that produced the referendum in the UK. The correlation of voters who delivered this narrow victory included citizens who felt that the government left them behind in favor of arriving immigrants, retirees, low-skilled earning citizens, and less educated blue-collar workers and citizens who have been pushed to their boundaries. "Favouring British EU exit, or 'Brexit,' was particularly common among less educated, poorer and older voters, and those who expressed concerns about immigration and multiculturalism" (Hobolt, 2016, p. 1). The UK was scheduled to leave the EU on March 29, 2019, but there were several delays. A Withdrawal Agreement was created, which detailed how the UK would ultimately leave the EU. A transition period was



included, which outlined an agreement to allow the UK and EU to agree to a trade arrangement to allow businesses sufficient time to adjust.

Climate change is another specific example and a challenge for the region. While the Commonwealth Caribbean governments continue to engage the issue with regional meetings, very little emerges from these meetings in the form of an action plan to combat the visible changes in the region's climate. "...women-headed households or children are particularly exposed to climate change risks..." (Reyer et al., 2015, p. 2). Climate change will continue to accentuate preexisting vulnerabilities in the region, such as warming and rising temperatures, heat extremes, extreme precipitation and droughts, increasing risk of tropical cyclones, and sea-level rise.

### **Problem Statement**

The problem with the Westminster model in its current form, though credited for bringing stable government to the former colonies, is its lack of governance oversight and still maintains a colonial mindset that has led to a crisis in the region over the past two years decades. This includes severe government corruption, deepening poverty, upticks in crime, debt, and decreasing trade opportunities, making life harder for the region's citizens under the Westminster model.

English-speaking British colonies that gained their independence from The United Kingdom between 1962 and 1980, specifically the twelve nations that form the Caribbean Community (CARICOM), adopted the British Westminster form of government known as the Westminster model. National independence for the region was designed to maintain the status quo of colonial times while providing the illusion of autonomy and individual sovereignty. Now,

over 50 years after independence for these former colonies, the region faces some threats such as deep government corruption, high crime rates, drug trafficking, increasing poverty, barriers to proper healthcare, and climate change threatens to destabilize the democracies with no one nation situated to cope with these existential challenges.

Upon gaining their independence (Table 1), these English-speaking islands in the Caribbean, specifically the twelve nations that mainly form the Caribbean Community (CARICOM), were given little choice but to adopt the British Westminster form of government. Over 50 years after independence for these former colonies, members of the Commonwealth Caribbean, these nations in the region continue to govern themselves under the original constitutions that the UK “gifted” them. Rather than creating stable democracies and governments responsive to the people, Westminster has created “democratic, dictatorial regimes,” more intent on self-enrichment than governing and doing the people’s business. One of the unintended consequences of Westminster is government corruption. Corruption by the government (the prime minister and members of the Cabinet) is possible at alarming rates for two specific reasons: first, the constitutions give almost unlimited powers to the Office of Prime Minister; and second, heads of agencies tasked with policing and investigating corruption in the countries are appointed by the prime minister who places individuals in critical roles such the office of Attorney General, who has a member of the government, though should be, is often not the ideal entity to address and root out corruption by the executive and his cabinet, in Saint Lucia, for example. In 2019, Transparency International produced the “Citizens’ View and Experiences of Corruption” report for the Caribbean, and Latin America found 57% of those interviewed thought their government was doing a bad job tackling corruption, 53% thought the

Prime minister and their officials were involved in corruption, and 21% had confidence in their governments.

A growing number of scholars such as Dag Anckar, Matthew Louis Bishop, the late Norman Girvan, Cynthia Barrow-Giles, and Paul K. Sutton have stated that the Westminster government, given to the former British colonies, have produced, perhaps, many harmful effects that could only be addressed through the process of constitutional reform. Further, the same consensus, particularly in the last 10 years, observed that almost every island in the Commonwealth Caribbean has embarked on historical processes of constitutional reforms to address, in some way, the shortfalls of Westminster in the Caribbean. Other agreement among the scholars includes a desire to see more substantial reforms in civil rights and liberties, which are tenants of democracy. One scholar, Richard Albert, openly invites scholars of comparative public law in a 2017 journal article to look at constitutionalism in the Caribbean region and go beyond the few nations that are constantly studied. There is a tremendous gap in the research literature regarding the Caribbean, which provides scholars an abundance of riches to perform comparative studies in the Commonwealth. Albert (2017) observed that "...many still today governed by the same constitution imposed by their colonizers" (p. 3).

Norman Girvan (2015), in "Assessing Westminster in the Caribbean: Then and Now," reflected on 50 years of independence of the Commonwealth Caribbean. The article was not a celebration but a critique of the Westminster Model, the standard type of government in these former British colonies. These Commonwealth nations struggle and face significant challenges under this form of government patterned after the United Kingdom's government. Girvan's critique included the observation that independence for these nations was more designed to

maintain the status quo in the former English-speaking former colonies and therefore called for a new form of government for the Caribbean, which would allow democracy to flourish further. The independence pact saw the two-party system become so engrained into these contemporary societies that its citizens placed party affiliation above love of country. What was also striking was how the Westminster model maintained the laws, foundations, and symbols of colonialism. Over 50 years after independence, not much is left of the original Westminster model except a surreal alteration. Globalization has also led to departures of the original intent of the model; however, it led to the following circumstances that have led to worsening conditions for the people: wide-spread government corruption and the raiding of the general funds by officeholders and their associates; a lack of transparency and the enormous effects of invisible money donations in political campaigns; the unchecked powers of the executive (the prime minister); weakness, and lack of control or influence of local governments.

Brexit and how this will impact the European Union (EU) economic and social programs in the Caribbean: A gap that has not been explored is the impact that Brexit will have on the Caribbean Forum (CARIFORUM), a subgroup of the African, Caribbean, and Pacific Group of States and serves as a base for economic dialogue with the European Union. It was established in 1992. Its membership comprises the 15 Caribbean Community states and the Dominican Republic. Britain's exit will be profound because once they leave the EU, the CARIFORUM countries will have no structured trade relationship with that country. The CARIFORUM needs to affirm and reinforce trade agreements with the United Kingdom (UK); this can be an opportunity for these Caribbean countries to address and revisit parts of its unsatisfactory Economic Partnership Agreement with the EU.

After decades of independence under Westminster, what has resulted in the inability to guarantee and protect basic tenants of democracy, with nations not adequately equipped to deal with systemic issues, such as ongoing degeneration of their environments and shrinking economic growth that permeates the entire region? I investigated the contributions of the Westminster model to corruption and probed the governing options available to these former colonies by making recommendations to innovate and modernize Westminster's centuries-old premise and ideals.

### **Purpose of the Study**

The purpose of this qualitative document analysis study was to investigate publicly available documents, including government documents, to examine colonialism and its lasting effects on Saint Lucia and the former Caribbean colonies. Bowen (2009) argued that the rationale for document analysis is based on its role in methodological and data triangulation, the enormous value of documents in research, and its practicality as a standalone method for particular forms of qualitative research. Through a document analysis of publicly available documents, I specifically concentrated on the impact of the Westminster model on issues of corruption, debt, and poverty in Saint Lucia. One of the chief liabilities of the Westminster model, felt exclusively by the people, are the adverse effects of the almost unlimited powers it grants its executive, the prime minister, who can vote any policy they choose into law in Parliament without concern of the opinions of the minority party (Her Majesty's Loyal Opposition), to stop the proposed legislation. In parliamentary government systems such as Westminster, the Loyal Opposition is the legislature's opposition party(s). This has led to abuse of power, with these leaders putting their needs and objectives ahead of the needs of the people,

which has sustained and has driven parts of the population into poverty. Duncan and Woods (2007) observed that these Anglo-Caribbean democracies, despite poverty, violence, drug trafficking, and corruption, have remained resilient in the face of these challenges. A glaring limitation of Westminster is its inability to divorce itself from its slavery and colonial past. Much of the islands in the Commonwealth Caribbean are still governed by laws and a system deeply steeped in colonial history, which brings to light the problem caused by Westminster: attempting to govern in the modern era with a system based on ills of slavery and brutal colonial masters. Because the Westminster model at times, shows itself to be without conscience, the purpose of the study is to examine the relevance of an ineffective model of governance and propose a system that will govern with modern-day democratic principles, which may improve the social and economic conditions for the people of Saint Lucia.

### **Research Question**

The research question addressed by my study was: How does the framework and implementation of the Westminster model create enabling conditions for corruption, debt, and poverty in Saint Lucia and the Commonwealth Caribbean?

### **Theoretical Framework for the Study**

Two theories were used to support my study: the political constitutional theory and the Caribbean dependency theory (CDT). Political constitutional theory is the idea, often associated with the political theories of John Locke and the founders of the American republic, that government can and should be legally limited in its powers, and that its authority or legitimacy depends on it observing these limitations; it also has some of the origins in the work of Carl Schmitt. This idea brings a host of vexing questions of interest not only to legal scholars but also

to anyone keen to explore the legal and philosophical foundations of the state. How can a government be legally limited if laws create government? Does this mean that a government can be 'self-limiting'? The constitutional framework is frequently presented as a system of sharing power between the various branches of government or as a theoretical version of this separation of powers. The CDT created a Caribbean-centered cosmology and theory of society derived from the historical study: epistemic decolonization of the Caribbean region. The problems stemming from the lack of development in the area were linked to epistemic dependence, the reliance of regional elites on imported ideas, and concepts of little to no significance to the actual conditions in the nations in the Caribbean.

Political constitutional theory has some origins in the work of Carl Schmitt. For many scholars, Schmitt, over 30 years after his death, remains a controversial figure given his alliance with Adolf Hitler and the Third Reich. Orsi (2017) noted that the intellectual profile and his political calling belong to a very German custom, which appears to be indistinguishably related to National Socialism and even directly to Adolf Hitler, who was fateful to him. Born July 11, 1888, and died April 7, 1985, he was a conservative German jurist and political theorist who wrote extensively about the effective wielding of political power. His work has significantly influenced subsequent political theory, legal theory, continental philosophy, and political theolog. Due to his close association and juridical-political allegiance with Nazism, it remains influential and controversial; also, "entrenched positions have, however, also made it difficult to engage with Schmitt's work in a way that would allow for more dispassionate analyses of what his work might have to offer legal and political theory in general and constitutional theory in particular" (Minkkinen, 2013, p. 589). Though a critic of parliamentarism, Schmitt was opposed

to political liberalism, both right and left, to eliminate concepts such as the rule of law from the reach of sovereign power and political self-determination.

CDT emerged in the 1960s and into the 1970s during a time of independence of the colonies from the United Kingdom, fueled by New World Economics and headed by young faculty members in social science and history at The University (then College) of the West Indies (UWI). The Department of Social Sciences was created at the UWI Mona, Jamaica campus. A fast-paced hiring of local academic staff provided the needed institutional base for the rise of critical thought in the region. The emphasis for this intellectual activity was a desire to keep this emerging critical thought in social by these Caribbean economists, local and home-grown, and avoid going false choices of choosing between capitalism and socialism. "...CDT originated with Lloyd Best and Kari Polanyi Levitt who initially argued that the unique circumstances of the Caribbean require a separate theory to explain the functioning of their economies" (Weedmark, 2013, p. 3). CDT's primary focus was ending the external controls over countries' internal development imposed by governments, mainly the United Kingdom, whose primary purpose was to enforce neocolonial political structures.

Colonialism provides the context for this study. Rediker (2013) stated that famed Saint Lucian Nobel Prize laureate Sir Derek Walcott remarked that the common experience of the New World . . . is colonialism. Beginning in the 1600s until the 1960s, The British Empire colonized and controlled many Caribbean Islands. Due to the fertile lands in the Caribbean, the British developed a plantation economy built on slave labor to expedite the production of sugar and its export to markets in Europe. With the colonization of these lands came the imposition of British laws, customs, and traditions on the Caribbean colonies. British common law was enacted to



resolve disputes and maintain a sense of social order in the slave society to maintain law and order. Though these nations received their independence over 50 years ago, much of the British laws, customs, and colonial mindset still exist in the Caribbean Commonwealth; even after independence, the former colonies such as Saint Lucia still maintained a solid link to British policies of governance and legal institutions such as Judicial Committee of the Privy Council (JCPC)—based in London and composed of British jurists.

Colonialism is entrenched in the modern era, leading Saint Lucia's Prime minister Allen Chastanet stated: "...Economics has no conscience...that's what I keep saying to everybody. Colonialization had a conscience in that ultimately there was a person making the decision..." (Government of Saint Lucia, 2020). The prime minister, in comparing economics and colonialism, indicated that economic decisions were primarily market-driven and that when a product ceases to be of value to a target market or a consumer, that product ceases operation, like the case of Pan American Airlines (Pan Am) that collapsed on December 4, 1991. He eluded that in colonial times, decisions were being made and driven by individuals, therefore his statement that colonialism has a conscience. There were immediate rebukes and sharp disagreement in Saint Lucia about his comment. The Leader of the Opposition Phillip J. Pierre, an economist by profession, believed that Prime Minister Chastanet owed Saint Lucians an apology for his remarks about colonialism, a legacy that people are ashamed of. Mr. Pierre was in disbelief that the Prime minister could make the statement that colonialism had a conscience. Economics is about people – economics is about improving the quality and the standard of living of the people of the country...Even our colonial masters are ashamed of colonialism. That is why

we are speaking about getting some level of support and help for people who were colonised” (St. Lucia Times, 2020).

The JCPC was specially established and passed by the British Parliament in 1833. The JCPC was the highest court of appeal for colonies during the colonial era, including the Caribbean islands. One of the most potent and lingering aspects of colonialism is the court of last appeal in the Caribbean. In 2005, The Caribbean Court of Justice (CCJ) was established to replace the British Privy Council as the Supreme Court for the Commonwealth English-speaking Caribbean. As of 2019, only three countries have adopted the CCJ as their court of the last appeal: Barbados, Belize, and Guyana. The other Caribbean nations have opted to retain the Privy Council as the court of final appeal.

The theoretical framework is the “blueprint” for building the dissertation. The theoretical framework is the lens that the researcher uses to view the world, which impacts the direction and theories chosen to construct the dissertation. The theoretical framework defines the key ideas in this study and analyzes pertinent theories based on the literature review. The theoretical framework directs the research, allowing the researcher to realistically interpret, explain, and generalize the study’s findings.

The logical connections among the framework’s key elements include colonialism, which grounds the phenomenon, the Westminster model, the Constitution, whose laws are difficult to enforce, and globalization, which can be identified as a key to destabilization. The relevant theoretical framework that has been identified for my dissertation is the political constitutional theory and the Caribbean dependency theory.

The political constitutional theory (PCT) states in part that the constitutional framework of a given state is often presented as a scheme of power-sharing between the branches of government or as a theoretical account of the separation of powers. This concept is absent in Saint Lucia and the rest of the Commonwealth Caribbean. When constitutional violations occur, the remedies to such violations are difficult to enforce or may not be addressed at all. In a winner-takes-all Westminster model, the prime minister firmly controls all branches of government. Because the Constitution of Saint Lucia is part of a stock of constitutions based on the Westminster system, it fails to capture the essence and culture of the people it governs. Barrow-Giles (2010) states that it is instructive to note that the constitutions of Caribbean independent states were primarily produced by British civil servants at Whitehall, with little input from the Caribbean public. At the time of independence, almost all the Caribbean nations were bequeathed this parliamentary system steeped in majoritarian politics and a “cookie-cutter” constitution that presents challenges to implement specific remedies when constitutional violations occur. Given that the constitution is not based on the history, legal traditions, and culture of the people, violations of the constitutions are left to the Prime minister to remedy, who may lack understanding of and frequently is accused of disregarding the laws of the nations in his quest to advance his party’s political agenda. Bulkan (2013) stated that a persistent critique of the boilerplate constitutions bequeathed by Whitehall drafters was that these constitutions were not autochthonous or well-suited to the needs of the diverse collection of peoples transplanted, in the majority of cases forcibly, from around the globe. Minkkinen (2013) stated that Carl Schmitt saw PCT and acknowledged the ever-present potentiality of conflicts as essential to the political nature of the constitution, that there is a need for continuity and stability in the face of these

potential threats. The exception can only arise about orderly normality presupposed and regulated by norms in its final form.

### **Nature of the Study**

The nature of the study was a qualitative document analysis of publicly available documents. Document analysis as a research method is principally applicable to qualitative studies and content analysis. It is appropriate for creating rigorous studies that make prolific descriptions of a phenomenon and event. Qualitative research designs produce results that will “tell a story” of how the analysis of Westminster could lead to a better standard of living, social and economic, in Saint Lucia and the region. Further, this research design could produce a narrative to address or provide answers to problems such as corruption, debt, and poverty that have plagued the Commonwealth Caribbean for over 50 years after independence.

Document analysis is a systematic method of qualitative research by which documents, including public records, personal documents, physical documents (posters, flyers, handbooks) are reviewed or evaluated by the researcher to give voice and meaning to an assessment topic; it is a growing process focused on a search for essential meanings, themes, and patterns, instead of a strict set of procedures with constricting parameters. Data is examined in this method to interpret meaning, increase understanding and create empirical knowledge. “Document analysis is a social research method and is an important research tool in its own right, and is an invaluable part of most schemes of triangulation...The purpose of triangulating is to provide a confluence of evidence that breeds credibility” (Triad 3, 2016, p.2). Triangulation also reduces possible researcher bias in that it guards against accusations that the conclusions are a simple result of one method or source utilized for the study. As the researcher, it is essential to determine an

adequate number of documents to analyze. While the study's credibility depends on the total number of documents analyzed, credibility also depends on the quality of the documents. To ensure the study's credibility, as the researcher, I can include as few as 100 documents in my analysis or as many as 300. The key was to identify documents that supported the study; therefore, it is not about the number of documents, but the quality and how pertinent are these documents to the study. Bowen (2009) states: "Although it is a legitimate question, the concern should not be about 'how many'; rather, it should be about the quality of the documents and the evidence they contain, given the purpose and design of the study" (p. 33).

The critical concept or phenomenon being investigated is colonialism and its lingering effects on Saint Lucia and the Commonwealth Caribbean. Tourism steeped in colonialism has been conceptualized as the new modern slavery, with Westminster complicit in maintaining the status quo of colonial times. First, the Commonwealth Caribbean continues to be repressed by many challenges, the principal among them is the lack of diversity in its economies. Tourism comprises 60-70 % of the economy of the Commonwealth Caribbean and is their primary source of economic income. Their former colonizer, the United Kingdom. Further, the hotels, airlines, cruise ships, and travel agencies are not locally owned and are controlled by foreign entities in the UK and other countries. Sealy (2018) supports the notion that hotels in Saint Lucia are foreign-owned. Therefore, substantial hotel revenue leaves the island while creating social polarization, social exclusion, and environmental degradation. Second, independence did not divorce the colonies from the financial and economic dependencies on the UK; it reinforced it and made the region even more dependent on their former bosses' financial relationships for the bulk of their gross domestic product (GDP).

Westminster in Saint Lucia and the Commonwealth Caribbean may have created environments that allowed corruption, high debt, and poverty in these former colonies. Marshall (1996) indicates that while quantitative research answers “what” questions, “qualitative studies aim to provide illumination and understanding of complex psychosocial issues and are most helpful in answering humanistic. Therefore, in my study, document analysis is used to answer the humanistic question: How has the Westminster model compounded these complex psychosocial and created the conditions for corruption, debt, and poverty in Saint Lucia and the Commonwealth Caribbean? The study involved specific research tools requiring the researcher to conduct extensive document analysis of publicly available documents.

### **Definition of Terms**

The following are terms defined to assist the reader in understanding the context of each time in the study.

*CARICOM*: The Caribbean Community (CARICOM) is a grouping of 20 countries: 15 Member States and five Associate Members. It is home to approximately 16 million citizens, 60% of whom are under 30 years of age, and from the main ethnic groups of Indigenous Peoples, Africans, Indians, Europeans, Chinese, Portuguese and Javanese. The community is multilingual, with English as the primary major language complemented by French and Dutch and variations of these and African and Asian expressions. Founded August 1, 1973, in Chaguaramas, Trinidad, and Tobago, it stretches from The Bahamas in the north to Suriname and Guyana in South America. CARICOM comprises states considered developing countries, and except for Belize, in Central America and Guyana and Suriname in South America, all Members and Associate Members are island states. While these states are all relatively small, both in terms of

population and size, there is also great diversity regarding geography and population and economic and social development (CARICOM, n.d.)

*CARIFORUM*: The Forum of the Caribbean Group of African, Caribbean, and Pacific (ACP) States (CARIFORUM) is the body that comprises the Caribbean ACP States to promote and coordinate policy dialogue, cooperation, and regional integration, mainly within the framework of the Cotonou Agreement between the ACP and the European Union and also the CARIFORUM-European Community Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA). The 15 Caribbean states are Antigua and Barbuda, the Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Dominica, the Dominican Republic, Grenada, Guyana, Haiti, Jamaica, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Suriname, and Trinidad and Tobago on 16 December 2007. The agreement was officially signed on October 15, 2008 (CARICOM, n.d.)

*Commonwealth Caribbean*: The Commonwealth Caribbean consists of Antigua and Barbuda, the Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Dominica, Grenada, Guyana, Jamaica, St Kitts-Nevis, St Lucia, St Vincent and the Grenadines, and Trinidad and Tobago. In the intervening years between 1962, when Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago attained their independence, and 1983 when St Kitts-Nevis achieved its independence, it is to be noted that all the constitutions of these countries resembled each other.

*OECS*: The Organization of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS) is an International Inter-Governmental Organization dedicated to economic harmonization and integration, protection of human and legal rights, and encouraging good governance among independent and non-independent countries in the Eastern Caribbean. The Organization came into being on June 18<sup>th</sup>, 1981, when seven Eastern Caribbean countries signed a treaty agreeing to cooperate and promote

unity and solidarity among the Members. The Treaty became known as the Treaty of Basseterre, so named in honor of the capital city of St. Kitts and Nevis, where it was signed. The OECS is now a ten-member grouping comprising the entire Member States of Antigua and Barbuda, Commonwealth of Dominica, Grenada, Montserrat, St Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia and St Vincent and the Grenadines, with the British Virgin Islands, Anguilla and Martinique as associate members of the OECS (OECS, n.d.)

*Westminster Model:* There is no clear and precise definition of the Westminster Model; mainly, a clear definition will not necessarily be found in, for example, the Webster dictionary. An interpretation of the Westminster Model is a scaled-down version of the British form of government, deeply steeped in colonial times. “Although there has been some disagreement over whether the model might more accurately be described as a ‘Whitehall’ or ‘Westminster-Whitehall’ system, most analysts characterize it as a modified or ‘adapted’ Westminster model whose key features include constitutionalism; the Prime minister as head of government; Cabinet government with Ministers drawn from an elected legislature; parliamentary sovereignty; competitive elections; pluralist representation; official recognition of the role of the opposition; and the assumption of civil service neutrality” (Quinn, 2015, p. 2).

There are no terms in this study that have multiple meanings. There are no terms used in this study that have various meanings or any citations in the literature to support these terms.

### **Assumptions**

The resources for my study were publicly available Saint Lucia government documents, public records, personal documents, physical documents (posters, flyers, handbooks). Therefore, my study includes three assumptions. The first assumption is that the government documents



such as the annual budget of income and expenditures available on the official Government of Saint Lucia website are true and accurate; otherwise, the findings of my study could be incorrect. They could further mislead the public, specifically scholars who rely on my findings to substantiate their current and future studies. The second assumption is that the Government of Saint Lucia submitted valid financial data to entities like the IMF, the Caribbean Development Bank, the World Bank, and the European Union. Simon Goes (2013) indicates that assumptions are necessary for proposals because they must enable and conduct the study. Often there are beliefs in the proposed research that are necessary to conduct the study but cannot be proven. The third assumption is that my research could better understand the Westminster model and the barriers to good governance in Saint Lucia and the Commonwealth Caribbean.

Burkholder et al. (2016) state that our particular philosophical orientation plays a role in specific forms of research questions that involve particular kinds of research methods. The paradigm utilized in a study is the collection of facts, assumptions, and practices that guide a specific orientation to knowledge generation. The choice of my research topic is clear and fits into a specific philosophical orientation that reflects my worldview. Epistemology is also an approach to discovering reality through personal experience via inquiry. Ontology is the philosophical study of the nature of being, becoming, existence, or reality, aligns very well with my world view of the need to treat individuals in our society fairly and equitably, specifically when examining the Westminster model and the walls it creates to prevent the administration of good governance in Saint Lucia. Finally, while these assumptions are instrumental in selecting one research approach, qualitative document content analysis was chosen primarily due to the

COVID-19 pandemic and the inability to conduct group in-person, face-to-face studies and interviews in Saint Lucia.

### **Scope and Delimitations**

Constitutional reform is the specific aspect of the research problem that was addressed because several islands in the past 10 years have commissioned constitutional reform studies to ascertain the feasibility of making changes to their country's constitution. Constitutional reform, if enacted, could be one possible way to address the research question: How does the framework and implementation of the Westminster model create enabling conditions for corruption, debt, and poverty in Saint Lucia and the Commonwealth Caribbean? Thomas Jefferson once said that the dead should not govern the living. He noted that constitutions should be replaced roughly every 20 years to support his idea. "Jefferson famously calculated...and argued for constitutional replacement every 19 years so that each generation could determine its own fundamental rules" (Ginsburg, Dixon, 2011, p. 113). In Jefferson's view, periodical review and reexamination of the core principles that govern the country will keep the citizens fully engaged in the political process; it would call keep the constitutions fresh and allow the citizens to participate in the process self-governance. Transferability does not involve broad claims but invites research readers to connect elements of a study and their own experience; it refers to whether or not the study's results can be significant to another similar set of circumstances while maintaining the study's original intent. The one document that binds Saint Lucia and the other countries of the Commonwealth Caribbean is their constitutions, which are essentially carbon copies of each other. Barrow-Giles (2010) states that it is instructive to note that the constitutions of Caribbean independent states were primarily produced by British civil servants at Whitehall, with little

input from the Caribbean public. Therefore, the constitutional crisis occurring in Saint Lucia is applicable throughout the region. Transferability means the appeal the study has across a broad platform. It demonstrates how the results appealed not just to those participating in the study but to a more general but specific section of the population on the whole.

Because the Constitution of Saint Lucia is part of a stock of constitutions based on the Westminster system, and it fails to capture the essence and culture of the people it governs, there were several potentials for transferability because the other countries in the Commonwealth Caribbean have similar constitutions and suffered almost identically under colonial rule. While it is desirable to research and address as many facets of the Westminster model as possible, it is not feasible for writing this dissertation. Therefore, potential transferability from my study to the other countries in the Commonwealth Caribbean may include:

- **Tourism: The Modern-Day Colonialism.** Tourism is one of the many pillars of Caribbean Island economies. In some islands, it is the main engine that drives the economy. This industry is based on a business model that promotes low-wage jobs in environments that mimic and promote the past colonial plantation era. “Despite its important role in economic growth and employment, the environmental, cultural, and social effects of tourism are still controversial. This begs the question of whether contemporary tourism can be interpreted as a form of modern-day colonialism?” (Palmer, 1994). Tourism and Colonialism was part of my dissertation as it is a component of the Westminster Model that appears to keep the Commonwealth Caribbean in colonial times. Further research is needed to ascertain how, in 2019, the level of dependency that the Caribbean now has on this sector of their economies and whether such a dependency skews or creates “blindness”

preventing these nations from seeing and exploring other sources of revenue for their economies.

- Brexit: Brexit continues to be problematic for the Commonwealth Caribbean for two critical reasons: First, the British government has not produced an exit strategy that the Parliament can support the Caribbean trading interests, given that the Commonwealth was heavily dependent on the UK to secure favorable trading agreements with the EU countries. The process has been pledged with plans that failed to get the support of the Parliament, which has led to a tremendous rift in the British government; second, even with the turmoil in producing a successful exit strategy, it does not bode well for the Caribbean, particularly in the areas of agriculture, trade, and tourism. "...several countries are already vulnerable with fiscal challenges and low growth rates and thus have a narrow margin of maneuver to accommodate adverse consequences of the UK-EU separation" (Khadan et al., 2016).

### **Limitations**

One limitation created in 2020 by COVID-19 is the inability to travel to Saint Lucia to analyze documents in the libraries and the government archives. Therefore, the study was limited to the literature on the Westminster model in the Caribbean, such as publicly available documents, television news programs, and legitimate newspapers and magazines. Document analysis has many advantages, but it also has several limitations, including documents that are not always retrievable through online methods or maybe purposely blocked to the public; the documents could be part of an incomplete collection, which may suggest biased selectivity; and the documents could on the surface address many aspects of the researcher's study but may

contain insufficient details to make positive contributions to the study and to answer the research question.

Two issues that may arise when using particular data collection methods are ethical and reliability. One possible ethical issue that may occur from my research is a bias that is inconveniently imposing my desire for social change and heavily reflecting this in my document content collection. This idea of ethics also goes hand in hand with concerns about reliability, which is the ability to duplicate the processes and the study's results: how reliable could the consequences be if they are the results of the document analysis results outcomes favoring my views of the Westminster model. Since my project conducted research on the current Westminster model in the Commonwealth Caribbean and proposed serious reform or an entirely new government model, through content analysis, I allowed the documents to objectively be evaluated and presented in a way that did not "lead" into the desired conclusion that the Westminster model is "bad." My personal experiences may bring biases to this study concerning preexisting expertise and knowledge of the Westminster model and the political landscape in the Commonwealth Caribbean. To minimize biases, through the nature of the data collection and analysis, I used the data management software, NVivo 11 Pro, to assist with collecting, managing, and organizing the publicly available documents, including government policies and publications. In addition, the computerized data management software minimized the uncertainty and reliability issues of my analysis of classifying the data and eliminating biases. While government documents are dependable sources of data content, these documents often go through several revisions until a version is finalized; any number of these revisions could be missing critical data. Cross et al. (2013) observed: "missing data could bias the results" (p. 55).

Therefore, careful analysis must be done to ascertain the final, complete, and published versions of these documents are used in my study.

### **Significance**

In the context of public policy and administration, my dissertation topic strikes at the heart of the intent of public policy and administration. In practice, Cabinet ministers must vote and support their prime minister 100 % of the time or face severe consequences, including expulsion from the party. While members of the Cabinet have their opinions about pending legislation, the prime minister has the ultimate decision in the bill receiving final approval. They are there to rubber-stamp the prime minister's policy simply. Quinn (2015) observed that deficiencies associated with the application of the Westminster model include unchecked executive power and the emasculation of the legislature, leaving no separation between the prime minister and the legislative. This is often seen as a negative characteristic of the Westminster model in the Caribbean. My research is essential to public policy because it could set in motion change that would bring stability to the Caribbean Commonwealth. One of the most damaging aspects of the Westminster model is the whole nation of party loyalists: it is party first, not country. In the Commonwealth Caribbean, most islands have an entrenched two-party system. While third parties do exist, they rarely have the infrastructure to mount serious campaigns. The exception, however, is the Saint Kitts and Nevis government, which comprises three parties, each of which won seats in Parliament in the prior and most recent election in June 2020: The People's Action Movement (PAM), The Concerned Citizens' Movement (CCM), and The People's Labour Party (PLP). Further study of this three-party system coming together to form

the government could yield positive results and usher in the regions' new era of politics. The entrenched two-party system's hold on Caribbean governments could finally be broken.

Saint Lucia's two-party system is deeply and, at times, bitterly engrained. Though several third parties emerged through the years, unlike the success of Saint Kitts' three-party government system, third parties in Saint Lucia have been largely unsuccessful, with the Lucian People's Movement (LPM), founded in 2010 with a membership of 500, merging with the Saint Lucia Labour Party (SLP) in February 2020. The SLP, along with the United Workers Party (UWP), which comprises the two-party system, is currently the Loyal Opposition or the minority party, with the UWP being the majority and in power. Compared to the United States party system, the SLP is equivalent to the Democratic Party, while the UWP is the Republican Party equivalent. In June 2020, a new political party, the Saint Lucia National Party (SNP), was formed in Saint Lucia. Further research and examination of SNP's core beliefs are needed to ultimately judge its viability to compete with the two major parties and its ability to win seats in Parliament.

The dominant two-party system in Saint Lucia has yielded very few synergies for the people they serve. Regardless of which party is in power, their administrations are mired in deep corruption, authoritarian tendencies with serious abuses of power and authority, and lack of proper governance: all key characteristics of Caribbean Commonwealth governments. Again, in most of the Caribbean nations, party loyalty and identification are fierce...a necessary component of Westminster that allows the British to exert colonial policies on their former possessions without overtly appearing to do so. Upon election into the office, the majority is too interested in maximizing their power and authority, marginalizing and victimizing the

opposition, all at the expense of the nation and the people it was elected to serve. Therefore, modifying or replacing the Westminster model favoring a more representative democracy would ensure a more inclusive process of crafting public policy instead of a system by which policies are enacted. However, disagreement and opposition to implementation may exist.

One of the potential contributions to the study is to add to the sparse collection of literature on Westminster in the Commonwealth Caribbean. A small, consistent body of work examines constitutional reform in the region; a consistent body of work and further in-depth analysis are needed about Westminster. Another contribution the study added to the literature is the lack of a uniformed code of governance: in Saint Lucia, an integrity commission exists; however, it is without enough enforcement power to hold elected officials and civil servants accountable when bad behavior occurs. With the winner-take-all electoral system, given that the winning party controls all facets of government, there is no mechanism to demand good governance from the Prime minister and his Cabinet. Finally, the study added the means and methods by which people can make their government more responsive to their needs. For example, the study added to the literature methods to allow the people to compel the government to address constitutional reform documents in the regions and how their constituents can work with their governments to usher in the constitutional reform era in the Commonwealth Caribbean.

My understanding of social change is that it does not require multitudes of degrees, a high I.Q. Score nor a life of ease and access to power; it simply takes a straightforward idea by the most common of us in our society to advocate for a change simple but so profound that it leads to the events which spurred the social changes I mentioned in this paragraph. Before



identifying formal definitions of social change, to me, social change encourages an individual, a people, or society to seek correction of an ill in our community which will bring about positive changes in our daily lives. When hearing the term social change, what immediately comes to mind is something that has caused harm to a section of or of our society on the whole, which must, with a great sense of urgency, be addressed and changed for the betterment of our civilization. It is a core belief at Walden that educational institutions like ours have an essential role in supporting positive social change.

Social change is that does not require advanced education and training; it is a simple premise that can be proposed by the average citizen in the community, pushing for fundamental changes that are so meaningful that it creates events that could lead to social changes such as constitutional reforms, transparent and measurable governance and economic and social change that will make better standards of living for the people of the Caribbean. Social change encourages an individual, a people, or society to seek correction of an ill in our community, which will bring about positive changes in our daily lives. When I hear the term social change, I immediately think of something that has caused harm to a section of our society or, on the whole, which must, with a great sense of urgency, be addressed and changed for the betterment of the civilization.

Indeed, as it often happens, social change is about addressing inequalities, and often, the need for change is about a policy or policies affecting a group or groups of people. The New England Colonists' "battle cry" was no taxes without representation. Here an entire group felt a movement necessary to address the ills of over-taxation on their society. Often social change comes without violence, but it was almost impossible to bring social change without violence at

the onset of our country. Conversely, terrorist organizations use violent attacks to spur social change they feel is needed; however, their actions do not justify their means in that it is not completely clear what inequalities affecting their groups are in dire need of change and that this change can only be ushered in by acts of senseless violence on those who have nothing to do with the terrorist groups' view of inequalities against them. Social change is about making positive contributions to society and to the specific group(s), which can uplift these groups into more positive spaces in our section of the Universe.

Bringing lasting social change will require several features that would be considered. Such a feature is systemic thinking is the method for developing insights into complex change agents such as reforming or replacing a form of government. The core components of this are breaking apart the various features (such as the role of the Prime minister, the Cabinet of Ministers, Members of Parliament, and Members of the Opposition) to determine how these pieces fit and work together and what influences the pieces have on each other in producing results or the desired outcome. Systemic thinking also calls for synthesis that should result in a wide-ranging plan that provides the best way to address the issue...in this case, the Westminster model.

The importance of studying Westminster is the potential for social change and the possible emergence of transformational leaders in the region that could centralize the chief executive's power. It may give the people and the members of the opposition in government a louder voice the governing of their countries.

## Summary

The model of governance bequeathed by Britain to the Caribbean has long been praised for ensuring that vibrant democratic practice has generally prevailed since the era of decolonization. Yet it has also become increasingly clear that the Westminster model has exhibited serious deficiencies and needs reform. Though several authors state the significant difficulties of the Westminster model and how this form of government does indeed provide the democracy it purports to provide to its citizens, reforms are needed. While democracy has flourished under Westminster in the Commonwealth Caribbean, many of the stable democracies of the region has been damaged beyond repair by widespread corruption and challenges from the ruling governments on matters such as freedom of expression and freedom of the press, with several countries engaging in censorship of the media. Under this form of government, the citizen's only power and influence over their government are through the ballot box. However, they trade one authoritarian prime minister for another. The ruling party is free to act publicly or secretly, rarely with consequences. While the minority Loyal Opposition has the right to voice their opinions, they have no constitutional power to stop the prime minister's will and their ruling party in this winner-take-all system. During the annual budget allocation and presentation in the House of Assembly, members of the Opposition often find themselves with minimal budget allocations to assist their constituencies. Though the party in power may be different, this office's almost unchecked majoritarian power remains. The Westminster model may not have adequately served Saint Lucia and other countries in the region. In Chapter 2, I discussed my literature search strategy my theoretical foundation and provided an exhaustive literature review. I ended by summarizing the chapter and drawing conclusions from the literature review.

## Chapter 2: Literature Review

### **Introduction**

The problem with the Westminster model, though credited for bringing stable government to the former colonies, is that it lacks proper governance oversight and still maintains a colonial mindset, leading to a crisis in the region over the past two decades. The purpose of this qualitative document content analysis study is to identify and analyze the elements that influence the implementation of the Westminster model of government and its effects on the social and economic conditions in Saint Lucia. With origins in the United Kingdom's Westminster government, this form of government was not a coincidental government left in the former British colonies in the Caribbean. It is a form of government where the head of the government, the prime minister, enjoys immense and unchecked unlimited power about the affairs of the state, without proper mechanisms to hold them accountable for their actions. This has led to corruption, high debt, and deep poverty, questioning the validity of this form of government for former colonies like Saint Lucia. The prime minister rules only if their party has a majority in the House of Assembly (the House). With the majority in the House, the ruling party elects the constitutional position of speaker of the house. It then is free to enact legislation that they deem appropriate given that 100% of the majority will always vote for their leader's legislative agenda. There is something concerning about a democratic form of government in which the victor gets all the spoils in national elections. The Westminster model places excessive power in the hands of the Prime minister and their Cabinet and removes any appearance of parliamentary democracy.

Government officials can circumvent the laws that they have enacted. They can use public resources for their personal gain...As a result, when a party is elected to power, it virtually eliminates the opposition through patronage, control of the media, and legislative action where necessary (Hinds, 2008 p. 396).

The House is also constitutionally obligated to elect the Deputy Speaker. For over four years, this position was vacant; its vacancy, which has created a constitutional crisis, is based on the Prime minister's interpretation of the word "shall" in the Constitution. This is an example of the executive's ability to ignore the Constitution and laws of the state without consequences. In the Westminster system, the Prime minister is a member of the executive and legislative branches. The executive cannot hold the title of Prime minister unless they are a member of the House; this further blurs the separation of powers when every member becomes a minister of government. "When Alan Chastanet appointed every member of his winning team in the Parliament to the Cabinet... he also unwittingly re-echoed the call by the citizenry...for a system of government where the executive should be separate from the legislature" (Huntley, St. Lucia Times 2017).

It has been difficult for the former British colonies to break the chains of their colonial past completely. Nothing exemplifies this than the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council (Privy Council), located in the United Kingdom, vs. The Caribbean Court of Justice (CCJ), Port-of-Spain, Trinidad and Tobago. Scholars are puzzled why the majority of the former colonies who gained their full independence from the United Kingdom still prefer the Privy Council as their court of final appeal. "This, it is argued, represents the 'essential last rite of passage to true nationhood and self-determination' and the continuing presence of the Privy Council in the

judicature of the countries represents an...abdication of a fundamental aspect of our sovereignty” (Barrow-Giles, 2010 p. 17). Of the 12 countries that comprise the Commonwealth Caribbean, only Barbados, Belize, Dominica, and Guyana. Jamaica utilizes the CCJ. Colonialism came into the region and decimated the local culture of the Caribbean, including the annihilation of the indigenous peoples such as the Carib Indians and the Arawak. Colonialization forced a foreign way of life, including rules, laws, and morays, upon the people of the Caribbean, which still permeates the people’s psyche over 50 years after independence. What is of great concern to, and is the consensus of many scholars, is that colonialism still haunts the Commonwealth Caribbean like a phantom in the night, and the negative consequences of the former colonial masters reverberate today.

Chapter 2 provides a literature review that examines the Westminster model and the effects this form of government has had on Saint Lucia and the Commonwealth Caribbean. This chapter includes robust theoretical frameworks that assisted in the analysis of Westminster and the issues of governance and the lack of government oversight it has created for the former British colonies. The chapter concludes with an exhaustive review of the current literature related to the research question.

### **Literature Search Strategy**

Several databases containing peer-review journal articles were utilized to support the central theme of this study. These databases and search engines include but are not limited to: Sage Journals, EBSCOhost Research Databases, LegalTrac, LexisNexis Academic, ProQuest ABI/INFORM Collection, Google Scholar. Several key terms were used whose definitions were crucial for explaining the problems with Westminster in the Commonwealth Caribbean. These

critical terms included but were not limited to: *Westminster model, sovereignty, postcolonialism, democratization, political tribalism, Whitehall, constitutional reform, parliament sovereignty, privy council, small island developing states (SIDS), colonialism, and neocolonialism in the Caribbean*. The literature and research in Westminster and the Caribbean are not as robust as government types of nations and regions in other parts of the world. There is sufficient research and dissertations written on the Commonwealth Caribbean and the Westminster Model.

### **Theoretical Foundation**

#### **The Political Constitutional Theory**

The theories for this study are PCT and the historic CDT. PCT has some of its origins in Carl Schmitt's work. He viewed the state almost as absolute and the source of constituent power that cannot be constrained also stating that "a nation is, then, not the electorate confined by the constitution to its role in a representative democracy or a political community constrained by the terms of its covenant. But neither is it a constitutionally unframed source of crude popular power" (Minkinen, 2013, p. 590). Schmitt saw the nation as a democratic institution requiring no more than political awareness to utilize its power to reconstruct itself should that be its desire. Schmitt's concern with political constitutionalism was not aimed at holding political actors to account through either political processes or legal institutions. His concern was how consistent the theory was in explaining the constitution itself. He stated that a constitution could standardize formal processes by creating norms and the political principles that norms had to adhere to gain validity. Schmitt's only theoretical foundation that could explain the constitution's existence is a tangible manifestation of the political will, meaning a decision. Minkinen (2013) indicated that the constitution is a political charter that can include legal norms and be analyzed accordingly.

To explain the foundation of the constitution or, indeed, as we saw, any violations to it, the gap between the normative and the factual has to be bridged.

Schmitt described two aspects of sovereign constituent power that could be expressed. First, it is the process by which a nation constitutes the foundations of its political existence; second, through this process, the country decides how it will institute unity through the political and legal institutions. This sovereign constituents' power is then constitution-making power. In the positive sense, the constitution originates from an act of constitution-making power. Establishing a constitution as such involves not separate sets of norms. Instead, it determines the entirety of the political unity regarding its peculiar form of existence through a single decision instance. The act constitutes the form and type of political agreement, which is presupposed (Minkkinen, 2013, p. 597).

Schmitt believes that Constitution-making power is unchanging and inseparable. It is not an additional power that works between other separated powers, but the wide-ranging belief behind all other powers and their possible separations. Minkkinen (2013) stated that Schmitt's continuity of the political unity established through the constitution is not endangered by occasional constitutional violations as long as the comprehensive principle of constitution-making power is not compromised. Violations of the constitution on occasion should be viewed as an exception that does not harm or destroy the constitution but leaves it as a valid, intact document.

### **Caribbean Dependency Theory**

There was significant diversity of opinions on CDT; the main point of agreement was the desire to establish an economy driven by its internal dynamics and not dependent on external



forces such as the United Kingdom during colonial times. “A major topic of debate was whether independence should be interpreted merely as a change of legal status or as an opportunity for more radical social and economic changes that addressed the legacy of colonial rule” (Girvan, 2006, p. 331). Collier (2002), in questioning why Caribbean nations had not achieved a high level of economic growth and development, the author noted that Caribbean countries saw the root of their economic development problems in their legacies of imperialism and slavery. The author viewed the dependency theory as key to answering the questions of stagnant economic growth in the Commonwealth Caribbean. According to dependency theory, which emerges from structural Marxism, this world capitalist system fails to pay Caribbean states and territories a fair wage for their labor and a reasonable price for their exported natural resources and agricultural and manufactured products. Collier concluded that blame for this ongoing dependency structure in emerging countries in the Caribbean is placed on the conspiracy of developed industrialized governments international financial institutions, such as the IMF, World Bank, World Trade Organization (WTO), who use the power to manipulate and control these developing states who have no recourse but to depend on the developed world’s multinational corporations for financial support and economic stability.

Neither PCT nor CDT has been used in prior analysis and research of the usefulness of the Westminster model in the Commonwealth Caribbean. These theories, however, were used as the basis to make to support my research question and the purpose of my study. The political constitutional theory was used to perform a careful examination of the Saint Lucia constitution and a board examination of the constitutions of the Commonwealth Caribbean, whose constitutions range from 36-57 years in age: Saint Lucia remains one of four Caribbean nations

(the others being Antigua and Barbuda, Saint Kitts & Nevis and Saint Vincent and the Grenadines) has not been changed or amended since these nations gain independence from the United Kingdom. Elkins et al. (2009) posed the question: “Are constitutions like marriages in this sense? Do they exhibit any discernible patterns of decay or crystallization as they age?” The authors further suggested that constitutions should change an average of every 20 years. Jamaica’s constitution is the oldest in the Caribbean, averaging 56 years; however, the constitution has not changed since its conception. One option for modifying Westminster in the Caribbean is to begin the process of constitutional reforms. Without such an exercise, it can be suggested that the commonwealth Caribbean cannot indeed be free of its colonial past.

PCT supports the need for constitutional reforms in Saint Lucia and the commonwealth Caribbean because these original constitutions were not created based on the local norms and customs of Saint Lucia. These norms are the basis for the legal standards that govern the nation. Minkinen (2013) insists that the constitution can be written and formal, but it can also consist fully or partially of unwritten norms based on custom. The plantation economy model posits that plantation slavery and specialization in the export of primary commodities has marked the evolution of the societies in which it existed. Therefore, the goal of CDT is to build a theoretical framework in which economic policy can be devised to allow Caribbean states to assume control of their development and growth in a manner. This ensures that the needs of the Caribbean people are met. In turn, it promotes their interests within their own countries through economic policy which does not impede local production, education or health care services. Both theories are highly relevant in the study because the unintended effect of the Westminster model is corruption, high debt, poverty, and a single market economy (tourism) for almost 80% of these

countries in the region. These countries are still in “colonial” times and have not emancipated themselves from British colonialism.

Two theories were utilized in my study. They were both equally relevant: one addressed issue at the beginning of my dissertation; the other theory allowed me to provide possible ways forward and next steps in analyzing the Westminster future in the Commonwealth Caribbean. I plan to use these theories previously mentioned in this chapter are interdependent: one establishes a key reason for the study, and the other provides support and allowed me to summarize the study. I would not say that using two theories is a good idea. In this case, I could not see how one theory could achieve the goals and objectives I have for my dissertation; also, if you use two theories, they must have a dependency aspect and clearly and precisely complement each other. PCT provided the basis for constitutional reforms in Saint Lucia and how the country’s current constitution, void of local norms and customs, has made life difficult for people living under the Westminster Model.

### **Literature Review Related to Key Variables and/or Concepts**

Is the Westminster model best suited for the former British Colonies, and should the region seek to replace and or reform this form of government? The best method to answer this and the other core questions for this research project was a qualitative method. Qualitatively, the study involved specific research tools requiring the researcher to conduct extensive interviews with current and former Prime ministers, current and former members of Parliament, and the general public in these island nations. Newman and Covrig (2013) stated that “consistency is about the logical alignment of the title, purpose, problem, and research question... It is helpful to consider the four W’s (Who, What, When, Where) and the one H (How) when formulating a

title” (pp. 71-72). WHAT (The Westminster Model) tells the reader the focus of the study; WHO (Governments of the Commonwealth Caribbean) informs the reader the sources of the data, that is, from whom and where the data was gathered; WHERE (The Caribbean) indicates the geographical region, the study took place; WHEN (2017) stated the timeframe of the study and HOW (Qualitative Method) informed the reader of the research design.

Pugh (2017) notes that “postcolonial research now needs new critical tools of analysis and new ethnographic approaches to unpack what this means for today” (p. 868). The objective, therefore, of Pugh’s research is to table the questions of postcolonialism and sovereignty and to construct new and distinct ways of broadening the debating of the colonial effects on these former colonies. Not surprisingly, Pugh acknowledges that the post-colonial context in the Caribbean remains a gap in the literature, which is still treated and often ignored as marginal or secondary.

The affect theory, Pugh (2017) argued, has been employed and criticized in several postcolonial studies, and while not openly framed in terms of affect theory, affective structures of colonialism and bias have long been central concerns in the work of Caribbean writers; Pugh further points to the lack of in-depth empirical studies on the daily mechanisms of postcolonial bureaucratic institutions. In his case study in which he interviewed 60 civil servants from the planning department in Saint Lucia, Pugh included two years of ethnographic work, that is, the scientific description of peoples and cultures with their customs, habits, and mutual differences and with this, tied his study with concerns with:

postcolonial development, sovereignty and effect are those heterogeneous atmospheres that put into play and disrupt such neat paradigms of individual and national sovereignty

and non-sovereignty at work in everyday life, even as the ideals of independence keep working away as an affectively attuning force. (Pugh, 2017, p. 871).

The planners drew my attention to all sorts of things—magazines and papers scattered around the office, the struggles of different types of a government department, and the arrival of someone who was possibly a foreign developer—to illustrate the tensions emerging from legacies of independence that give rise to fragile national development control. In the study, the planners stated that most of their training for their various positions happens in the United Kingdom. “Some talked about how Caribbean town planners are often trained in Britain, but the system is very different when they get home. While these examples amount to an effective interstice to the prevalent notion that Anglophone Caribbean planning is simply the “[t]ransferring [of] British Planning Law” (Pugh, 2017, p. 877). As Bonilla (2015:15) saliently points out, people from the Caribbean “are working within and against the constraints of postcolonial sovereignty.” She aptly describes this as the struggle and tension for “non-sovereign futures” that “break free from the epistemic binds of political modernity, even while still being compelled to think through its normative categories.”

A majoritarian system of democracy exists in Saint Lucia and the Caribbean, complimented by authoritarian rule. Suppose majoritarian democracy allows the government in power to rule all aspects of decision and policy-making. In that case, authoritarianism gives the prime minister the muscle needed to implement these decisions and policies with impunity. The Westminster model and its governance in the region have, among other things, led to almost complete control of society by members of the elite political class. The result was the institutionalization of and the bitter division and polarization of the electorate, drawn down

ethnic and tribal (hostile political) lines. “Having inherited an authoritarian state and system of governance at the time of independence, these countries, singularly and collectively, have been unable to transform these inherited institutions into instruments of mass empowerment and shared nationhood” (Hinds, 2008, p.403). Having learned from the authoritarian regimes that governed the Caribbean colonies till the 1940s, it is easy to see how and why these new authoritarian leaders exploit the weaknesses of the democratic systems via populist themes, patriotism, nationalism, manufactured crisis, and carefully crafted diversions to maintain their grip on power.

This can further be explained by Arend Lijphart, who uses the term “Westminster model” interchangeably with the “majoritarian model.” Lijphart (2012) states that the key to democracy is the majority of the people when the question is asked about government: who will govern and whose interests should the government be responsive. The majoritarian model focuses its political power in the hands of the majority and at times a mere plurality instead of a majority, where the consensus model attempts to share, carry out and limit power in various ways. Consensus model is characterized by inclusiveness, bargaining, and compromise. However, the majoritarian model of democracy is exclusive, competitive, and adversarial.

A growing number of scholars such as Dag Anckar, Matthew Louis Bishop, the late Norman Girvan, Cynthia Barrow-Giles, David Hinds, and Paul K. Sutton believe that the Westminster government, given to the former British colonies, have produced, perhaps, many harmful effects that could only be addressed through the process of constitutional reform. Further, the same consensus, particularly in the last 10 years, observed that almost every island in the Commonwealth Caribbean has embarked on historical processes of constitutional reforms

to address, in some way, the shortfalls of Westminster in the Caribbean. Other agreement among the scholars includes a desire to see more substantial reforms in civil rights and liberties, which are tenants of democracy. One scholar, Richard Albert, openly invites scholars of comparative public law in a 2017 journal article to look at constitutionalism in the Caribbean region and go beyond the few nations that are constantly studied. There is a tremendous gap in the research literature regarding the Caribbean, which provides scholars an abundance of riches to perform comparative studies in the Commonwealth. Albert (2017) observed that "...many still today governed by the same constitution imposed by their colonizers" (p. 3).

While this is literature describing the need to reform or remove this form of government in the Caribbean, research indicates that there is not, in fact, a large body of research into the Westminster model since its implementation almost 50 years. Research on the Westminster model conducted in the late 1980s and 1990s focused on the democratic premise of this model, and the conclusion was that Westminster produced a stabilizing effect on the region. However, this that time, many scholars have pointed out that "globalization, the transnational drugs trade, rising crime levels, debt, economic and environmental vulnerability all pose significant threats to Caribbean sovereignty and the power of the state..." (Quinn, 2015, p. 2). The author also believes that the Westminster model is in terminal decline. The author brings opinions from several authors and the broad agreement that this model was fashioned after the Westminster System, with similar constitutional features, such as the Prime minister as the head of government.

Natasha T. Duncan and Dwayne Woods' research was simply intended to provide additional and contribute to the scarce literature on democratization and the tenacity of

democratic regimes in the Caribbean. Duncan and Woods (2007) observed that “Among developing countries, the Caribbean is home to the largest cluster of democracies. Moreover, the Caribbean region has the longest-lasting set of sustained democracies – from independence to the present – among former.” The Caribbean basin has been largely ignored when it comes to democratization literature. Instead, much of the studies have focused on Latin America, with the Caribbean often being lumped in the Latin experience. For this reason, Duncan and Woods cited this as the main reason for conducting this study and not necessarily critiquing the Westminster model.

Ankar (2015) gave the staunchest support for colonialism and how it relates to stable democracies in the Commonwealth Caribbean than any of his scholarly counterparts, observing that “it appears to be the case that the longer a present country spent as a British colony, the better the prospects for this country to adapt and internalize a democratic code and culture” (p. 69). He referred to as “benign colonialism” stands in sharp contrast to the negative connotation of colonialism itself, citing the benefits bestowed to the indigenous populations and their enhanced political structures. The author saw the history of colonial rule by the British as an asset to the former colonies in that upon their declaration of independence from the United Kingdom, colonialism left them better suited to democratic forms of governments: the longer a colony existed under British rule, there was a greater likelihood that they would transform into stable democracies.

Ankar (2015) correctly states that while the sun has set on the British Empire, Westminster is alive and very well. Hundreds of years of colonial rule create “mini-UKs” throughout the land, leaving a lasting historical governmental stamp on its former possessions;



after all, Westminster is the United Kingdom, carefully sculpted out of British politics and political thought. Therefore, states that the British left behind was more adept at democratic principles than these colonies are belonging to France. Further, small states were more conducive to forming stable democracies than larger ones; their size gave them an advantage in attaining and maintaining unity and loyalty...two critical components of colonial rule.

“...democratization is a complex phenomenon...size matters: microstates tend toward democracy than larger states” (Ankar, 2005, p. 66)

Norman Girvan (2015), in “Assessing Westminster in the Caribbean: then and now,” reflected on 50 years of independence of the Commonwealth Caribbean. The article was not a celebration but a critique of the Westminster Model, the standard type of government in these former British colonies. These Commonwealth nations struggle and face significant challenges under this form of government patterned after the United Kingdom's government. Girvan's critique included the observation that independence for these nations was more designed to maintain the status quo in the former English-speaking former colonies and therefore called for a new form of government for the Caribbean, which would allow democracy to flourish further. The independence pact saw the two-party system become so engrained into these contemporary societies that its citizens placed party affiliation above love of country. What was also striking was how the Westminster model maintained the laws, foundations, and symbols of colonialism. Over 50 years after independence, not much is left of the original Westminster model except a surreal altercation. Globalization has also led to departures of the original intent of the model; however, it led to the following circumstances that have led to worsening conditions for the people: wide-spread government corruption and the raiding of the general funds by officeholders

and their stooges; a lack of transparency and the enormous effects of “invisible” money donations in political campaigns; the unchecked powers of the executive (the Prime minister); and weakness, lack power or influence of local governments.

**Table 1**

*Former British Colonies and Dates of Independence*

Country	Year of colonization	Date of Independence	Years of Independence
Antigua and Barbuda	1632	November 1, 1981	39
The Bahamas	1629	July 10, 1973	47
Barbados	1624	July 31, 1981	54
Belize	1862	November 30, 1966	40
Dominica	1763	November 3, 1978	43
Guyana	1796-1814	May 26, 1966	54
Jamaica	1655	August 6, 1962	58
Saint Kitts & Nevis	1623	September 19, 1983	37
Saint Lucia	1803	February 22, 1979	41
Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	1783	October 27, 1978	41
Trinidad and Tobago	1797-1820	August 31, 1962	58

Girvan uses the ill effects of the independence pact as an example of Jamaica’s march for independence. “Our main concern at the time was the retention of the Monarchy. We argued that it was contrary to the psychological necessities of nation-building that the Queen of England should be the Head of State of Independent Jamaica” (Girvan, 2015). It was a time for Jamaican independence, and citizens felt it made no sense to be an independent nation while swearing allegiance to Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, Her Heirs, and Successors. The draft of the Constitution was presumed to be provided by the Colonial Office, thus making it difficult to view Jamaica as an independent state. The Constitution begins with these words: “At the Court

in Buckingham Palace. Nothing in the document noted the sovereignty of the people...nor social and economic rights in this original version of the Constitution.”

Jamaican Independence Pact was very accurate for the entire British Caribbean as other colonies that sought and gained independence after Jamaica. The main concern for the British and their colonies' requests for independence was to avoid anti-colonial uprisings that would take the form of revolutions against British rule. So, independence and that aid the British provided the former colonies craft their constitutions was more of a psychological self-emancipation of the colonized people and transformed colonial rule's institutions and structures into an illusion of independence and self-rule.

Researchers have a growing consensus over the past five to seven years that the Westminster model is no longer sustainable or a viable form of government for the Commonwealth Caribbean. Girvan (2015) stated that ... “there is the issue of form vs. substance” (p. 105). We are searching for a theory and practice of Caribbean democracy that breaks free from the shackles of Westminsterism. Hinds (2008) noted that almost 50 years after the first countries gained independence, the region still wrestles with its colonial past and cannot seem to shake those shackles that still bind them as colonies. He speaks of how fragmented the region remains, with the impediments of colonialism looming large, causing socioeconomic obstructions that led to the Westminster Model's crisis. Addressing modifying the winner-take-all system is key to any modification of Westminster. It has to be a condition for additional democratization and political and economic advance in the Caribbean. But Paul Sutton had a fascinating take on the Westminster model. He noted that over 125 elections have been contested in the Caribbean, all of which resulted in a peaceful transfer of power. Sutton points to the

troubling extent of how vast the Prime minister is, making them almost invincible. While the author also points to the issues with the Westminster model stated above, he does not feel it is a form of government meant for all Commonwealth Caribbean nations; he sees it as robust and adaptable. "...democracy will survive in the Commonwealth Caribbean, but it may not survive everywhere... There may be one or two failures in the foreseeable future. But overall, the future for democracy seems reasonably assured" (Sutton, 1999, p. 82).

Since independence almost 60 years ago, the Caribbean Commonwealth has not fared very well under the Westminster model. The Independence pact did more to keep the region under colonial times when these former British possessions blossomed into thriving democracies. Consistent with these Small Island Nations (SIDS) is the almost universally strangulation of debt. The combined debt burden of these SIDS are almost twice that of Latin America. Monies are not generated in these local economies due to limited natural resources, and borrowing internationally is no longer a viable option because these countries are no longer creditworthy; it is also because these are some of the poorer nations. "When you can no longer service the debt, you have no recourse but to the IMF. That means budget cuts; further depletion of resources to fight crime, to adapt to climate change, build up your human and physical capital, and pay your teachers and policemen adequately" (Girvan, 2015, p. 103).

The author concludes by asking a series of questions. These questions first act as questions to be answered based on his research and second as a starting point for the next researcher, myself. Some of these questions include: "Can this experiment be saved?" What does sovereignty mean to countries in the region in this new global order?" The region once

again finds itself at a very historical turning point: as in colonial days, at a point where their system of government is crumbling.

### **Brexit and the Commonwealth Caribbean**

However, the consensus on the Westminster model over the last five years remains consistent with the research and conclusions in the prior five to eight years. One of the most significant concerns for the Caribbean is its relationship with the United Kingdom (UK) post Brexit. While Brexit may present an opportunity for the UK to reengage with the Commonwealth Caribbean fully, what is concerning is the level of benefits the former colonies can receive from the European Union (EU) now that their chief champion, the UK, will no longer be a member of the EU. Much of the aid and assistance the UK leveraged to the Caribbean was based on its long-standing relationships with the EU; without new agreements, the Caribbean could lose its relationship with the EU. The biggest roadblock to the continuity of the EU-Caribbean relationship is the complexity of EU Rules of Origin and how these rules will impact any negotiations establishing and shaping new agreements. “If the UK does not provide a trade framework to replace these relationships on similar terms, these markets could be lost. This is a particular concern for Commonwealth states in the Caribbean” (Price, 2016, p. 503). Brexit has created much concern for the Caribbean in trade, aid, and investment treaties. A Commonwealth Free Trade Agreement would not necessarily benefit the Caribbean. “...Britain outside the EU deprives the Caribbean of a sympathetic voice on a range of issues, including financial services, and alters the level of official development assistance that will be available from remaining EU members that have no historical relationship with the English-speaking Caribbean,” (Sanders, 2016, p. 1).

The original idea for independence was for these colonies to have autonomy and bring about positive change for their people. Instead, these countries accepted and “watered-down” version of the government that held them as possessions for hundreds of years. “In the words of the late Norman Girvan, whose reflections conclude this collection, [this] implanting of colonial ways of thinking into native elites was one of the outstanding successes of British policy in the Caribbean” (Quinn, 2015). Over the past decade, almost every member of the Commonwealth Caribbean has engaged in a Constitutional Reform exercise. However, none of these exercises led to reforms or results. Paul Sutton described three periods of interest and action on constitutional reform in the Commonwealth Caribbean since independence, the third of which is of particular interest. This period included rejection by the people of Saint Vincent of a draft constitution referendum. Sutton (2013) indicated that “public consultations on constitutional reform had well advanced in March 2013 and the newly elected government in Saint Lucia tabling a report on constitutional reform in Parliament in April 2013” (p. 64). While it may not be feasible for these nations to abandon this form of government altogether, constitutional reform should be considered to bring these countries more in line with how a truly democratic representative government works.

Independence for the Commonwealth Caribbean and the subsequent gifting of Westminster have not favored the region as it has left economic and social hardships for the region's people. To summarize, the region suffers from 1) deep-seated corruption in the government, 2) high crime rate in the countries, 3) stagnant economies, deeply burdened in debt, 4) majoritarian leadership with the marginalization of the Opposition party, 5) tourism – an

almost single-market economy deeply rooted in the slavery and colonial past, and 6) poor governance and lack of transparency.

**Table 2***Constitutional History of the Commonwealth Caribbean*

Country	New constitution	Year(s) constitution amended
Antigua and Barbuda	1981	NA
The Bahamas	1973	1977; 2002
Barbados	1966	1974; 1980; 1981; 1989; 1990; 1992; 1995; 2000; 2002; 2003
Belize	1981	1985; 1988; 1998; 1999; 2002
Dominica	1978	1984
Grenada	1974	1991; 1992*
	1979	1980; 1981
Guyana	1966	1969
	1970	1973; 1976; 1978
	1980	1984; 1987; 1988; 1990; 1991; 1992; 1995; 1996; 2001
Jamaica	1962	1971; 1975; 1977; 1986; 1990; 1993; 1994; 1999; 2002; 2009
Saint Kitts & Nevis	1983	NA
Saint Lucia	1978	NA
Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	1979	NA
Trinidad and Tobago	1962	1964; 1965; 1968; 1970
	1976	1978; 1979; 1981; 1982; 1983; 1987; 1988; 1994; 1995; 1996; 1999; 2000; 2006; 2009

\* The 1974 constitution was re-instated following the restoration of parliamentary government

*Note:* Elkins, Ginsburg & Blount, (2011, p. 18).



What lessons might these Caribbean attempts to formulate alternatives to the Westminster model offered today? Analyzing recent developments in the region, Girvan was also among the first to identify new threats to Caribbean independence, sovereignty, and democracy posed by the pressures of neoliberal globalization, transnational organized crime, untrammelled out-migration, unsustainable levels of debt, and the depredations of climate change. For Girvan, these pressures constitute ‘existential threats’ to the very survival of Caribbean territories as ‘viable economies, functional polities, and cohesive societies. Smallness can have divergent and seemingly contradictory effects. The highly personalized nature of political competition appears to support aspects of democratic practice and, by extension, the persistence of Westminster institutions. In contrast, others, including the concentration of power in the hands of particular leaders, undermine it. Only further work can bear this equivocality by identifying the precise conditions and circumstances under which small size leads to either outcome.

A very controversial topic in the Commonwealth Caribbean is the Privy Council vs. The Caribbean Court of Justice (CCJ). The CCJ was established to replace the colonial-era British Privy Council as the court of last resort for the region. Only three former colonies have adopted the CCJ as their court of the final appeal as of 2020. The other former colonies are pretty content to travel over 4,500 miles to London to have their cases heard by the Privy Council. Another controversy is the region’s lack of willingness to break with their colonial past permanently: to declare complete independence, declare themselves individual republics, and remove the Queen as head of state. Interesting enough is the desire of one island to return to its colonial past. Jamaica, for example, the result of a poll conducted indicated that the people felt they were better served when they were a colony of the United Kingdom. Their opinions were based on being

wary of the high crime rate in the country, deep-seated corruption in the government, and stagnant and lack of growth in the economy and opportunities for their people to advance. Lastly, the Prime minister in each nation is “lord of all he/she surveys.” The executive enjoys almost unlimited powers, with no adequate checks to reign in these run-away powers.

What remains to be studied? Additional research must be conducted on colonialism, post-colonialism, sovereignty, and its effect on the region. After 50 plus years of independence, the Commonwealth Caribbean maintains the Queen as head of State and shows no signs of seeking complete independence from their colonial past? Another issue that needs to be studied thoroughly is the effects that Brexit, once fully implemented, will have on the Caribbean, particularly in trade and commerce. Each country has commissioned a Constitutional reform study. The region’s governments have in their possession the recommended reforms: will these governments take the following steps to implement these reforms? Further study and analysis of these documents must be done to assess its ability to completely transform Westminster into a government that will be more responsive to the people and provides positive economic and social growth.

Research Question: How does the framework and implementation of the Westminster model create enabling conditions for corruption, debt, and poverty in Saint Lucia and the Commonwealth Caribbean? One primary reason for increasing constitutional reform activities in the region is a desire for these countries to return somewhat to its identity, pre-colonization when the Arawaks and Carib, the indigenous people, ruled the lands. These reforms were also undertaken due to serious concerns about the continuing infringement of rights, freedoms, and civil liberties, which Westminster, in modern times, continues to erode. Electoral reforms are at

the forefront of several governments pursuing constitutional reforms. There is a growing sentiment for the Commonwealth Caribbean to be more reflective of indigeneity and identity to affirm their independence and sovereignty further and finally break all remaining colonial bonds, which have become unsustainable. However, it may come at a high cost, socially and economically. What continues to be a stinging indictment for the former colonies is that they are still governed by the same constitution imposed by their colonizers in these modern times. Resistance to change permeates the region because of the conditioning of their colonizers, which remains in their psyche of the people, with each generation grappling with little to no success of how to break the shackles of the colonial past permanently. Constitutional reforms in Saint Lucia continue to encounter headwinds as the current and immediate past administrations resist changes to the status quo: the gift of Westminster.

The approach to the study is meaningful because it builds on the results and conclusions of previous studies of the Westminster model. The findings of prior research believe that the Westminster model is harmful to the form British Colonies in what is known as the Caribbean Commonwealth. The consensus is that there is a need for either serious reform of the Westminster model or to abandon this form of government and institute a more democratic form of government that will more convincingly guarantee and protect civil rights and liberties. The chief critic and the loudest anti-Westminster voice was Professor Norman Girvan, who was among the earliest of critics of the shortcomings of the Westminster model. Girvan viewed this model more as an “independence pact” used by the British government to maintain the old colonial ties: the laws, the traditions, and way of life while giving the appearance of independence to the former Caribbean colonies. Girvan (2015) cited that embedding colonial

ways of thinking into the native elite and the ruling class was one of the overwhelming successes of British policy in the Caribbean. It was vital to establishing Westminster's government in the soon-to-be-independent nations. Another examination of the Westminster model shows that the Caribbean's post-colonial past has yielded little change, which compelled these Caribbean nations to seek independence from The United Kingdom almost 50 years ago.

The region faces additional threats such as high crime rates and increased drug trafficking. On April 1, 2020, U.S. President Donald Trump dispatched naval assets to interdict drug shipments in the Caribbean Sea which included U.S. Navy destroyers and littoral combat ships, as well as Coast Guard cutters, helicopters, reconnaissance, as part of an announcement of an enhanced counternarcotics operation in what he saw as a growing threat. On January 16, 2015, President Barack Obama announced the 2015 Caribbean Border Counternarcotics Strategy release. The White House (2015) stated that the known cocaine flow from the source zone to the United States through the Caribbean—including Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic, and Eastern Caribbean countries—has more than doubled in the past three years. The goal of the Counternarcotics Strategy was to disrupt and dismantle transnational criminal organizations operating in and around the Caribbean Sea and intercept illicit drugs and illicit drug proceeds by air and sea in and around the Caribbean border. Because of narcotics trafficking, crime and violence levels in the region are alarming. During the President George W. Bush administration, t007 United Nations (UN) report on crime stated that the drug trade drives crime by adding to the widespread accessibility of firearms normalizing illegal behavior. “The Latin America-Caribbean region has the highest murder rate in the world (25.6 per 100,000) ... The homicide statistics for countries in the region that are heavily targeted by the War On Drugs (WOD) are

alarming: Jamaica at 59 murders per 100,000 population...” (Francis & Mauser, 2011). Drug trafficking and its related crime levels have been a concern for the last three U.S. presidents beginning with President George W. Bush, to President Barack Obama, to President Donald Trump. Caribbean governments have shown little interest in curbing drug trafficking in their countries.

Girvan (2015) noted that a combination of economic, social, and environmental pressures now threatens to destabilize the democracies with no one nation situated to cope with these existential challenges. Globalization has had a profound impact financially and economically on the Commonwealth Caribbean, creating political issues such as bad governance with little accountability for decisions made by the nations’ leaders. Therefore, globalization has led to the destruction of the democratic standards accomplished in the post-colonial era. Domestic political players often find themselves persuaded by outside decision-makers to make irrational decisions to structure the economy and domestic agenda. The problem with the Westminster model in its current form, though credited for bringing stable government to the former colonies, over the past two decades, the model’s lack of proper governance, oversight, and a colonial mindset have led to a crisis in the region. Another deep and troubling aspect of Westminster is the system of winner-take-all: if a party, for example, the United Workers Party or The Saint Lucia Labour Party in Saint Lucia, wins the majority of seats in the House of Assembly (nine of the seventeen seats) during the general elections, called every five years that party forms the government. The winning party leader (who becomes prime minister) also appoints the majority of the members of the Senate (six of the eleven seats). The Governor-General appoints two seats. When a party wins the majority of seats in the House, they control all facets of government: the executive, the

House, and the Senate...thus, winner-take-all. Therefore, I post the question: Has the Westminster model, gifted to the former colonies at the time of their independence, served the Caribbean commonwealth well?

In a speech to the Barbados Chamber of Commerce in 2013, then Saint Lucian's Prime Minister Dr. Kenny Anthony observed the consensus among authors critical of the Westminster model: that it has caused the biggest crisis since independence. "How our societies crawl out of this vicious vortex of persistent low growth, crippling debt, huge fiscal deficits, and high unemployment is the single most important question facing us at this time" (Edmonds, 2013, para. 3). Further, this form of government has a strong executive, the prime minister, in which almost all power lies. As the head of the ruling party, the prime minister and the Cabinet of Ministers, who holds the majority in the House of Assembly, are considered the government. All members of the House of Assembly are considered Parliamentarians. In Saint Lucia, there are 17 elected Members of Parliament (MP): 11 are government MPs, and all are ministers in the government. As a result, no group of critical non-government-parliamentarians can sincerely and honestly analyze and scrutinize the actions of the prime minister and his government. The Cabinet typically must support the prime minister's objectives without dissent or risk being removed from the Cabinet; in short, they function as little more than a rubber stamp.

On July 12, 2016, Saint Lucia Member of Parliament (MP) for the Castries South constituency Sarah Flood-Beaubrun was elected Deputy Speaker of the House. On July 25, 2016, the MP was sworn in as Minister within the Ministry of Finance, Economic Growth, Job Creation, External Affairs, and the Public Service, a Cabinet position. The Constitution does not allow a Cabinet member to serve as Deputy Speaker, so MP Flood-Beaubrun resigned. This left

the job of Deputy Speaker vacant (as of 2021), with Prime Minister Allen Chastanet asserting that it was not a priority of his government to fill the post. However, it is a post that the Constitution states “shall” be filled. The prime minister felt that filling this position was unnecessary for the government’s business. “Prime Minister, Allen Chastanet, said at the time that the language that is used in the constitution for the Deputy Speaker notes that if the Deputy Speaker resigns, then a new Deputy Speaker shall be elected as soon as is convenient” (St Lucia Times, 2017). Section 36(1) of the Constitution of Saint Lucia (2006) states: “.... if the office of Deputy Speaker falls vacant at any time before the next dissolution of Parliament, the House shall, as soon as convenient, elect another member of the House to that office (p. 48-49). The word “shall” appear approximately 638 times in the Constitution of Saint Lucia, and the word is not exclusive to Section 36(1). Prime Minister Chastanet stated that the Constitution should be amended to remove the word “shall,” which he finds vague. So, the prime minister continues that he will not support the election of a Deputy Speaker from his government and states that the Opposition can appoint one if they so choose and feels his government has done nothing wrong. Prime Minister Chastanet said: “...if in fact, the Deputy Speaker resigns the house shall elect a new deputy speaker when it soon as convenient the Constitution and the Standing Orders do not define what that is, so you have to go to the literal definition which you can find in the dictionary, that's when it's convenient” (MBC, 2016).

It is the sometimes “unchecked” powers of the Office of Prime Minister that has brought focus on the Westminster Model and whether, since gaining independence, these Small Island Nations (SIDS) have grown and benefited under such a government system or has such a government provided the soil in which corruption grew and continue to grow and flourished.

Westminster suffers from many ills and is not well suited for the quality of democracy needed in the Caribbean.

### **Westminster and the issues with Independence**

The Commonwealth Caribbean comprises twelve former British colonies, now independent democratic countries in the British Commonwealth Realm. Jamaica was the first colony to gain independence 56 years ago, in 1962. The last former colony to gain independence was Saint Kitts and Nevis 35 years ago, in 1983. Therefore, the oldest constitution in the Commonwealth Caribbean is Jamaica's. Over the past 20 years, nearly every Caribbean country has assembled a commission to review its constitution and make proposals for necessary reform. These reforms have focused explicitly on modifying the Westminster model to reflect the norms in the perspective country. The constitutional reforms proposed focused on modern Caribbean values versus the inherited colonial traditions on which these constitutions were all based. The last three islands to complete the Constitutional reform process are Saint Lucia (2011), The Bahamas (2013), and Trinidad and Tobago (2013). Each country had vigorous debates in their parliaments, but none adopted any recommendations made in the Constitutional reform documents. Yet, constitutional reform remains one of many robust options to modify the Westminster model. Constitutional reform remains an option that the governments of the Commonwealth Caribbean can select because these governments have recognized that there is some weakness in their perspective constitutions. After all, each head of government has authorized a comprehensive review of their constitutions.

One important aspect of independence for these former British colonies that are often lost in the analysis of these Caribbean constitutions is that independence, as in other countries, did



not come from a struggle, a war, or an uprising. One by one, the governments of these nations petitioned the United Kingdom for their independence. Independence did not come as a result of a crisis of identity or, as previously mentioned, or war. Therefore, independence and writing these constitutions came about in offices in the United Kingdom. One example of this can be found in one of the Jamaican constitution's first statements, which state: "At the Court at Buckingham Palace, the 23rd day of July 1962" (Jamaica Constitution, 1962, p. 5). This statement demonstrates the fundamental issue that has led to these nations authorizing commissions on Constitutional reform: these constitutions were deeply steeped in the British Westminster Government and influenced by the colonial past. Every island that gained its independence following Jamaica had that exact language in the new Constitution. Westminster was an element in a package – the Independence Pact in the British Caribbean. That pact was not about Independence; it was about preserving the status quo. Under the Westminster model, the Commonwealth Caribbean has not fared too well, and the growing instability in the region has been closely tied to Westminster. Under this model, globalization continues. The transnational drugs trade increases each year. Rising crime levels, debt, economic and environmental vulnerability such as storms and hurricanes; all pose significant threats to Caribbean sovereignty and the power of the Caribbean states. Much activity has been associated with constitution reform in the Commonwealth Caribbean, but little has changed.

Westminster in the Commonwealth Caribbean has been credited for creating the largest concentrated geographic area of and the longest sustained democracies in any region in the world. Caribbean nations now enjoy almost 58 years of independence from the United Kingdom. Trinidad and Tobago and Jamaica were the first to gain their independence in August

1962. But now, close to 60 years after independence, the region faces existential threats such as deepening government corruption, high crime rates, increasing drug trafficking, growing poverty, all while dealing with the COVID-19 pandemic that has created crushing economic conditions that have brought these tourism-dependent economies almost to a halt.

In an IMF Working Paper, Cevik and Nanda (2020) reported that public finances in the Caribbean have improved in recent years, many Caribbean countries, however, still face significant fiscal vulnerabilities, with the average level of government debt standing at 73.3 % of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in 2018. The average debt-to-GDP ratio is recommended to be 50.8 % among developing countries. Saint Lucia's revenue (GDP) was \$3.55 billion 2018; debt stood at \$3,342,730 billion: a debt-to-GDP ratio of 64.28 %. From 2016 to 2019, saint Lucia's average debt-to-GDP ratio has averaged 64.84 %. The IMF (2021) stated that during this same period, the country had recorded a consistent decline in economic growth: 3.9 % in 2016, 3.4 % in 2017, 2.6 % in 2018, and 1.7 % in 2019. Projected economic growth for 2020 is estimated at -20.4 %. According to Chowdhury (2010), a debt-to-GDP ratio of 60 % is quite often noted as a prudential limit for developed countries. This suggests that crossing this limit will threaten fiscal sustainability. For developing and emerging economies, 40 % is the suggested debt-to-GDP ratio that should not be breached on a long-term basis. Yet, the Caribbean has far surpassed this 40 % threshold. MENAFN (2020) stated that the Leader of the Opposition Philip J. Pierre observed that Saint Lucia's national debt before COVID-19 was \$3.4 billion, and with further borrowing to come because of the demands of COVID-19, the ratio of Saint Lucia's debt to GDP will be well passed prudential limits (65 %), with early estimates indicating a ratio of 90 % by next year. Prime Minister Allen Chastanet stated: "Given our current financial situation, I think that

COVID exacerbated an already terrible situation. To deal with the economic fallout of COVID-19 and the resulting loss of tourism revenue, St. Lucia has borrowed \$900 million, equivalent to 22% of its GDP” (Moloney, 2020).

On Tuesday, February 23, 2021, the House of Assembly met to discuss Prime Minister Chastanet’s plan to borrow US \$37 million (XCD \$98 million). The Government of Saint Lucia (2021) stated that Parliament authorizes the Minister of Finance to borrow an amount of USD \$30,000,000.00 (XCD \$80 million) from the International Development Association to finance the COVID-19 Response, Recovery, and Resilience Development Policy Programme, and USD \$7,378,000.00 (XCD \$19 million) from the Caribbean Development Bank.

On April 29, 2020, Saint Lucia requested and received USD \$29.2 million, East Caribbean Dollar (XCD) \$77.96 million, in financing to assist in economic challenges caused by COVID-19 (Table 3). IMF (2020) awarded emergency financial support under its rapid credit facility (RCF), will help fill the three Caribbean countries, including Saint Lucia, to assist in the balance of payments needs and generate economic space for essential health expenses and income support to workers and cash allocations to needy households. The stated IMF purposes for the RCF funds: support the most vulnerable in society, financially adversely affected by the COVID-19 pandemic, chiefly income support for workers. However, the government of Saint Lucia used the funds to facilitate road construction and repairs and fund other government projects. Several budget line items of the stated IMF funds were listed in the government of Saint Lucia 2020-2021 draft estimate budget, indicating the source of the funding for these budget items was the RCF; however, no line items existed in the budget for the intent of the IMF funds: essential

health expenditures, income support to workers, and cash transfers to households. (Government of Saint Lucia, 2020, p. 644)

1. Eau Piquant Belle Vue Road Project IMF(RCF) \$1,869,905
2. Millennium Highway/ West Coast Road Upgrade IMF(RCF) \$1,705,599
3. Reconstruction of Bridge - Cul de Sac (Bridges and Culverst) IMF(RCF) \$400,000

Transparency International (2020) reported that emergency COVID-19 loan and debt relief funds awarded to Saint Lucia by the IMF did not contain transparency and anti-corruption measures on how the funds would be used. The funds awarded cannot be monitored due to their lack of specificity and measurability, meaning no published COVID-19 public procurement contracts, published names of companies awarded contracts, expenditure reports, and specific audit measures were reported by the Government of Saint Lucia regarding the \$77.96 million debt relief loan.

**Table 3***COVID-19 Financial Assistance to The Caribbean, 2020*

Country	Type of emergency financing	Amount approved	Date of approval
The Bahamas	Rapid Financing Instrument (RFI)	US\$ 250 Million	June 1, 2020
Barbados	Augmentation of EFF Rapid Credit Facility (RCF)	US\$ 90.84 Million	June 3, 2020
Dominica	Rapid Financing Instrument (RFI)	US\$ 14 Million	April 28, 2020
Dominican Republic	Rapid Credit Facility (RCF)	US\$ 650 Million	April 29, 2020
Grenada	Rapid Credit Facility (RCF)	US\$ 22.4 Million	April 28, 2020
Haiti	Rapid Credit Facility (RCF)	US\$ 111.6 Million	April 17, 2020
Jamaica	Rapid Financing Instrument (RFI)	US\$ 520 Million	May 15, 2020
Saint Lucia	Rapid Credit Facility (RCF)	US\$ 29.2 Million	April 28, 2020
Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	Rapid Credit Facility (RCF)	US\$ 16 Million	May 20, 2020
Total Amount Approved		US\$ 1,704.04 Million	

*Note:* Total Financial Assistance for 85 Countries. International Monetary Fund. (2020). IMF financing and debt service relief. Retrieved from <https://www.imf.org/en/Topics/imf-and-covid19/COVID-Lending-Tracker>.

Tax havens are places, such as Caribbean islands, where business people and other super-wealthy individuals keep money in offshore accounts to avoid paying taxes and for other business and personal reasons. Warren (2019) stated that these tax havens, also known as offshore financial centers (OFCs), exist in distant small countries, with low-tax jurisdictions where money is held in shell companies and unknown entities. On December 5, 2017, the Council of the European Union (EU) blacklist Saint Lucia and several Caribbean nations, Barbados, Grenada, Trinidad and Tobago (Table 4), for being tax havens. “Saint Lucia has harmful preferential tax regimes, does not apply the Base Erosion and Profit Shifting (BEPS) minimum standards and did not clearly commit to addressing these issues by 31 December 2018” (European Council, 2017, p. 11). The EU warned Saint Lucia in February 2017 of this pending action. Alphonse (2017) reported that recent reforms would not be sufficient to keep their countries off the 2017 EU blacklist. In particular, Saint Lucia’s version of an exemption for foreign income is a clear case of ring-fencing, which occurs when a portion of a company’s assets or profits are financially separated without necessarily being operated as a separate entity. The letter asked for a commitment to end the harmful practices. Therefore, Saint Lucia did not respond to the letter and was blacklisted. Morris (2020) indicated that by March 2018, Saint Lucia was moved to the “grey list,” which is simply a commitment from countries blacklisted that they will work to bring the tax procedures and practices in line with the EU financial standards. Other Caribbean nations on the “grey list” include The Cayman Islands, Curacao, Jamaica, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines. As of August 2020, the EU regulators have concerns about tax exemptions on foreign income granted to businesses and corporations.

**Table 4**

*Blacklisted: The EU List of “Non-Cooperative” Tax Jurisdictions in the Caribbean*

Country	Date blacklisted	Reason for blacklisted	Status as of October 2020
Anguilla	September 1, 2020	Non-compliant	Blacklisted
Bahamas	March 13, 2018	Failed to make commitments to reform the tax structure	Blacklisted
Barbados	December 5, 2017	Harmful preferential tax regime	Blacklisted
Grenada	December 5, 2017	Did not commit to addressing tax issues	Removed from blacklist
Saint Kitts and Nevis	March 13, 2018	Failed to make commitments to reform tax structure	Removed from blacklist
Saint Lucia	December 5, 2017	Harmful preferential tax regime	Grey Listed
Trinidad and Tobago	December 5, 2017	Harmful preferential tax regime	Blacklisted

Note: European Council - Council of the European Union. (2017). The EU list of non-cooperative jurisdictions for tax purposes.

<https://www.consilium.europa.eu/media/31945/st15429en17.pdf>

By Saint Lucia. On September 20, 2017, Saint Lucia's prime minister Allen Chastanet, appearing on the CNBC, made comments regarding US companies operating in Saint Lucia:

...can we not get an incentive and that's what we were doing discussions with the US about that if the US companies invest in the Caribbean that those investments in our books are always tax-free, that the US allow those funds to be repatriated back into the US tax-free only on those investments so one it accomplishes getting the funds back into the United States of America (CNBC, 2017).

On August 22, 2013, the United States Department of State suspended foreign aid and assistance to the Royal Saint Lucia Police Force (RSLPF) of the Caribbean nation of Saint Lucia, stemming from allegations of grave human rights violations of extra-judicial killings and was sanctioned under the Leahy Law. "The State Department Leahy law was made permanent under section 620M of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, 22 U.S.C. 2378d. The U.S. government considers torture, extrajudicial killing, enforced disappearance, and rape under color of law as gross violations of human rights (GVHR) when implementing the Leahy law" (US State Department, 2021). The State Department not only suspended assistance to the RSLPF but canceled the visas and, in some cases, denied visas to several officers. The allegations of extrajudicial killings involved the circulation of a hit list targeting people deemed to be criminals under Operation Restore Confidence, a program announced by then Prime Minister Stephenson King on May 30, 2010. The initiative covered violent crimes committed from 2009-to 2011. It was alleged that the police were given direct orders to shoot to kill individuals on this hitlist for violent crimes in the nation. The Jamaica Observer (2015) found that the police action was in answer to an unprecedented wave of homicides and extremely violent crimes between 2008 and



2011, particularly in the northern part of the island, where the nation's capital of Castries is located. Twelve individuals were unlawfully killed during altercations with officers of the RSLPF. The Telegraph (2015) reported that an independent report indicated that officers from the Royal St Lucia Police Force "staged" a dozen shootings and claimed that unknown assailants murdered them and planted weapons at the scene.

Shortly after the sanctions levied against Saint Lucia by the State Department, then Prime Minister Kenny Anthony announced an investigation in the police by a team of independent investigators from Jamaica. The investigators were part of the CARICOM Implementation Agency for Crime and Security (IMPACS). The report resulting from the investigations became known as the IMPACS Report. Nicholas (2015) reported that the prime minister, on March 8, 2015, addressed the nation divulging excerpts from the report, describing the findings as extremely damning, with recommendations that the senior officers involved in the alleged extrajudicial killings be held accountable for their actions. The US Embassy in Barbados (2016) revealed that despite the significance of the IMPACS report for human rights, national security concerns, and Saint Lucia's international reputation, the Government of Saint Lucia has made no meaningful progress towards criminal prosecution in 10 months.

In Austin, Texas, OJO Labs has developed an artificial intelligence (AI) bot that can interact with real estate consumers to answer questions about the home-buying process. The caller's intent and preferences are then shared with associated real estate companies. OJO (2021) states that its mission is to empower individuals to make good decisions through a combination of machine and human intelligence. Forbes (2020) reported that OJO raised \$62.2 million in a Series D financing round; this comes after the five-year-old company secured \$45

million in March 2019. The company raised \$134 million in four years and acquired three companies in have that time. On May 9, 2017, Saint Lucia prime minister Allen Chastanet announced during his Budget Address in the House of Assembly that the government of Saint Lucia had partnered with OJO Lab. Prime Minister Chastanet stated:

Madam Speaker, to generate employment opportunities primarily within the south of the island, for example, our Government has partnered with OJO Labs International to develop an artificial intelligence training and call centre to market and sell the products, services, software, and technology of OJO and its clients, including the fastest growing real estate company in the United States (Budget Address, 2017, p. 15).

Choice News (2017) reported that the prime minister stated on September 5, 2017, however, it was a gamble, the government of Saint Lucia spent \$1.8 million renovating a building and retrofitting utilities for OJO Labs, seeing it as an investment in a new industry that poses unlimited growth potential. Further, the prime minister stated that the Government of Saint Lucia would subsidize the salaries for the OJO Labs workers: the government would pay \$1,000.00 EC a month of their salaries for a year; the second year, \$500.00 a month, with the company paying all their employees' salaries going forward.

While Saint Lucia, like many other countries in the region, faces systemic poverty challenges, a political economy heavily dependent on tourism, this post-colonial nation in the Commonwealth Caribbean also struggles with political corruption. Barrow (2010) observed that democracy is truly being tested, with the dominant view that the Caribbean overall represents an oasis of democratic stability in the developing world that has suffered irreparable damage given

widespread corruption throughout the Commonwealth. Barrow contributed the level of corruption to the questionable level of political inclusiveness, authoritarian governance (compounded by general elections resulting in strong one-party, winner-take-all control of parliament), and the lack of accountability by the government and their ministers. For example, two years after the last Commission's term, a new Integrity Commission was appointed in Saint Lucia on May 2, 2018. Though a Constitutionally sanctioned body, elected officials and members of the public services pay little attention to the work of and the information required by the Commission: the yearly stating of property and financial assets. Isidore (2020) reported that the Commission is charged with weeding out corruption and impropriety in the public services; however, after 20 years since it was established, the Commission is nothing more than a paper tiger. As part of the Office of the Prime minister and, therefore, its dependence on the Office, the Commission has stripped the Commission of all the necessary authority needed to carry out its functions as mandated by the Constitution. Such limitations also prevent the Commission from achieving goals set by the 2019 United Nations Counter-Proliferation Financing Act: to demonstrate Saint Lucia's commitment to police corruption in the State.

Members of both parties in Saint Lucia publicly accuse each other of corruption or corruptive practices and point out the numerous unexplained unfinished and incomplete multi-million-dollar projects as examples of corruption going unnoticed and unaccounted for by government officials. Barrow-Giles (2010) sees this as all too familiar, not just in Saint Lucia, but throughout the region, that a critical element in the chain of accountability, transparency, and good governance is absent, given the number of corruption scandals pertaining to the awarding of contracts and the failure to complete many public works projects frustrates the electorate,

leading to further mistrust of elected officials. Several Caribbean democracies have legislated Integrity in Public Life Bills, similar to the Integrity Commission in Saint Lucia, which should go a long way toward limiting corruption of public officials. Nonetheless, the wave of corruption scandals continues unabated. Johnson (1991) noted that corruption could be seen as abusive behavior according to a society's legal or social standards. Seen in this way, corruption is a politically challenged notion that gains its meaning in fundamental developing conflicts. Barrow-Giles (2010) found that the legitimization of a form of governance for the Commonwealth Caribbean, despite the relative stability of the region, has been subjected to increased pressures partly arising from the dysfunctionalities of the Westminster model but also as a direct result of the abuses of power and the increasingly high level of political corruption. Additionally, the separation of powers between the executive and legislative branches and the Office of the Prime Minister does not provide adequate legislative checks on the executive; in fact, no adequate system of checks and balances exists in any state in the region. Therefore, it is not surprising that constitutional discussions have tended to be overly focused on defining a clear separation of powers; then and only then can a sound system of checks and balances be implemented. Globalization international political and economic developments continue to squeeze the Caribbean States some 50 years after the first colony, Jamaica, gained its independence from Great Britain in 1962, to develop and conform to a system that provides greater transparency, proper governance, and an effective method to root out corruption in the public service and the government, mainly elected officials.

Discussions about the Westminster model in the Commonwealth Caribbean often invokes thoughts on the time these Caribbean nations spent under the colonial rule under the British

Empire. Some conventional wisdom indicates that these nations' experience under colonial rule prepared them to become stable democracies today. But Anckar (2015) disagrees. He states that on the whole, therefore, the idea that democracy is a central part of the Westminster heritage overall cannot be supported...and calls into question the belief that democratic government indeed has become a characteristic feature of former British possessions (p. 49). One of the chief criticisms of the Westminster model is that it mirrors the majoritarian model, that is, the concept of democracy and government that the majority rules. In the case of the Commonwealth Caribbean, absolute majority rules. One of the core components of democracies is that of consensus; however, the brand of the Westminster government gifted to the colonies left little room for an atmosphere of consensus building. The common way to conceptualize the Westminster system is to name it as a democratic parliamentary system of government, patterned after the political system of the United Kingdom. With this general framework in mind, it opens the door to allow for varying analytical approaches for heritage studies. One method is theory-based and designates a majoritarian model of democracy.

The sun may have set on the British Empire, but the Westminster model in the Caribbean, with its deep colonial ties, is alive and well. Even though each former colony in the Commonwealth Caribbean has embarked on and commissioned the constitutional reform process, the governments' recommendations from these processes were largely ignored. "...the colonial heritage is evident when it comes to the reluctance of former British colonies to engage in direct democracy measures, which are alien to the Westminster principle of parliamentary sovereignty" (Anckar, 2012, p. 2). Constitutional amendments under the Westminster Model are carried out only by the parliamentary majority, Therefore, full agreement with the concept of

parliamentary sovereignty is at the heart of the Westminster Model. Parliamentary sovereignty indicates that parliament (the majority) has sovereign and unlimited authority making, affirming, extending, restricting, revoking, rescinding, revitalizing, and clarifying laws. Constitutions under the Westminster Model have the absolute right to make, pass, or rescind any laws it so chooses. "...Arend Lijphart contends that "parliament sovereignty is a vital ingredient of the majoritarianism of the Westminster model, because it means that there are no formal restrictions on the power of the majority..." (Anckar, 2012, p. 3).

There is general consensus among scholars that independence for the former British colonies was a clever ploy to keep these former territories in colonial times. Girvan (2015) indicates that Westminster was an element in a set – the Independence Pact in the British Caribbean. The pact was not about Independence; it was about protecting the status quo in the Commonwealth Caribbean, which are now independent states; however, they still maintain Queen Elizabeth II as their Head of State. Therefore, upon assuming the office of Governor-General, Prime Minister, ministers of government, parliamentary secretaries, members of parliament, and the judiciary, each must take an oath of allegiance to Queen Elizabeth II, Her Heirs and Successors. There was little public consultation in the drafting of the former colonies' constitutions, and whatever appeared to be consultation was many for publicity purposes and not to be taken seriously. Girvan (2015) noted that the Colonial Office supplies a common Westminster template of the constitution to former colonies on the occasion of their independence; the author indicated that since the constitutions are the same, a country's name was merely substituted at the top once they gained independence. Colonial ways and thinking were never eradicated from the former British colonies, even though they are now independent

sovereign nations. The embedding of the old colonial ways into the naïve elites and ruling class can be seen as one of the exceptional successes of the overarching successes of the British policy in the Caribbean; this was essential if the British had any hopes of cementing the Westminster Model in these colonies who were on track to become independent nations. Westminster then was the cleverly disguised vehicle used by the UK to deliver independence to their former colonies while keeping the legacy of slavery and plantation life, values, and culture, in a dependent economic relationship deeply steeped in colonial dogma.

Scholars have struggled to formulate a precise definition of the Westminster Model. Anckar (2011) states that the customary way of theorizing the Westminster system is to name it a democratic parliamentary system of government, modeled after the politics of the United Kingdom. Within this general background, different analytical methods for heritage studies are possible. One approach is theoretical and symbolizes a majoritarian model of democracy. Conventional wisdom states that the British left behind a democratic system of government that better equipped the former colonies for democracy than colonies who once and or still belong to France (this can easily be debated as several French territories in the Caribbean are faring very well under French rule). But as scholars wrangle over whether French or British influences created more stable democracies of these former colonies, postcolonial national independence and sovereignty deserve more careful examination. To that end, Pugh (2017) notes that postcolonial research needs new critical analysis tools and new ethnographic methods to unpack what this means for today. The objective, therefore, of Pugh's research is to table the questions of postcolonialism and sovereignty and to construct new and distinct ways of broadening the debating of the colonial effects on these former colonies. Not surprisingly, Pugh acknowledges

that the post-colonial context in the Caribbean remains a gap in the literature, which is still treated and often ignored as marginal or secondary.

Though the Commonwealth Caribbean has achieved independence from The United Kingdom, the sting of colonialism and slavery seems to permeate still the psyche of the citizenry and the government structures. There still, over 50 years of independence for these nations, exists an underlying colonial framework in the Caribbean which appears to be promoted by the Westminster model, much of which can be attributed to “subjectively experienced feelings...” from the region’s colonial past when triggered, can maintain the status quo of colonial times. It is author Yarimar Bonilla who, in recent times, have zeroed in on this broader framework of postcolonial Caribbean and emphasized why the majority of the Caribbean are non-sovereign societies. “...Even those that have achieved “flag independence” still struggle with how to forge a more robust project of self-determination, how to reconcile the unresolved legacies of colonialism and slavery, how to assert control over their entanglements with foreign powers, and how to stem their disappointment with the unfulfilled promises of political and economic modernity (Yarimar, 2015: xiii-xiv).

Bonilla also echoes observations by other authors, who have written on Westminster and the Caribbean, that depressed incomes, high prices, unemployment, crime, violence, and government corruption are leading factions in the Westminster crisis in the Caribbean and the destabilization of the region. Bonilla notes that resolving these issues in the Caribbean hinges on resolving sovereignty issues. Yarimar (2015) argues that in both independent and non-independent Caribbean, there is a familiar feeling of dissatisfaction with the modernist project of postcolonial sovereignty, even while there is an enduring attachment to its normative standards.



Sovereignty appears akin to a double-edged sword: independence cannot guarantee a country's sovereignty; however, it is not assured that countries without independence can achieve what sovereignty has come to symbolize.

Westminster in the Caribbean allows Prime ministers to rule with almost absolute unchecked power; the election system is winner take all; when a party wins the majority of seats in Parliament, they also control the Senate and all branches of government. Therefore, the model bears a strong resemblance to a majoritarian system of democracy. Majoritarian democracy is a form of government in which the majority rules in all aspects of decision and policy-making. Conversi (2012) states that majoritarianism "is identified as the institutional context where the populist-patriotic drift can degenerate, pulverizing itself into self-destruction." Comparativist Arend Lijphart, who first used majoritarianism and the Westminster model interchangeably, received both praise and skepticism from his contemporaries for defining the model as a majoritarian democracy; this further muddled of the Westminster model and the continued quest for a precise definition because Lijphart proposed 10 critical characteristics associated with the model; however, this created even more confusion because these characteristics did not directly apply to existing former colonies, while some former colonies with the Westminster model did not share Lijphart's proposed characteristics. Lijphart states that "the majoritarian model concentrates political power in the hands of a bare majority-and often even merely a plurality instead of a majority...the majoritarian model of democracy is exclusive, competitive, and adversarial, whereas the consensus model is characterized by inclusiveness, bargaining, and compromise" (Lijphart, 2012 p. 2). The heart of the Westminster model is majority rule. The model emphasizes on one-party government, elected through a first-past-the-post electoral

system, with two major parties competing where to the victor goes all the spoils. In the United States, divided government is somewhat the norm. The executive branch is headed by the president, the Senate is controlled by the Republican Party, while the Democratic Party controls the House of Representatives. With the winner takes all premise of the Westminster model, divided government is never possible, which is one of the problems with the model, leading to the current social and economic issues faced by the former colonies. The Westminster model, at one time, perhaps had a meaning, “a combination of conceptual confusion among authors and real-world change has seen it stretched beyond recognition” (Russell & Serban, 2020 p. 14).

Significant difficulties continue with the Westminster model, though this form of government provides its citizens the democracy it purports to provide. While democracy has flourished under Westminster in the Commonwealth Caribbean, many of the stable democracies of the region has been damaged beyond repair by widespread corruption and challenges from the ruling governments on matters such as freedom of expression and freedom of the press, with several countries engaging in censorship of the media. These Caribbean democracies can be derailed if widespread corruption is not checked; further, there is a need to put additional mechanisms to ensure greater press freedom. These democracies must be strengthened to prevent a reversal of democracy. The consensus is that there is a need for either serious reform of the Westminster model or to abandon this form of government and institute a more democratic form of government that will convincingly guarantee and protect civil rights and liberties. Of the many journal articles reviewed, roughly 50 % of the authors called for a change in the governments of these Caribbean island nations. The chief critic and the loudest anti-Westminster voice was the late Professor Norman Girvan, who was among the earliest of critics of the

shortcomings of the Westminster model. Girvan (2015) viewed this model more as an “independence pact” used by the British government to maintain the old colonial ties: the laws, the traditions, and way of life while giving the appearance of independence to the former Caribbean colonies. Another examination of the Westminster model shows that the Caribbean’s post-colonial past has yielded little change, which compelled these Caribbean nations to seek independence from the United Kingdom almost 50 years ago. According to Hinds (2008), formal democracy in the Caribbean has not been matched by the development of substantive democracy whereby political, ethnic, and socioeconomic equality have arisen as central parts of the region’s political ethos. The consensus between the three additional authors is the need for serious reforms with the structure of the governments in the region.

Several scholars express profound regret in the limited literature regarding Westminster in the Caribbean and reform movements of this form of government implemented more than 50 years ago. Many scholars in the late 1980s and 1990s concluded that Westminster yielded positive results for the former colonies and created stable democracies in the region.

However, research conclusions by other scholars pointing to the difficulties Westminster has created cannot be understated. Given the lack of proper governance in many governments in the region, high debt, economic instability, and globalization have exposed Westminster's deep flaws. Rising crime, the drug trade, and climate change continue to ravage the region and continue to uncover the threats to Caribbean sovereignty that continue to occur under this form of government. (Quinn, 2015) recognizes that the Westminster model is in critical decline, and a government pattern after the British Westminster System can be seen as a viable option for the Commonwealth Caribbean.

Two authors' research was simply intended to provide additional and contribute to the scarce literature on democratization and the tenacity of democratic regimes in the Caribbean. Duncan and Woods (2007) observed that the Caribbean is home to the most extensive collection of democracies among developing countries. Moreover, the Caribbean area has the longest-lasting set of continuous democracies – from independence to the present – among the former. The Caribbean basin has been largely ignored when it comes to democratization literature. Instead, many studies have focused on Latin America, with the Caribbean often being lumped in the Latin experience. For this reason, Duncan & Woods cites this as the main reason for conducting this study and not necessarily critiquing the Westminster model.

Some authors seem to support Westminster in the region and tout its benefits. With the notable exceptions of Fiji and Grenada, the island states of the Commonwealth are generally politically stable, free of military interference in civilian affairs, and relatively respectful of their citizens' civil and political rights. Scholars have pointed to several features that endowed the English-Speaking Caribbean (ESC) with a perfect set of circumstances for post-colonial political success. These factors include a relatively long colonial experience that involved a comparatively direct role for British authorities and the countries' compact island setting. Democracy has been more durable in the ESC than in almost any other part of the developing world. Elkins and Ginsburg (2011) indicates that the watchword of ESC constitutionalism is one of stability. This is a region where most constitutions remain intact from the initial independence era, albeit with modest revisions. Most observers could easily conclude that this stability in the Commonwealth is evidence of stability as an indicator of the institutional success of the Westminster model. Indeed, this perceived stability stands in stark contrast to the reality on the

ground in these nations to the churn and burn off these colonial constitutions in the Commonwealth, where these constitutions exhibit infringements of fundamental civil liberties for its citizens. Concerning these sorts of reforms, it seems that the ESC offers a uniquely appropriate environment for implementing the constitutional reform process. These countries have experienced comparatively little inter-state or intra-state conflict, such as civil unrest, military disagreements with their neighbors, or the attempts of local groups to overthrow the governments. The region continues to experience long stretches of uninterrupted democracy and whose judiciaries are of remarkably high quality.

### **Summary and Conclusions**

The following are consistent themes found in the literature that both criticize and support the Westminster model. One prevailing theme that seems to permeate the literature is this: The Westminster model was part of a more significant ‘independence pact’ designed to maintain the status quo in the English-speaking Caribbean. Girvan (2015) argues that independence for the former British colonies was a pact that included some key features. They include: (a) deeply rooted property rights in each constitution, (b) a deep entrenchment of the two-Party system which has consistently kept the societies in the Commonwealth Caribbean firmly divided down these party lines, (c) the preservation of the core institutes of colonial times with all its laws and symbolism, and (d) alliance with the Western powers, particularly during the Cold War. Though the former colonies gained their independence from the United Kingdom, they are still members of the Commonwealth of Nations headed by Queen Elizabeth II. The governor general is the head of state of these Caribbean nations. Elected officials must take oaths to be faithful and bear true allegiance to Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, Her Heirs, and Successors. Girvan (2015)

observed that the inserting of colonial ways of thinking into native elites was one of the overwhelming successes of British policy in the Caribbean. It was key to the entrenchment of Westminster's government in the soon-to-be-independent states.

Another prevailing theme in the literature is what can best be described as the "cause and effect" of the Westminster model. For over a decade, the Caribbean region faced and continues to face an uncertain economic future with evidence of 'political decay.' At the same time, the Westminster system is embedded in the political culture and has proven to be both robust and adaptable. This has not prevented democratic failures in the past, but it has made them exceptional. Overall, the future for democracy seems reasonably assured under Westminster; however, the region faces issues that threaten the cradle of the most significant concentration of democracies in the world. Several factors that threaten these democracies, including globalization, transnational drug trade, high debt levels, economic and environmental vulnerability such as storms and hurricanes, all pose significant threats to Caribbean sovereignty and the power of the Caribbean states.

The present study focused on Tourism, which in many aspects mimic colonial times of servitude and, to an extent, plantation life. For the governments in the Commonwealth Caribbean, Tourism represents as much as 65% of their economies. These governments contribute substantial parts of the budgets to tourism development and promotion. In Saint Lucia, for example, the Prime minister stated that emphasis at Sir Arthur Community College should be placed on degrees in Hospitality; there are several government-supported businesses and organizations that offer courses in hospitality: housekeeping (the proper ways to make up a bed), wait staff, bartending, and the finer points of being a butler. Wong (2015) recognized that

tourism has been a vital factor of the Caribbean island economy for more than three years. The business model is mainly based on the placement of low-wage workers in destination surroundings which imitates the colonial plantation era. I present the methodology, research design and rationale, data collection, and my role as the researcher in Chapter 3.

## Chapter 3: Research Method

### **Introduction**

This qualitative document content analysis study aims to identify and analyze the elements that influence the implementation of the Westminster model of government on the social and economic conditions in Saint Lucia. It is a form of government where the head of the government, the prime minister, enjoys immense and unchecked unlimited power about the affairs of the state, without proper mechanisms to hold them accountable for their actions. This has led to questioning the validity of this form of government in Saint Lucia. Through this document analysis of publicly available documents, news articles, news videos, and other periodicals, I specifically concentrated on the contribution of the Westminster model on the level of corruption, debt, and poverty in Saint Lucia. Globalization has exposed the deep flaws of the Westminster model. While Caribbean democracies like Saint Lucia have enjoyed stability since independence in 1978, the model has been subjected to increased pressures partly arising not only from the dysfunctionalities of the Westminster model but also as a direct result of the abuses of power and the increasingly high level of political corruption. A combination of economic, social, and environmental pressures now threatens to destabilize Caribbean sovereignty with no one nation situated to cope with these existential challenges. Assessment and analysis of this qualitative document content analysis study included the viability of Westminster in Saint Lucia, highlighting areas in which this government has failed, creating social and economic hardships for their people. In this chapter, I presented detailed information about the research design and rationale, my role as the researcher, the methodology, document selection, and collection.



## **Research Design and Rationale**

This study sought to answer the following research question:

How does the framework and implementation of the Westminster model create enabling conditions for corruption, debt, and poverty in Saint Lucia and the Commonwealth Caribbean?

The factors which led to the march for the independence of the Caribbean British colonies included modernization and democratization, a process by which countries adopt democratic ideals such as the selection of their leaders through an election process and ensuring fundamental rights and liberties for its people, including respect for the country's laws. In the 1950s and towards the 1960s, the region was buzzing with talk of independence for the then colonies. Przeworski and Limongi (1997) stated that modernization by definition, a gradual differentiation, and specialization of social structures that culminates in a separation of political systems from other networks and makes democracy possible (p. 2) made the region anxious for a more Caribbean way of life and a desire to formally break their bonds with their colonial masters.

Many factors completed the British colonies to seek independence from the United Kingdom. First, having been members of the British colonial empire for hundreds of years and seeing that Cuba, Haiti, and the Dominican Republic were fully independent nations in the region, the other island began working with the British on paths to independence. Further, attention was placed on the region by the Cuban revolution in 1959. As more and more countries in the region gained independence (Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago in 1962 and Guyana in 1966), their democracies, though based on the British Westminster model, initially flourished: internally, some of their economies enjoyed very profitable trade deals with Britain and Europe

with such commodities as sugar, spice, rum, and bananas; externally the region benefited and was placed in the spotlight due to the Cuban revolution and the existences of a communist country in the region. This led to expansive financial aid, training programs, and a limited form of nation-building from the United States. The goal of these programs was to entice and ensure that these Caribbean nations would not follow Cuba's path to communism. Thus, the region reaped the benefits of both side sides of the modernization for a time. But with the threat of the spread of communism by Cuba waning, the United States, Britain, and Europe pulled back on favorable trade deals that sparked the robust economies of the former colonies.

Over 50 years after the independence march began, the region once again finds itself at a historical turning point: as in colonial days, at a point where their system of government is crumbling. The Commonwealth has faced increasing political corruption, leading to low economic growth, increasing and crippling debt, massive deficits and budget shortfalls, high unemployment, and growing poverty. There is a direct link between poverty and corruption. Farida and Ahmadi-Esfahani (2006) indicated corruption is a significant cause of poverty because it promotes unfair income distribution and inefficient use of resources. Now the environment is ripe for allowing this study to revisit the goals and aspirations set when independence was sought were or if the time has come to install a new governing system.

Qualitative content analysis is the qualitative design for the study. Qualitative content analysis is a research approach for describing and interpreting textual data using the systematic coding process. The final product of data analysis was the identification of categories, themes, and patterns (Assarroudi et al., 2018). A directed approach to content analysis was used to carefully analyze the implementation of the Westminster model and its effect on democracy in

Saint Lucia and broadly in the Commonwealth Caribbean. Hsieh and Shannon (2005) discussed three approaches to content analysis: conventional content analysis, the researcher discovers categories while performing the data analysis; summative content analysis does not investigate the data as a whole, but individual words or how the words relate to specific content; and directed content analysis is based on theories the researcher uses to develop initial coding schemes. A significant advantage of using this directed approach was that it allowed me, as the researcher, to test my theoretical framework to boost the overall comprehension of the data. The key strength of a directed approach to content analysis is that existing theory can be supported and extended (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). Therefore, the goal of a directed approach to content analysis was to confirm a theoretical framework or theory conceptually.

Trochim (2004) states that a qualitative ‘approach’ is an overall way of thinking about conducting qualitative research. It describes, either clearly or tacitly, the purpose of the qualitative research, the role of the researcher(s), the steps of research, and the process of data analysis. As a research method, document analysis is particularly applicable to qualitative studies. Document analysis is a process of evaluating documents in such a way that empirical knowledge is produced and understanding is developed. A good rationale for selecting this qualitative approach is that documents of all kinds can assist the researcher in revealing meaning, developing knowledge, and discovering insights applicable to the research. Bowen (2009) highlights the strengths of document analysis by observing that it is a very efficient method, many documents are in the public domain (on the internet) and therefore are available to the researcher, gathering the documents are cost-effective, these documents are ‘unobtrusive’ and ‘non-reactive’—that is, they are unaffected by the research process, documents are stable, exact

and they provide a wide range of coverage spanning time and many events: all these characteristics give the rationale for the chosen tradition.

### **Role of the Researcher**

There are many roles that I play in my research study. At this stage in the research process, there is no team of volunteers, transcribers, or experts to assist in the research. My role in this study includes data gatherer and as a graduate student. But I played several official roles that may not be as obvious. According to Elo and Kyngäs (2008), researchers are guided by the aim and research question of the study in choosing the contents they analyze. The researcher should give a clear description of the context, selection, and characteristics of the data collection and process of analysis. Fink (2000) stated that she chose “to split the research process into seven stages. They include thematising, designing the research, transcribing of the recordings (in this study, news videos), data analyzing, verifying the data, and reporting the findings.” It was not suggested that as researchers, we worked in this exact order and stated that it would be difficult to follow this process in this order in the qualitative research method.

Thematising is the process that seeks to answer the topic to be studied, the reasoning for researching the topic, and the method of how the topic was studied. The answers to these questions became the basis for conducting the data analysis and reporting. Next, the design stage is where the methodology for the study is planned out, including the time table the choice of techniques, i.e., qualitative document analysis. Transcribing the news videos would perhaps fall on the researcher. Professional services are available to transcribe the video recordings, and full advantage should be taken of these services. “The word coding is often used to refer to the first part of the analysis that concerns the naming and categorizing phenomena through close

examination of data. Data coding might be done using one of the computer-based analysis program packages” (Fink, 2000). The reporting process sees the researcher documenting their research findings.

Two issues that may arise when using particular data collection and sampling methods are ethical issues and reliability. One possible ethical issue that may occur from my research is a bias that is inconveniently imposing my desire for social change and heavily reflecting this in document analysis conducted. One method used in my study to reduce bias was triangulation. Patton (1999) refers to this as using multiple methods or data sources in qualitative research to develop a comprehensive understanding of phenomena. According to Bowen (2015), by triangulating data, the researcher attempts to provide a confluence of evidence that breeds credibility. My research question states: Does the framework and implementation of the Westminster model create enabling conditions for corruption, debt, and poverty in Saint Lucia and, more broadly, the Commonwealth Caribbean? Therefore, retrieving documents that only support my research question can skew the results of my study. This idea of ethics also goes hand in hand with concerns about reliability, which is the ability to duplicate the processes and the study’s results: how reliable could the results be if the documents leaned heavily towards my personal views of the Westminster model. Since my study conducted research on the Westminster model in the Commonwealth Caribbean and considered serious reform or an entirely new government model, through my research process, I allowed the analysis to objectively evaluate the documents presented and not “lead” the reader into concluding that the Westminster model is “bad.” Another possible issue is my interaction with current and former elected officials in the Caribbean, particularly the heads of state and other subject matter experts

I interacted with. It is essential not to allow their views to strongly influence the research study or remove key findings that may reflect poorly on their reputations.

### **Methodology**

The Commonwealth Caribbean are 12 English-speaking former British colonies that attained independence during the last 50 years. The twelve island nations were part of a high-level overview. However, one nation, Saint Lucia, comprised the bulk of the study, with the additional nations being used to compare and contrast governance in each nation. The research design used for the study was qualitative content analysis, with a directed approach to content analysis. Several factors led to the selection of content analysis, but the primary reason was content analysis was the systematic, objective, quantitative analysis of message characteristics. Wildemuth (2017) stated that any information captured and recorded fixedly on paper, digitally, or in analog audio or video format could be considered a message; thus, it can be examined using content analysis. The study analyzed journal articles, newspapers, books, and transcribed news videos. The original premise for the development of content analysis was to analyze this form of information precisely, therefore making qualitative content analysis ideal for my study.

This methodology that was used carefully analyzed the implementation of the Westminster model and its effect on democracy in Saint Lucia and broadly in the Commonwealth Caribbean. The study examined several documents that helped explain the Westminster model's effects on Saint Lucia. Retrieving the official government documents was challenging given the transparency issues with the Government of Saint Lucia; several official government documents were selectively published on government websites that were not secure; that is, the sites did not contain a Secure Sockets Layer (SSL) certificate encrypts all information

transmitted to and from your website, ensuring it is protected from third parties attempting to access it. These government documents were essential when analyzing the government policies enacted into law that had adverse effects on the people, which led to deepening poverty in the State and was reported in my findings in Chapters 4 and 5. A collection of documents outside the official government websites was also helpful in revealing the view of Saint Lucia on the world stage. For example, documents retrieved from the EU's official website detail financial policies that led to the country being blacklisted for questionable tax policies that highly favored foreign-owned and operated businesses in Saint Lucia.

Finally, using the Open Transcript feature on YouTube allowed for transcribing many Television news reports on government policies and statements by the news stations in the country reporting on policies supporting the study's premise of abuses of power and the increasingly high level of political corruption in the State. Documents were the backbone and leading authority for my study. Bowen (2015) stated that documents could serve various purposes as part of research studies. Documents can provide data on the context within which the research operates; supplementary research data can provide a means of tracking change and development, and can be analyzed to verify findings or corroborate evidence from other sources. Documents provide background and context, additional data, and authentication of findings from different data sources. Documents may be the most effective means of gathering data when events, such as news and culture, can no longer be observed or are otherwise archived. Once I identified the importance of documents to my research, the following step was to make sense of these documents and create a meaningful context to my study. O'Leary (2017) emphasizes that qualitative analysis demands that you think your way through analysis and work your data so

that it yields significant meaning. The main objective of any form of analysis is to move from raw data to meaningful understanding, and my role and research design approach and analysis involve: (a) identifying biases and noting overall impressions, (b) reducing inappropriate wording, organizing and coding your data, (c) searching for patterns and interconnections, (d) mapping and building themes, (e) building and verifying theories, and (f) drawing conclusions. Drawing conclusions is about clearly summarizing what your data reveals and linking this back to your project's central questions, aims and objectives, and pulling together all the significant/essential findings of your study. The conclusions were discussed in Chapters 4 and 5.

This study used manual coding and NVivo – Windows Release 1.5.2, a desktop computer data management application that allowed the researcher to collect, manage, organize, analyze and visualize research documents in preparation for the coding process. (Kaefer et al., 2015) reviewed and tested the software and concluded that NVivo, will not analyze the researcher; it can make the analytical process more flexible, transparent, and ultimately more trustworthy. It is also a valuable tool that assisted the researcher in uncovering trends and emerging themes. NVivo can capture social media data from Facebook, Twitter, and playback ability of videos from such platforms as YouTube, and quickly be transcribed the videos, which played a crucial role in the study. Numerous scholars have discussed the advantages of using qualitative data analysis software packages in academic research due to their ability to handle large volumes of data and improve methodological rigor, consistency and analytical transparency (Kaefer et al., 2015).

According to Wildemuth (2017), coding is the process of reducing the entire content of the messages in your sample into quantitatively analyzable data describing only the variables in



which you are interested. The coding scheme is the instruction book and data collection instrument for conducting a content analysis. Since the research design used for the study was qualitative content analysis, with a directed approach to content analysis, testing of categories, concepts and models were involved. Elo and Kyngäs (2008) stated that if a deductive content analysis is chosen, the next step is to develop a categorization matrix and code the data according to the categories. That data was reviewed for content and coded for correspondence with identified categories. Therefore, the final step in my methodology was to specify the steps in coding and analyzing the various kinds of qualitative data. As previously discussed, O'Leary (2017) emphasizes that qualitative analysis demands that you think your way through analysis and work your data so that it yields significant meaning. Creswell (2014) described segmenting and taking the data apart was like peeling back the layers of an onion. The final part of my research design was to adapt from Creswell (2014), QSR International (2020), Hilal and Alabri (2013), and Florian et al. (2015).

I began my data analysis using the thematic analysis approach and organized and prepared the data for analysis. This involved transcribing videos such as MBC Nightly News and live meetings of the House of Assembly in Saint Lucia, sorting and arranging the data into different types such as corruption, debt, crime, and poverty. Next, I reviewed the research question and imported the question into NVivo for reference; I created the project NVivo, which comprised all the documents and information needed for coding the data. Once the files were imported, I clicked the Transcribe button, reviewed the transcript, and made changes when necessary, such as adding the names of the speakers in news and other videos and created

summary memos to that transcript to highly key points. I then turned on the automatic project log feature that tracked all steps.

The imported documents were organized in the folders for quick access and for using only the data necessary for the study. The Transcript function was repeated for all documents, created summary memos, reviewed the data and reflected on its overall meaning, created a Research Journal to record actions and decisions, and reflected on how they related to my research questions. Finally, an initial broad coding strategy was developed. The next step was coding the data.

When using NVivo, coding essentially assigned text or other content segments to nodes, which are best defined as containers or storage areas that hold references about a specific theme, place, person, or another area of interest. Once started with predefined themes such as corruption, crime, debt, and poverty, deductive coding was used, meaning that I started with a specific set of themes and theoretical ideas in mind, then searched to discover whether and how these themes were mentioned in the data sources. I already had the coding framework in thematic analysis: I had the initial codes and developed additional codes such as economic corruption, colonialism, slavery, and majoritarianism. I divided my components of analysis (news articles, journal articles, news videos) into units of coding. I used NVivo's query function to find patterns; I saved the searches that allowed me to re-run the queries on the different types of data used in my study.

I ran a query on corruption and saved the results as a new node, SL\_corruption, which became the content node to isolate reference to corruption in Saint Lucia. I continued creating new codes: I ran a word frequency query within the prior context node and created a new node of

each key terms, such as economic corruption. Overall, I performed coding in NVivo and manually, used group and complex queries and words with related meanings. Finally, the software allowed me to visualize the data in various ways, such as a tree maps, displaying several attributes within the data. For example, a tree map from the attributes “year” and “country” allowed me to chart Saint Lucia’s rising debt over five years. The coding process generated a description of, as well as categories or new themes for the most frequent terms used in the queries; this allowed me to review the content and coded these themes into new child codes. The codes were then reorganized, which cataloged my codes to be quickly accessed as I moved forward in the analysis. I continued taking notes and logging my observations in my Research Journal, particularly noting the analysis of the codes and the relationships between them. At the end of this process, I identified what my themes relevant to my study were and which were not. Relevant themes were represented in my overall the qualitative narrative.

The final step in data analysis involved interpreting qualitative research of the findings or results, Asking, “What were the lessons learned?” and answering the research question. Braun, Clarke (2006) indicates that the task of the write-up of a thematic analysis, whether it is for publication or for a research assignment or dissertation, is to tell the complicated story of your data in a way which convinces the reader of the merit and validity of your analysis. The final analysis discussed the data and its revelations, the data that was omitted, identified the patterns and themes that came from the documents, the differences and similarities in the categories, which provided an explanation, used the overall results to answer the research question. The report of the methods, findings, and conclusions was discussed in Chapters 4 and 5.

## **Instrumentation**

There are many different data gathering techniques and methods when conducting a qualitative study. I, the researcher, was the primary data collector for this document content analysis study. I was responsible for identifying the types of documents needed for the study, searching for and collecting the documents, categorizing the documents (corruption, debt, constitutional, poverty), and managing the study's document reservoir. Researchers are indeed the 'instruments' in qualitative research. Pezalla et al. (2012) asserts that the phrase researcher-as-instrument refers to the researcher as an active respondent in the research process and using their sensory organs to grasp the study objects mirroring them in their consciousness. Data for this study began in 2016 and was continuous. This is due to the sometimes changing of or modification of the key questions on which the study was based. Given that data collection has been recursive over the development of the study, Levitt et al. (2018) observed that incoming data might alter the questions that are asked and preliminary findings might encourage new recruitment procedures.

## **Data Analysis Plan**

Data analysis began with a plan to bring order to chaos: as the researcher, I meticulously brought order, structure and meaning to a massive collection of data on three to six distinct subject matter. According to Hilal and Alabri (2013) qualitative data analysis is, in fact, pursuing the relationship between categories and themes of data which sought to increase the understanding of the phenomenon. Through this process, it is imperative that the researcher remains alert, flexible and positively interact with data they collected. Selecting deductive content analysis was useful in the research because it enabled me to examine the data at the

micro level and to begin coding with predefined themes. Kaefer et al. (2015) stated that deductive coding means to start with a specific set of themes, keywords or theoretical ideas in mind, and then to explore whether and how these are mentioned in the sources.

Data is not merely a string conveying an idea or one meaning. The text contained in this “string” can the author also believe, isolate these meanings which required me as the researcher to exert meticulous efforts in my data analysis, which converted meanings into themes and categories. According to Vaismoradi et al. (2016), qualitative content analysis and thematic analysis are classified under the qualitative descriptive design. They are sets of techniques used to analyze textual data and elucidate theme. Their key characteristic is the systematic process of coding, examining of meaning and provision of a description of the social reality through the creation of theme.

I began my analysis with predefined codes such as corruption, debt and poverty. I uploaded several documents into the NVivo software. I examined the data using my theoretical framework with the use of data content analysis, utilizing the deductive method to examine government documents laws and statues, journal publications and newspaper articles. My process involved analyzing each code individually finding for example, different patterns of corruption such as political, patronage, cronyism and nepotism. NVivo and manual coding assisted my efforts to manage and organize all the data. Starting the analysis with these codes developed themes that substantiate the data in understanding the various forms of corruption occurring in Saint Lucia, explained the stagnant economy, the hardships created for the people and the systemic poverty in the country. The results of this study were discussed in Chapters 4 and 5.

### **Type of and Procedure for Coding**

A code in qualitative inquiry is most often a word or short phrase that symbolically assigns a summative, salient, essence-capturing, and/or evocative attribute for a portion of language-based or visual data. In short, Saldana (2016) defines codes as labels that gives figurative meaning to the descriptive or inferential information accumulated during a study. Coding does not necessarily follow a specific formula nor is it based on a type of technique or mathematical or other kind of formula. They can be seen as short sentences or expressions which indicate an action and subscribes to a particular action that may or should happen. To codify is to arrange things in a methodical order, to make something part of a method or grouping. When applying and reapply codes to qualitative data, the process is known as codifying; this process allows data to be divided, grouped, reorganized and associated in order to combine meaning and an explanation of the data. It is customary to develop codes after the data analysis process is complete to identity themes and to arrange them in a methodical order.

### **Software Used for Analysis**

There are several qualitative data analysis software available to assist with data analysis. The two most common are ATLAS.ti and NVivo. Wildemuth (2017) concurs that qualitative analysis of content is usually supported by these computer programs. Their common purpose is to assist researchers in organizing, managing, and coding qualitative data in a more efficient manner. Though free versions are available, a fee is required for the full version of the program. The software used for this study was NVivo – Windows Release 1.3 because it was a qualitative data tool designed for analyzing. It allows the user to import different type of data including data from videos, and even social media sites such as Facebook and Twitter. NVivo allowed the

researcher to import text, audio, video, emails, images, spreadsheets, online surveys, web content and social media from various sources into a simple, intuitive interface and most importantly, provides tools for coding. Once data was imported into this program, it was arranged into various categories and groups.

### **Issues of Trustworthiness**

#### **Trust and Credibility**

Trustworthiness is the belief in the research results presented, and to view the methods and data gathering as credible. These are two of the important aims of qualitative research; without these two “pillars,” it would be difficult to accept the findings a qualitative study; further without the trust and credibility factor, a study leaves nothing for a next research team to build upon. Another way to state this is to say that the use of reliability and validity are so common in quantitative research that it is reconsidered a paradigm. Qualitative research often seeks a wealth of information and attempts to increase understanding and knowledge related to the respondents’ experiences. Therefore, a good representation of these experiences should be represented in the study’s result. The quality, trustworthiness, and credibility of qualitative research rests upon the researcher’s ability to produce clear conclusive results that can be a vehicle to allow the next research team to “take it from here” and provide additional findings.

Shenton (2004) states that although many critics are reluctant to accept the trustworthiness of qualitative research, frameworks for ensuring rigour in this form of work have been in existence for many years (p. 63). Credibility means that the researcher’s results must be believable. It is not a matter of how much data is collected or how many tables that are displayed showcasing the data; it depends more on the wealth of the information gathered during the study.

Lemon and Hayes (2020) see triangulation as a qualitative research strategy to test validity through the convergence of information from different sources, to help identify inconsistencies or breaks in emergent patterns, to reduce systematic bias and serves as an opportunity to reinforce the credibility and dependability of a study. Though data triangulation is one of the best ways to determine the accuracy of the findings, ultimately the data quality and those reading the study will often be the best judges of the results trustworthiness. Therefore, to ensure the accuracy of the results of this study, three concerns were addressed along with credibility: transferability, dependability and confirmability: all are aspects of trustworthiness.

### **Credibility**

Credibility addressed the true nature of the results and how accurate they were in measuring and answering the research question. To ensure trustworthiness, the results must be credible and verifiable. To maintain credibility, for example, the researcher should review the previous body of work, and debunk or build upon this body of work. Kyngäs et al. (2019) stated that the researcher must describe their research in a transparent manner so the reader can make an informed decision about the credibility of the research. In addition, triangulation during data collection from documents, may increase credibility. Another way to ensure the validity of research is by triangulation: using more than one method to collect data on the same topic. The overall objective of triangulation is to capture diverse aspects of the same phenomenon.

Opportunities for scrutiny of the study by colleagues, peers and academics should be welcomed. The fresh perspective that such individuals can bring allows them to challenge assumptions made by the researcher, whose closeness to the project frequently inhibits their ability to view study with real detachment. Member checks are also a very important aspect of



credibility; it checks the accuracy of the data in present time or on the spot. These spot checks also allow the verification of the researcher's theories. Finally, the researcher must seek outside evaluation and perspective of the study as it develops.

### **Transferability**

Transferability is the appeal of the study across a broad platform. It is demonstrating how the results would appeal to the participants of the study and to a wider but specific section of the population. The goal of a researcher is to touch various facets of the population with their research. The researcher must also produce results narrow in perspective that could add to the body of work in the field of study. Thick description of phenomenon under investigation should be provided; this allowed the reader to have a good understanding of the research and to compare the phenomenon in the study and to their personal experiences. Transferability implies that the reader can "choose" to transfer or relate the general nature of the theory and findings of the study to his or her own situation. Conclusions are the reader's choice and responsibility rather than the researchers (Swanson & Holton, 2005).

### **Dependability**

Dependability establishes the research study's findings as consistent and repeatable. The researcher's objective is to verify that their findings are consistent with the data collected. This is to ensure that if other researchers examined the data, they would arrive at similar findings, interpretations, and conclusions about the data. Dependability was created using an audit trail, code-recode strategy using NVivo (coding the data twice with a week or two between coding), stepwise replication triangulation (using several methods, researchers, sources and theories to get supporting evidence) and peer examination (discussing the research and findings with colleagues

so did not participate in the research study. According to Swanson and Holton (2005), qualitative research should be judged based on the extent to which other researchers concur that, given the purpose of the study, its methods, analysis, and the information collected, the results are consistent and dependable. My role as the researcher included creating a journal by which step-by-step actions were logged, which created an audit trail.

### **Confirmability**

Confirmability states that the findings reflect the information gathered from the study and not the ideas and choices of the researcher. The appearance of bias must be eliminated, shaping the study based on the document analysis. Anney (2014) states that confirmability refers to the degree to which the results of an inquiry could be confirmed or corroborated by other researchers. Confirmability is concerned with establishing that data and interpretations of the findings are not figments of the inquirer's imagination, but are clearly derived from the data. One way that assured confirmability was to make the researcher's guide and notes available for review and inspection by neutral parties. This provided a roadmap as to how the researcher arrived at my conclusions. As the researcher, I kept a reflexive journal that chronicled events happening in the study, personal assessments along the way and "ah-ha" moments during the study which created clarity during the investigation. Reflexivity is simply an evaluation of the researcher's personal background, thoughts and beliefs and their central interest during the qualitative method.

Pitney (2004) believes that because qualitative methods have expanded and evolved in the recent past to comprise many various forms, even the use of transferability, credibility, and dependability as quality standards are not considered suitable by some researchers. But

regardless of this, as the researcher, I strove to have accuracy, truthfulness and trustworthiness in my study. Results produced that are pertinent with high relevance by those reading or examining the findings is the best gauge of a credible qualitative study.

### **Ethical Procedures**

The study analyzed the effects of the implementation of the Westminster model in the Caribbean post-independence and consisted of document analysis of publicly available documents. These documents resided in the public domain: none of these documents were confidential nor did they breach any protocols in their retrieval. There was no direct contact with any live humans for this study nor in the retrieval the documents. All documents were public and available primarily via the internet.

To maintain the transparency of the study, it is my intention to archive all research data and materials used for a 3 to 5-year period. Title 45, Subtitle A, Subchapter, Part 46.115 IRB records (b) of the Electronic Code of Federal Regulations (2018) states that records required by this policy shall be retained for at least 3 years, and records relating to research that is conducted shall be retained for at least 3 years after completion of the research. O'Leary (2017) stated that research approaches are expected to be open and accountable, and codes of ethics often require researchers to keep their raw data for a period of 5–7 years, thereby protecting themselves from accusations of fraud or misrepresentation. The Institution Review Board or IRB may maintain the records in printed form, or electronically. The archival of data and research materials will also preserve the integrity of the study should any parts of my findings come into question. The electronic and public documents are stored on my external hard drive in a folder named, PHD. Copies of the documents was also found on the Download folder on my computer desktop's C

drive. Lastly as a backup, all files relating to my study and Walden University were stored on an external hard drive located in a storage unit offsite.

Walden's Research & Compliance: Research Ethics Review Process includes three steps:

- The student must complete Form A (Description of Data Sources and Partner Sites) to request guidance on which forms and documentation was needed for the study
- The student must complete the documents required in Step 1; ethical issues at this point, must also be resolved prior to receiving approval of the proposal. IRB then provided its Preliminary Ethics Feedback service, providing written feedback until the materials meet the university's ethical standards

At Walden University, the IRB ensures that all research complies with University's standards and the United States federal regulations. The University's IRB requires prior approval before data collection can begin on a research study. "The university will not grant credit for student work that failed to comply with the policies and procedures related to ethical standards in research" (Walden, n.d.). The purpose of IRB is to conduct reviews ahead of a planned research project and periodically during the research to review and ensure that the proper steps are being taken to protect the rights and welfare of the human beings partaking in the research projects. This is a type of committee that also performs risk-benefit analysis to determine, based on research protocols and other materials such as consent documents, if the research should be conducted. One very important aspect of conducting research is to ensure that participants volunteer their time for the study and are given a disclosure detailing the risks and benefits.

To ensure my research plan passed initial IRB review, I began with the Walden University Research Ethics Planning Worksheet, a comprehensive document intended to assist me in assessing ethical concerns that were important to the planning and execution of my study. I believe the key to getting approval from the IRB was to explain in detail any risks and a thorough explanation of how these risks were addressed during the study. Also, I thoroughly completed each section of the IRB Application. No section was left to interpretation.

### **Summary**

A qualitative document content analysis study was used to identify and analyze the elements that influence the implementation of Westminster model of government on the social and economic conditions in Saint Lucia. The content analysis was the process used the description and interpretation of textual data using the systematic process of coding. The result identified categories, themes and patterns. As the researcher, I played many roles since there were no volunteers available to assist with the study. Finally, as the researcher, I used triangulation to bring credibility to my study. I discussed my data collection processes, records of all actions I took in the study, and detailed my issues, challenges, and my experiences as the researcher in Chapters 4.

## Chapter 4: Results

### **Introduction**

I presented my data analysis and the findings produced by my study in this chapter. I explored themes, patterns, naming and categorizing of phenomena through close examination of publicly available documents, including government documents, public records, television news programs and legitimate newspapers and magazines, using qualitative document content analysis. This study sought to answer the following research question: How does the framework and implementation of the Westminster model create enabling conditions for corruption, debt and poverty in the Saint Lucia and the Commonwealth Caribbean? The purpose of the study was to analyze the Westminster model enacted in the Caribbean commonwealth, evaluate the feasibility of the model in Saint Lucia and examine the model's and colonialism and its lasting effects on Saint Lucia and the former Caribbean colonies. Through a document content analysis of publicly available documents, I concentrated on the impact of the model's contribution to such issues of corruption, high debt, economic performance, and poverty. I presented the results of my study in this chapter which includes: the setting, how the data was collected, the data analysis, evidence of trustworthiness and the overall results.

### **Settings**

As stated previously, publicly available documents used for this study were collected via the internet on government, news and journal and other websites. Additionally, the United Kingdom's government legislation website was used to retrieve the original independence declaration and constitutions of the former colonies issued upon gaining their independence. Please see Appendix C for a listing and links to these documents used for during the analysis

phase in this chapter. This is a publicly available website with searchable features and includes United Kingdom statutory instruments, public general, statutory rules and orders documents.

### **Data Collection**

The data collection process of publicly available documents was performed completely online via the internet. These documents were downloaded in a PDF format for examination and analysis. This research involved nor posed no risk of revelation of confidential documents and information because I used publicly available documents. The data collection was a process that was performed upon receiving Walden IRB approval. The pertinent documents such as Caribbean countries' original constitutions and declaration of their independence from the United Kingdom was collected to perform the first series data analysis. The State of Emergency documents used by governments in the Caribbean was downloaded from their official government websites. I presented this and all data analysis in the following section. I made no changes to the research design I submitted. My study was consistent with the design approved by Walden University IRB with approval number 2-15-21-0519267 on December 15, 2021.

I used NVivo – Windows Release 1.5.2, a desktop computer data management application and manual processes that assisted me in collecting and managing the research documents used in this study. Though NVivo was used to analyze these documents, manual analysis was also necessary for the study. In preparation for the data collection process, I placed the documents into distinct groups: the original constitutions and independence declarations, government documents including COVID-19 State of Emergency Declarations, peer-reviewed journal articles including the literature review, constitutional reform documents, news videos, news periodicals.

### Data Analysis

I used the qualitative deductive data content analysis method and publicly available documents to determine how the Westminster model created enabling conditions for corruption, debt and poverty in the Saint Lucia and the Commonwealth Caribbean. I began with pre-determined codes that frequently (*f*) appeared in the literature review and appeared as references to peer reviewed articles in Chapters 1, 2 and 3, used for my study. These codes were corruption (*f*=94), debt (*f*=51), poverty (*f*=38) and crime (*f*=25).

My data analysis began with the original constitutions of the Commonwealth Caribbean (see Appendix C), which were written in the year they gained their independence from the United Kingdom. In order to answer my research question, it was necessary to look at the beginning, that is, the moment in time that established the enabling conditions for corruption in Saint Lucia and the Commonwealth Caribbean: independence. I uploaded a total of twelve constitutions into the NVivo data management application. Many codes, themes and sub-themes emerged, displaying how identical the verbiage in each constitution was to the other. For example, the most prevalent theme to emerge was *public* parent code (*f*=391), appeared in eleven of the twelve constitutions, and the *public safety* child code (*f*=48), which appeared in 10 of the 12 constitutions (see Figure 1).



**Figure 1**

*Public Theme, Subthemes from Caribbean Constitutions*

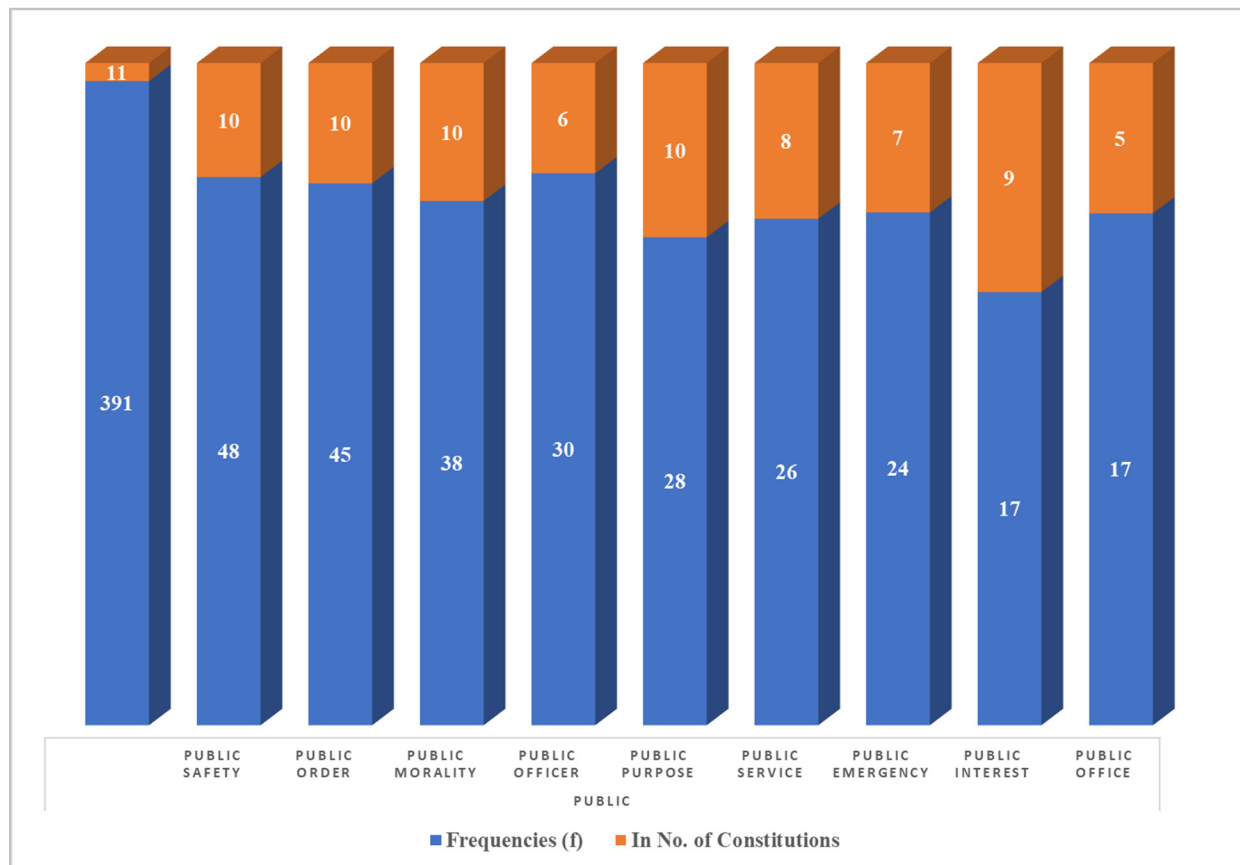


Table 5 displays the similarities and exact language of child code *public safety* ( $f = 48$ ) the constitutions. The Constitution of Saint Lucia contains six references to parent code *public safety*. One such instance, Section 7(1)2(a) Protection from arbitrary search or entry for example, states:

- 2) Nothing contained in or done under the authority of any law shall be held to be inconsistent with or in contravention of this section to the extent that the law in question makes provision-

- a. that is reasonably required in the interests of defence, public safety, public order, public morality, public health, town and country planning, the development and utilisation of mineral resources or the development or utilisation of any property for a purpose beneficial to the community;

**Table 5***Public Theme, Subthemes – Similar Language in Caribbean Constitutions*

Theme	Subtheme	Countries	Language
Public	Public Safety	The Bahamas	(b) may be empowered or required by law to do so in the interests of defence, public safety or public order;
		Barbados	(b) may be empowered or required by law to do so in the interests of defence, public safety or public order;
		Belize	(b) may by law be empowered or required to do in the interests of defence, public safety or public order.
		Dominica	(b) may by law be empowered or required to do in the interests of defence, public safety or public order.
		Grenada	(a) that is reasonably required in the interests of defence, public safety, public order, public morality...
		Guyana	(a) that is reasonably required in the interests of defence, public safety, public order, public morality...
		Jamaica	(a) which is reasonably required(i) in the interests of defence, public safety, public order, public morality or public health;
		Saint Kitts	(a) that is reasonably required in the interests of defence, public safety, public order, public morality, public health
		Saint Lucia	(a) that is reasonably required in the interests of defence, public safety, public order, public morality...
		Saint Vincent	(a) that is reasonably required in the interests of defence, public safety, public order, public morality...

This provision in the Constitution of Saint Lucia appeared word for word in 10 other constitution.

I performed a manual recoding of the twelve constitutions and discovered patterns and themes that detailed among other things, the powers of the executive of each country, the Prime minister. My analysis revealed many exact, distinct features of the executive branch of Government of Saint Lucia and the other Caribbean nations; the manual recoding also revealed that Queen Elizabeth II was the Head of State, and represented by a Governor-General in each of the twelve nations. Saint Lucia's Constitution states: "The executive authority of Saint Lucia is vested in the Her Majesty." The recoding of the constitutions also revealed the following in the transcripts:

- There shall be a Prime Minister of Saint Lucia who shall be appointed by the Governor-General
- The Governor-General shall remove the Prime Minister from office if a resolution of no confidence in the Government is passed by the House and the Prime minister does not within three days either resign from his office or advise the Governor-General to dissolve Parliament

These provisions of Saint Lucia's Constitution appeared in the precise language, in the other eleven Caribbean nations' constitutions. Further, manual coding also revealed that the constitutions did not contain specific language or procedure to address corruption or abuse of power by the prime minister; it stated that a resolution of no confidence in the government passed by the House by a majority, was the only method for the removal of the Prime minister from office. A functioning system of checks and balances does not exist. The constitutions gave unchecked authority to the prime minister and his Cabinet with massive power to exercise power without fear of accountability for their actions, an environment that existed during the colonial

time. Therefore, constitutional independence left in its place, an oppressive colonial system. Chhabra and Greaves (2012) observed that in Saint Lucia, there is no true separation of powers; the Prime minister makes several appointments, for example, to the judiciary, with no formal confirmation process from the legislative branch. The authors also observed the lack of oversight of the executive branch and a constitutional framework that left the opposition party virtually incapacitated.

Coding in a deductive way helped in detecting patterns and themes embedded in the data. My research approach and coding methods included manual process, and using NVivo to detect similar meanings in the data; within the software, I utilized exact match and stemmed word queries, and cross to identify of similar themes in the data. Once the software revealed the codes, I used iterative and cross coding process to discover and code the text of emerged codes; I completed this process by reviewing and comparing previously coded text to the newly emerged codes. I used several other functions within the software to determine the most efficient and meaningful way to display the data; this included tables, data exports to Microsoft Excel for creating charts, and created word clouds to display the word frequency in the set of coded documents; I used the software to present a comprehensive and cohesive method to explain the results of the coding process, and created cases to make comparisons between the Constitution of Saint Lucia and the eleven other countries.

Throughout the literature review, the prevalent, initial themes in the documents were: corruption, debt, poverty, and crime. However, when I imported these documents into NVivo, several additional codes and themes emerged which gave additional credibility to the literature review process. For example, *political* parent code ( $f = 303$ ) appeared in over 20 documents and

was prominent (see Figure 2); child codes of *political system* ( $f = 15$ ) and *political life* ( $f = 12$ ) also appeared.

**Figure 2**

*Word Cloud top 150 Words - Visualization of Themes of the Literature Review*



In many of the literature review documents, the mention of *political system* was made in reference to what the scholars saw as troubling warning signs for the region's system of government. Addressing the political system in the Caribbean, Payne (2007) reflected on the need for reforming the Westminster model, observing it was a bad symbol of governance. He pointed to failing political parties, bureaucracies under pressure, judicial systems in crisis and the destruction of the 'culture of civil discourse.' Payne stated that Westminster was destabilizing the

political system which was leading to increasing apathy, anomie, and social volatility resulting from a collapse of standards and values. Other prevailing themes were *constitutional* ( $f = 200$ ), *colonial* ( $f = 83$ ) and *government* ( $f = 83$ ). Appendix A displays the initial code list of the literature review documents' parent and child codes. The references to *constitutional* in the manual re-coding of literature review documents revealed a focus by the authors on the constitutional reviews of Saint Lucia and the other Commonwealth Caribbean documents and the need for reforms.

Anckar (2011) observed that The Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Dominica, Jamaica, Saint Kitts-Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, and Trinidad and Tobago all entered their march for independence with constitutional measures that tracked closely the British colonial legacy. And while independence was a break from colonial ties, Barbados for example, did not change how it governed its relationship with its citizens: a big departure from its former colonial status. "The final check on the system is not a codified constitution or an institutionally independent judiciary, but, rather, the monarch in the UK, the Governor General in other countries where the British monarch remains head of state" (Bishop, 2010 p. 422).

Constitutional reforms had been conservative in the Commonwealth Caribbean and Sutton (1999) noted that constitutional reviews had taken place in relatively few Caribbean nations with no major constitutional changes...and the method taken to spur constitutional reforms had moved with deliberate speed, incremental at best. The concentration of power simply lied with the Prime minister, making it apparent that under the current constitutional system, proposals for constitutional reforms were modest at best. The manual re-coding of the literature review documents showed collectively, that constitutional debates continue to involve the lack of

change between the colonial past and the independent constitutions. The authors felt these constitutions provided excessive powers to Prime ministers resulting tendencies toward autocratic rule. The remnants of colonial rule (see Table 6) still play a big role in governance in the Commonwealth Caribbean over sixty years after independence. The region still wrestles with building practical societies out of the crumbling and socio-economic obstacles adopted from colonialism. “Having inherited an authoritarian state and system of governance at the time of independence, these countries...have been unable to transform these inherited institutions into instruments of mass empowerment and shared nationhood” (Hinds, 2008, p. 389).



**Table 6***Colonial Theme, Subthemes in the Literature Review*

Theme	Subthemes	Frequencies ( <i>f</i> )
Colonial		83
	British Colonial Heritage	11
	Colonial Heritage	6
	Colonial State	5
	British Colonial Rule	4
	Colonial Powers	3
	Colonial Period	2
	Colonial Era	2
	Colonial Experience	2
	Colonial Past	2
	Former Colonial Masters	2

### **Evidence of Trustworthiness**

Trustworthiness is the belief in the research results presented, and to view the methods and data gathering as credible. These are two important aims of qualitative research; without the trust and credibility factor, the research leaves little to nothing for a next researcher, that is, no foundation to build upon. I described how I demonstrated evidence of trustworthiness using in this section using publicly available documents. The triangulation process created credibility for this study and ensured that the results presented was real and true.

### **Credibility**

To ensure trustworthiness, the results must be credible and what's more, verifiable. To maintain credibility, I downloaded publicly available documents from government and news websites, from Sage Journals, EBSCOhost Research Databases, LegalTrac, LexisNexis Academic, ProQuest ABI/INFORM Collection, Google Scholar ensuring that the documents were peer-reviewed and from reliable sources. I studied the previous research and body of work

on the Commonwealth Caribbean and through a manually and coding with NVivo and was able to build on the previous findings of this body of work. Using triangulation, this process created credibility for this study. The triangulation approach allowed for the collection of publicly available documents. These documents were grouped and analyzed in separate processes and compared with the literature review, which supported the key concepts of my study and allowed me to build upon the previous body of work.

### **Transferability**

The various types of documents presented, in particular, the original constitutions and independence acts, were thick and dynamic and provided the methods to replicate the study in other settings. Chapter 4 included a thick description of the phenomenon, which was investigated, codes and themes revealed, and other information such as direct quotations from the previous study provided readers and researchers with sufficient data to determine transferability of my study's findings to other settings.

### **Dependability**

Dependability was created using an audit trail, code-recode strategy using NVivo. The computerized data management software program created project logs that recorded all actions taken and engaged in during the analysis phase of the study, and therefore strengthening dependability. My notes and journal created audit trails that likewise established dependability, with NVivo minimizing the ambiguity, biases, and trustworthiness issues. The project logs documented the entire process automatically for each stage of the analysis and the comparison of the groups of documents created dependability.

## **Confirmability**

Confirmability states that the findings of the study should be a true reflection of the data gathered and its analysis and not the ideas choices of the researcher. During the coding and re-coding process in NVivo, new themes and patterns constantly emerged that were consistent with and supported the premise of the study, eliminating bias and making the study completely dependent on the qualitative document analysis. Taking notes and keeping a journal was one of the best methods to validate confirmability; therefore, as the researcher, my guides and notes will be available for inspection by any neutral party.

## **Results**

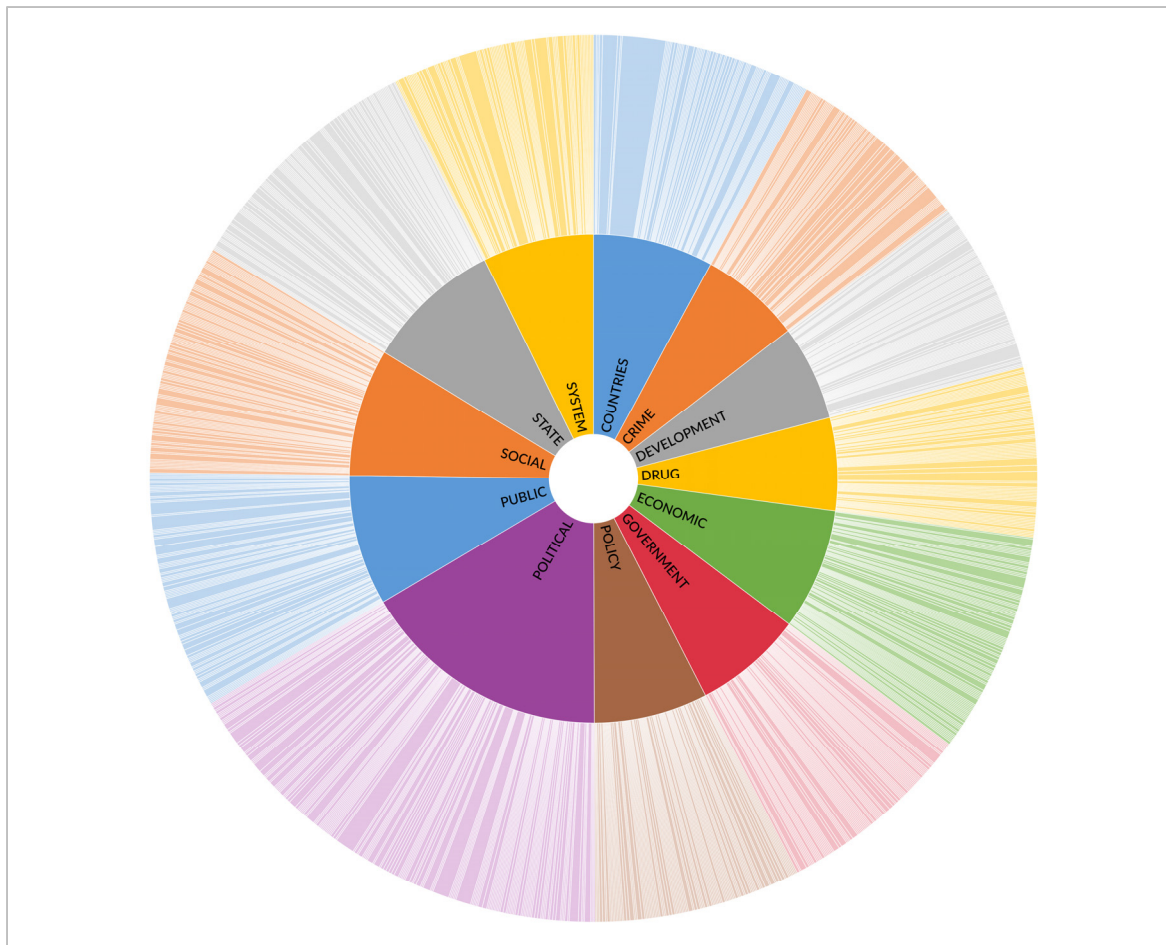
I presented my qualitative content analysis of the data used in the study to explore the selected government documents, peer-reviewed journal articles and other publicly available documents. The results were organized by pre-determined codes and themes and codes that emerged during the data analysis process. Using NVivo and manual processes to assist with the management of the imported data, I produced results that included quotes of authors from the transcripts, I utilized charts, Word Clouds and tables to display the results in a manner that the reader could interpret and most importantly, understand. Though I began my data analysis with a few pre-determined codes, NVivo allowed for the discovery of great understandings and patterns that surprisingly went far beyond these few pre-determined codes. Running structured queries in the data management software allowed me to compare groups of documents, original Caribbean Constitutions for example resulting in patterns and themes. I also executed queries which compared one document, the Saint Lucia COVID-19 Act, to the COVID-19 Acts of the other eleven Caribbean nations as a group' their similarities and differences in the documents

and their emerging themes, and entire data analysis process, were key to answering the research question.

The last groups of document analysis were of peer reviewed journal documents which provided a summary of what I referred to as the Current Literature about the governance and political policies in the Commonwealth Caribbean and the COVID-19 Acts and their accompanied State of Emergency Acts. Parent and child codes captured in the transcripts in the form of words, sentences and paragraphs in these and all documents during the analysis process allowed for the intensions of the text to unveil their main emphasis in the study. The Current Literature consisted of thirty documents, after coding in NVivo, resulted in several themes (see Figure 3), the most prominent being codes of *political* ( $f = 304$ ), *state* ( $f = 165$ ) and *public* ( $f = 159$ ). The parent code, *political* ( $f = 304$ ) had child code ( $f = 147$ ). Child code *political life* ( $f = 13$ ), which analyzing the transcript,

**Figure 3**

*Hierarchy Chart Sunburst of The Current Literature*



provided support for my study and assisted in answering the research question. “Additionally, political life in the Commonwealth Caribbean is characterised by an adversarial political culture, which marginalises opposition forces, thrives on clientelism and patronage, promotes corruption and compromises democracy” (Grenade, 2020, p. 4). When advising scholars planning comparative studies of the region, Albert (2017) noted, what should guide comparative public law scholars exploring the region for the first time is above all, an awareness of deep entrenchment of the legacy of colonialism in every facet of political life. When exploring the

child code *political economy* ( $f = 11$ ), the transcript revealed that Bak (2019) felt despite the relative success with which these countries have generally transitioned from colonial political economies to consolidated democracies, none are without their governance and corruption challenges. Child code *political culture* ( $f = 10$ ) transcript revealed the following: “The discontent of the electorate with the constitution of Saint Lucia appears to have arisen out of a restlessness with the political culture rife within the establishment...disparagingly referred to themselves as window-shoppers, passively standing outside the storefront of government, unable to influence them once the election was won” (Cenac-Maragh, 2016, p. 21).

*Public* ( $f = 159$ ) was another theme that emerged during the data analysis process. On the surface, looking at the word, I assumed that this theme dealt with the public and their well-being; however, after reading the transcript, various theme emerged such as corruption, crime and government (see Figure 4). The *public servant* child code ( $f=9$ ) made-known some strong assessment from some scholars, particularly in regards to corruption. “...none of the Caribbean territories has a comprehensive system to require the reporting of all types of corrupt acts and conflicts of interest...the MESISIC Committee of Experts’ main recommendation was to establish standards...requiring all public servants to report any act of corruption of which they are aware...” (Hylton, Gladys Young, 2007, pp. 256-257). In reading the transcripts dealing with the *public officials* child code ( $f=7$ ), Griffith (2011) in a study conducted during 2005 and 2007 in Antigua and Barbuda, Barbados, Dominica, Grenada, Guyana, Haiti, Jamaica, St. Kitts and Nevis, St. Lucia, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, Trinidad and Tobago and Suriname, stated that there is a direct relationship between illegal drugs and crimes of violence, sex crimes, domestic violence in the region. “...Our citizens suffer from drug addiction, drug-related



concentrated in the hands of single individual, there is strong centralized control over public resources which entails a clientelist network, forming a single pyramid of control in the Caribbean. “In short, therefore, in one way or another virtually all public resources in most Caribbean countries are controlled by a single person: the head of government or prime minister” (p. 70).

The *government* code ( $f = 132$ ) with the *caribbean government* child code ( $f=7$ ) transcript went to the heart of governance. Citizens of Saint Lucia and other Commonwealth Caribbean nations have the expectation of their opportunity to influence the decisions made by their governments that directly affect them. They have actively increased pressures on their elected leaders, bringing more demands for new and better forms of governance. “As with the Arab Spring, and #MeToo movements, #Lifeinleggings has placed increasing pressure on Caribbean governments to be more open and responsive. In the case of #Lifeinleggings, this has been in collaboration with other established entities” (Ochieng’-Springer & Francis, 2019, pp. 28-29). “...there is a constantly shifting, if not ever widening, nature and scope of organized criminal organizations in the...There is now a perception that organized crime is infiltrating Caribbean governments with increasing rapidity, regularity and impunity” (Wallace, 2017, p. 2).

The last group of documents analyzed manually and with NVivo were the State of Emergency/COVID-19 Acts. Two sets of coding were performed: documents from 10 nations, and coding results from the Saint Lucia stand-alone State of Emergency/COVID-19 Act. Caribbean State of Emergency/COVID-19 Acts revealed several major codes including (see Figure 5; also see Appendix E): parent code *public* ( $f = 93$ ), and child code *public place* ( $f = 14$ );





mouth) covering;” Jamaica: “Each person at a gathering in a public place shall maintain a distance of at least 182.88 centimeters (or 6 feet) from other persons (‘social distancing’);” Saint Christopher (Kitts): “A person shall wear a face mask, covering their nose and mouth, when in a public place, once a period of emergency is declared in relation to COVID-19 by a Proclamation;” Trinidad and Tobago: “During the period specified in regulation 17, a person shall not, without reasonable justification– (a) be found at any public place where the number of persons gathered, at any time, exceeds five.”

### **The Saint Lucia COVID-19-Prevention-and-Control-Act 2020**

These State of Emergency/COVID-19 Acts were very similar in wording and topic, similar to how the constitutions in the previous section mirrored each other. After coding the Saint Lucia State of Emergency/COVID-19 Acts in NVivo and manually, differences from the follow countries emerged. The Saint Lucia document was larger and was 42 pages in length, second only to Jamaica, whose document was 54 pages. Overall the average length of the similar document of the other countries was 11.5 pages. All documents contained provisions for protecting the public from the COVID-19 virus such as the use of hand sanitizer, wearing masks in public, limiting group activities to small groups, and curfews for businesses (most requiring them to close at or about 4pm) and for individuals (requiring all but essential workers to remain at home at or about 7pm to 6am every day). Manual re-coding of the Saint Lucia COVID-19-Prevention-and-Control-Act 2020 (The Act) revealed additional codes different from the other Commonwealth Caribbean nations. The three main parent codes were *public* ( $f=16$ ), *tourism* ( $f=9$ ) and *electronic monitoring* ( $f=11$ ) (see Figure 6; also see Appendix F). When looking at the predominant themes in Figure 5, parent code *public* was also revealed in Figure 6; however,

when re-coding these documents by creating a specific query to perform a text search on *tourism* to compare to Saint Lucia's document, The Bahamas ( $f = 3$ ), Barbados ( $f = 2$ ), and Jamaica ( $f = 5$ ) was revealed in the documents.



22, 2020, with Prime Minister Hubert Minnis cited soaring infection numbers as the cause. In 2020, the country, including Saint Lucia, were among few countries in the region open to United States tourists. “Regrettably, the situation here at home has already deteriorated since we began the reopening of our domestic economy, Minnis said. It has deteriorated at an exponential rate since we reopened our international borders” (Farzan, 2020). Saint Lucia opened its borders on June 4, 2020, with strict protocols in place. “Beginning July 9, passengers arriving from outside the Caribbean region must provide the results of a negative Covid-19 test taken within seven days of arrival” (Glusac, 2020). The Act’s dominant parent code was *tourism* ( $f = 51$ ). “Visitors must fill out details including proof of negative PCR testing and indicate which COVID-19 Certified hotel they will be staying in... All returning Saint Lucia citizens and residents... On arrival, they are required to quarantine for 14 days at a pre-approved home quarantine address, Government operated quarantine facility or a COVID-19 certified property” (St. Lucia Times, 2020). Re-coding revealed parent code *electronic monitoring* ( $f = 10$ ), child codes *electronic monitoring device* ( $f = 8$ ), *electronic monitoring literacy* ( $f = 1$ ), and *electronic monitoring awareness* ( $f=1$ ). The Act stated:

- **45.**— (1) An electronic monitoring device shall be administered by the Ministry for the purpose of monitoring —
  2. whether a person has, during his or her quarantine, left his or her home;
  3. whether a person who has during quarantine at a place approved by the Chief Medical Officer, left the place of accommodation
- **48.**— (1) A person shall not fail to comply with a decision of the Chief Medical Officer or breach a condition related to the use of the electronic monitoring device.

2. A person who contravenes subsection (1) commits an offence.
3. A person who fails to comply with a decision of the Chief Medical Officer or breaches a condition related to the use of the electronic monitoring device, shall be brought before the Court.
4. On receipt of information that an offence has been committed under subsection (1) has occurred, the Chief Medical Officer shall immediately report the matter in writing or electronically to a police officer in charge of the nearest police station.

One of Saint Lucia's Independent Senator Adrian Augier stated in 2020: "...There appears to be no mandatory wearing of electronic monitoring devices for persons staying at hotels. This approach appears to be intended primarily for returning residents and nationals" (The Voice, 2020). Analyzing the *public* ( $f = 16$ ) child code *public officer* ( $f = 3$ ), the transcripts stated under Section 61 – Protection from liability: "An action or other proceedings shall not lie against the Chief Medical Officer, public officer or a member of the Royal Saint Lucia Police Force in respect of an act done or omitted to be done in good faith in the exercise or purported exercise of his or her functions under this Act." Section 61 appears to grant immunity acts done which may run counter to the laws of the country. Lucien (2020) reporting for HTS News in Saint Lucia reported that the COVID-19 Prevention and Control Bill bestowed wide-ranging powers on the executive branch of government specifically the minister for health and top technocrats of that ministry. Lucien stated in his report that Saint Lucia's Attorney General Stephen Julian was asked ahead of the Tuesday, September 28, 2020 sitting of Parliament by reporters on the lack of public consultation on the proposed bill, given its serious and far-reaching implications. Mr.

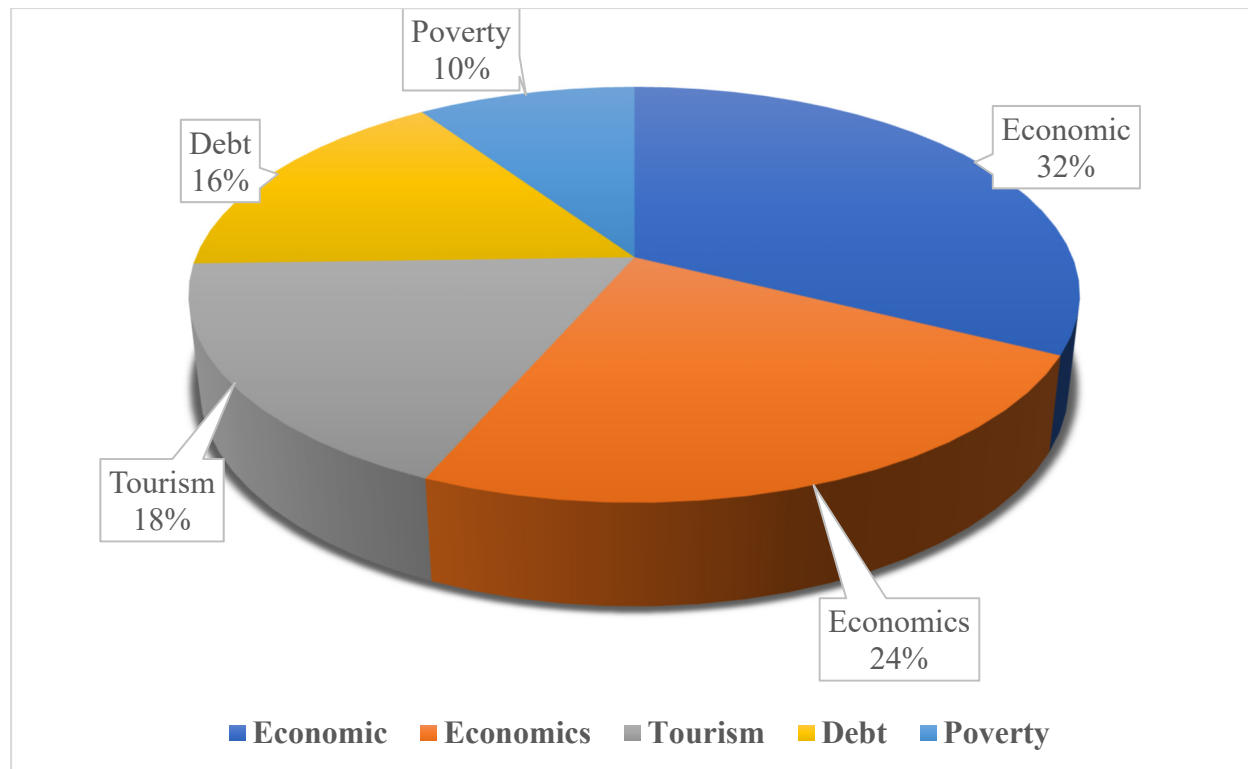
Julian indicated that while the bill was in circulation for a week, citizens and business leaders alike had the opportunity to review the bill. The attorney general also stated that due to time constraints and a national need to pass the legislation, consultation with all the stakeholders was not possible. “The president of the Saint Lucia bar association Renee T. St. Rose...we have before written to request the deferral of bills to provide for review and comment within reasonable time frame. indeed, we've also written to express our concern over the lack of public consultation on bills and the practice of governments in expediting all three stages of a bill at one sitting of the house under the guise of urgency” (Lucien, 2020). Saint Lucia’s Independent Senator saw the bill as “a draconian bill with the potential to infringe on the rights and civil liberties of the masses. The whole bill represents a serious infringement of the liberties of people's human rights and in fact, that's what it is and it also grants immunity to the people who are going to so offend your human rights” (Alfred, 2020).

### **COVID-19 and Debt**

The COVID-19 pandemic caused economic shocks that the Commonwealth Caribbean was ill-prepared for, given the region’s dependency on tourism as the main contributor to their economies. The major categories of these economies impacted and revealed through the coding process (see Figure 7) included *economic impact* ( $f=117$ ), *economies* ( $f=87$ ), *tourism* ( $f=65$ ), *debt* ( $f=58$ ) and *poverty* ( $f=34$ ). First, there is a distinction between economic

**Figure 7**

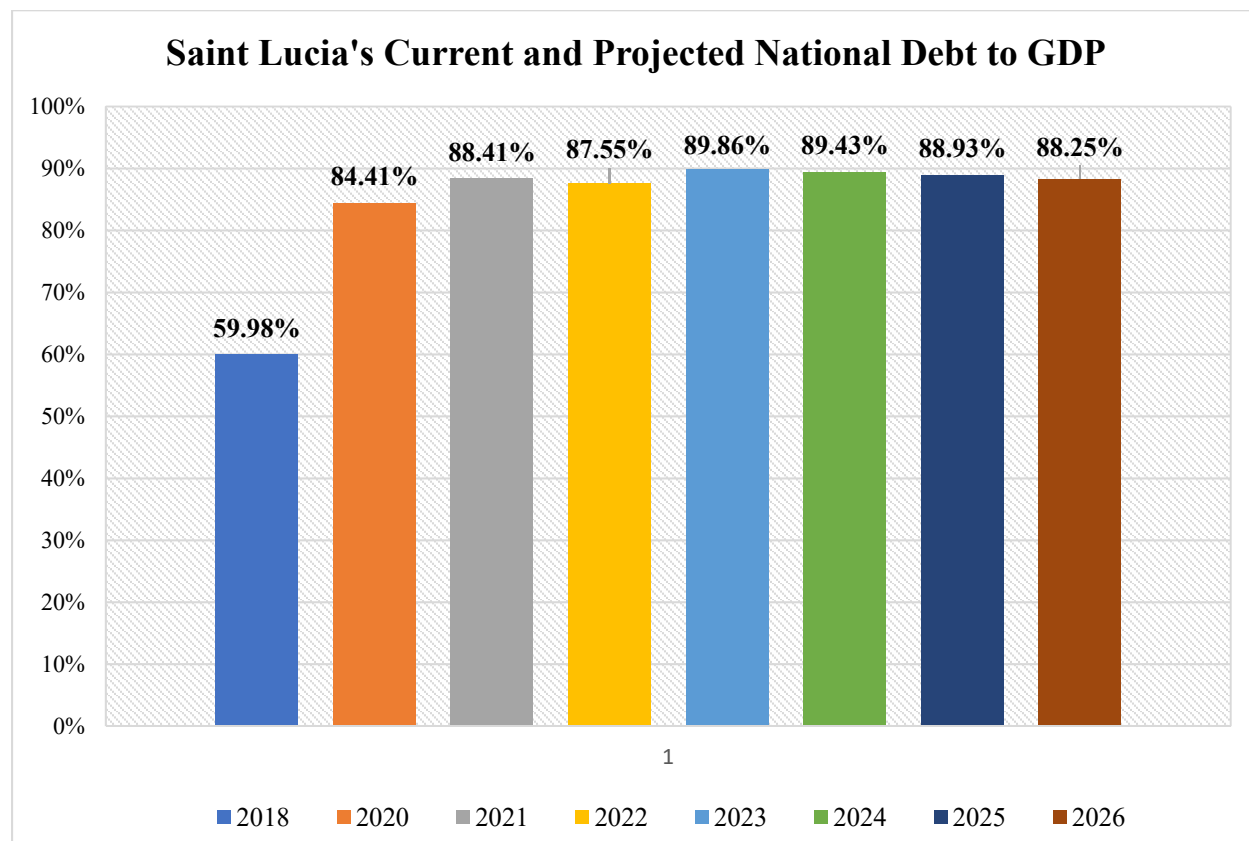
*Pie Chart of COVID-19, Debt and their affects in the Caribbean Themes*



and economics. Transcripts from parent code *economic* child code *economic impact* ( $f = 11$ ) addresses the impact of the pandemic on economic activity. Tourism was the hardest hit industry for the Caribbean, with devastating economic impacts to Small Island Developing States (SIDS). “Despite the relatively smaller human cost of the virus, the economic impact of this pandemic on SIDS are significant...The five most affected economies are Fiji (−21 %), St Kitts & Nevis (−19 %), Maldives (−19 %), Antigua & Barbuda (−17 %) and St Lucia (−17 %). Fiji is expected to experience the largest economic decline, even though St. Lucia is the most dependent on tourism (in terms of its significance in exports)” (Gounder & Cox, 2021, p. 6). Saint Lucia was the most tourism-dependent Caribbean nation in 2019 (see Appendix F). Parent code *economies* ( $f = 87$ ),



child code *developing economies* ( $f = 11$ ) indicated that Caribbean nations “reliant on tourism, travel, hospitality, and entertainment for their growth are experiencing particularly large disruptions...developing economies face additional challenges with unprecedented reversals in capital flows as global risk appetite wanes...and several developing economies cannot afford to run higher debt issuance for the risk of rating” (Campanella & Dookeran, 2020, p. 3,11). Further transcripts of child code *caribbean economies* ( $f = 9$ ) described additional debt that the Caribbean had to assume to keep their economies going during the COVID-19 pandemic. Witter (2021) stated that because of the historical and geographical realities of the Caribbean economies...the rate of indebtedness of many Caribbean countries is high the...likely increased borrowings to finance the adjustments to COVID-19, these debt-to-GDP ratios are going to increase (p. 158). Saint Lucia for the past three to four years experienced a debt-to-GDP ratio beyond 60 % (see Figure 8). Parent code *debt* ( $f = 58$ ), child code *debt levels* ( $f = 3$ ) indicates problems with debt in the analysis. “As the fiscal strain on Caribbean economies continues to be very intense; with many of them have higher debt levels and fiscal deficits in 2020 than in 2019. One year later into the pandemic and their fiscal space is even more strained and limited than before” (Jhinkoo-Ramdass, 2021, p. 7). Finally, poverty concerns were heightened by COVID-19 and the region grappled with providing food security and providing basic needs to their people. “...Saint Lucia, which shares 43% of the total

**Figure 8***Saint Lucia Debt-to-GDP*

Note: <https://www.statista.com/statistics/730735/national-debt-of-saint-lucia-in-relation-to-gross-domestic-product-gdp/>

GDP in the tourism sector...with the decline in remittances flow have intensified income inequality in Saint Lucia; meaning to say that poor inhabitants are becoming poorer... SIDS were already faced complex predicaments before the pandemic, such as high vulnerability to the climate crisis, lack of natural resources, extreme poverty, and reliance on external debts” (Reksa et al., 2021, p. 31, 35). Though airlines and cruise ships were returning to the Caribbean, SIDS should accept the return of tourism to the region with caution. Caribbean governments should continue to rethink, explore and engage in local and regional economic development. “The

region has to diversify its tourism...and to strengthen the linkages with local industries such as agriculture, construction, and professional services...the economies should reduce their dependency on the tourism sector for the same reasons as its vulnerability to hazards and other disruptions of overseas travel” (Witter, 2021, p. 169).

### **Themes**

The central themes that emerged from the documents analyzed manually and in NVivo revealed corruption, lack of governance, stagnant constitutions and high debt that Saint Lucia and the Commonwealth Caribbean continue to face. COVID-19 added additional shocks to the already fragile economies as these nations scrambled to keep economic growth steady in the absent of the tourism-driven revenue. The innovative ways developed to diversity their economies become secondary as the mainstay of their economies, tourism, return to Saint Lucia and the other Commonwealth countries.

#### **Theme 1 – Constitutions**

The Constitutions of Saint Lucia and the other Commonwealth Caribbean nations were similar and created from a template based on Jamaica’s Independence Act on August 6, 1962. The findings showed that since 1962, all former colonies, up to Saint Christopher (Kitts) and Nevis in 1983, had similar constitutions containing word-for-word similarities. Each constitution contained the same opening language: “At the Court at Buckingham Palace, (date for example, the 20th day of December 1978). The Queen's Most Excellent Majesty in Council.” The constitutions described in scant detail, the powers and authority of the prime minister and indicated one method for removal of office, a vote of no confidence in the House of Assembly. No other method for removal of the chief executive was mentioned in the constitutions. The

absence of additional methods to address abuse of power give the prime minister almost unlimited, unchecked powers.

### **Theme 2 – Colonialism**

The emerging theme from the Literature Review documents revealed a region steeped in colonial past including its traditions, culture and legacy. The Constitutions granted prime ministers which almost unyielding power, mimicking the authoritarian behaviors of the leaders they observed during colonial times. Another prevailing theme was the slow or lack of movement on constitutional reform that would remove Queen Elizabeth II as their Head of State, and the Governor-General acting as her official representative. The study revealed that Saint Lucia and other Caribbean nations pursued independence movements that mirror the British colonial legacy.

### **Theme 3 – Civil Liberties**

The Commonwealth Caribbean nations enacted COVID-19 Acts to address the pandemic and to keep their people safe; these acts prioritized the people. Saint Lucia however, enacted one of the most restrictive COVID Act in the region. Coding and analysis of eleven COVID and State of Emergency Acts revealed the Government of Saint Lucia COVID-19 legislation restricted and infringed on their citizens civil rights and civil liberties with language that appeared to prioritized tourist and tourism over its citizens and residents. Returning citizens and nationals were subjected to wear electronic monitoring devices on the wrists or ankles to monitor their movement during home quarantine while tourist was allowed stay in COVID certified hotels and enjoying movements around the island. COVID-19 legislation granted the police force and the Minister of Health sweeping powers that dulled the Constitution, putting them

above the law and immune from accountability for any act deemed illegal. In short, the Royal Saint Lucia Police and the Minister of Health could not face legal challenges in court for their acts, whether or not they ran contrary to the constitution.

#### **Theme 4 – Debt**

Saint Lucia registered declining economic growth from 2017 to 2021 with a debt-to-GDP of roughly 88 % in 2021. Antigua & Barbuda and Saint Lucia both post (-17) % economic growth in 2020. The analysis showed that tourism-dependent nations like Saint Lucia did not fare well during the COVID-19 pandemic shut-down when the island and the region was relatively closed to tourism. To sustain its economy, Saint Lucia borrowed hundreds of millions of dollars, further plunging the nation into debt.

#### **Summary**

The result of this study brought to the forefront, the challenges the Saint Lucia and the other Commonwealth Caribbean still face, almost 60 years after the colony of Jamaica gained its independence from the United Kingdom. The region's economies are heavily dependent on one industry: tourism. Stagnant and lack of economic diversification, poor governance, and constitutions that grant their leaders almost unchecked powers, with few remedies for dealing with abuses of power. Poverty and high debt continue to challenge the viability of the Westminster model. The research question addressed by this study was: How does the framework and implementation of the Westminster model create enabling conditions for corruption, debt and poverty in the Saint Lucia and the Commonwealth Caribbean? To answer this question, I analyzed over 120 documents and placed in the following groupings: the original Independence Orders/Act and Constitutions, the literature review documents, the current

literature, State of Emergency and COVID-19 Acts and COVID-19 and Debt documents. The emerged patterns and themes particularly when analyzing Saint Lucia COVID-19-Prevention-and-Control-Act 2020 (see Figure 6) provided clearest and most direct answers to the research question, more so than any other grouping of documents analyzed with NVivo and through manual processes. In Chapter 5, I discussed the interpretation of the findings, the limitations of my study, make recommendations for topics that should be researched, implications for social change, especially as the region continues to cope with COVID-19, and provided a conclusion to the study.

## Chapter 5: Discussion, Conclusions, and Recommendations

### Introduction

The purpose of this qualitative document analysis study was to investigate publicly available documents, including government document, to examine colonialism and its lasting effects on Saint Lucia and the former Caribbean colonies who now comprise the Commonwealth Caribbean. One of the chief liabilities of the Westminster model, felt exclusively by the people, are the adverse effects of the almost unlimited powers it grants its executive, the prime minister. This executive with his Cabinet of Ministers has the power to pass any legislation in Parliament without concern and opinions of the minority party (Her Majesty's Loyal Opposition), who do not have the power to stop the proposed legislation. An example of the unlimited powers of the executive were highlighted when Saint Lucia's Parliament enacted the COVID-19 Act with minimal consultation with key stakeholders and appeared to violate the people's civil rights and liberties. The importance of studying Westminster and changes that this study recommends are its potential for creating social change in the region, more specifically, a reformative social movement which would seek to change how the society functions outside or beyond the Westminster model and region's colonial past.

There were several key findings in the study, the most interesting of which was a region endeared with the colonial past: celebrating at times, a romantic lure of days of old as colonies of the United Kingdom. Debt continues to weigh heavily on the region. Already facing crushing debt, Saint Lucia borrowed over \$500 million dollars in the last two years to sustain its economy as COVID-19 interrupted its reliable revenue stream. Another finding was the continued dependence of tourism as the mainstay of their economies. COVID-19 exposed the danger for

Saint Lucia and other Commonwealth Caribbean nation on a tourist-based economy, 60% or more, as the world travel came to an almost halt when the pandemic made it medically unwise to travel. Though many leaders fervently discussed the absolute need to diversity their economies, as the vaccines made the travel more tolerable and as airlines returned to the region, talk of economic diversification decline as islands, such as Saint Lucia welcome tourist back to the island. On January 22, 2022, Canada's Sunwing Airlines returned to Saint Lucia nearly two years after the cancellation of all flights in March 2020 due to the COVID-19 pandemic.

Welcoming the arrival was a delegation from the Saint Lucia Tourism Authority (SLTA) which included Tourism Minister Dr. Ernest Hilaire and Chairman of the SLTA Thaddeus Antoine.

Minister Hilaire stated that the resumption of flights from Canada as we enter the slow post COVID-19 pandemic is a relief for Saint Lucia's tourism dependent economy. Hilaire indicated that Canada is Saint Lucia's fourth largest tourism market. On January 20, 2022, the United States Embassy for Barbados and The Eastern Caribbean donated a 40-bed field hospital and three utility vehicles to the Government of Saint Lucia, a gesture from the United States to assist the nation in its fight against the COVID-19 pandemic. Ambassador Linda Tagliatela said: "Here in Saint Lucia, we're supporting vaccination efforts. We're strengthening the digital information systems to monitor vaccination coverage. And we're working with you to communicate that vaccines help prevent serious sickness and save lives" (U.S Embassy, 2022).

Media coverage of both events was extensive, though more attention was given to the return of Sunwing Airlines on social media, the media and government media and websites than the timely and crucial donation of a field hospital to combat COVID-19. The result of the study revealed that Saint Lucia and the Commonwealth Caribbean were heavy in debt, still held the



customs and traditions of the colonial past, stagnant and outdated constitutions that grants the chief executive almost unlimited power and the combination of all these factors deepening poverty in the region, making life difficult for their citizens.

### **Interpretation of the Findings**

#### **Confirming the Literature**

The findings that arose from my document content analysis of this study directly relates to theoretical framework and the literature review performed and detailed in Chapter 2. The overarching finding of the study demonstrated how Saint Lucia and Commonwealth Caribbean are reluctant to completely abandon their colonial past. Documents analyzed included the theme *colonial* mentioned 83 times. The literature review began with a summary of then prime minister of Saint Lucia Allen Chastanet's refusal to appoint the constitutional office of Deputy Speaker of the House of Assembly; this demonstrated the chief executive's ability to ignore the Constitution and the laws of Saint Lucia without fear of facing consequences for his action. The findings of the analysis of the COVID-19 and State of Emergency documents, the most notable document in the analysis process, resulted in the similar patterns of ignoring the Constitution and the laws of Saint Lucia as the COVID-19 legislation passed Parliament which minimized civil rights and civil liberties, gave sweeping powers to the Minister of Health and the police force that superseded the Constitution and place them free from legal liability to their actions they performed in the act of keeping the country safe from COVID-19. I stated in the literature review: Having learned from the authoritarian regimes that governed the Caribbean colonies till the 1940s, it is easy to see how and why these new authoritarian leaders exploited the weaknesses of the democratic systems via populist themes, patriotism, nationalism,

manufactured crisis and carefully crafted diversions to maintain their grip on power. Based on the analysis of the COVID-19 Act and its findings, remnants of the authoritarian regime that govern the colonies appear prevalent in Saint Lucia.

While colonialism was the overarching theme, the literature review also examined the constitutions and the need for constitutional reform due to the harmful effects of the Westminster model. Of the constitutions, the literature review viewed these documents as ones similar that was imposed by their colonizers. The analysis of the constitutions of Saint Lucia and the other eleven Commonwealth Caribbean nations was consistent with the findings of the literature review. The findings revealed: a) stagnant outdated constitutions, mired in colonial times, b) constitutions presented “At the Court at Buckingham Palace” containing almost the same language of Jamaica’s 1962 constitution, c) Queen Elizabeth II as the Head of State, and d) no appropriate language to address abuse of power by the prime minister beyond a vote of no confidence. Saint Lucia remains one of three Caribbean nations (see Table 2) whose constitution remains in the exact language as Coming into Operation on February 22, 1979. Finally, what the COVID-19 pandemic exposed was the rising debt faced, particularly by Saint Lucia. The pandemic exposed the lack of preparation of these tourism-dependent economies in Caribbean to cope with the external shocks of the COVID-19. In Saint Lucia’s, the ratio of the country's public debt to its gross domestic product (GDP), debt-GDP in 2021 was 88.41 % (see Figure 8). Statista (2022) indicates that Saint Lucia’s debt-to-GDP will average at least 88 % until 2026. Because the nation did not build a diverse economy with the ability to sustain the shocks of COVID-19, borrowing was the mechanism used to sustain the economy, though these funds were not always used for the intent for which they were awarded (see Table 3). The debt

currently being serviced by Saint Lucia is of great concern to the scholars of the peer-reviewed articles in the literature review. The literature indicated that SIDS were universally strangled by debt; recognizing the limited natural services to stimulate economic growth, international borrow from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) for example, is no longer sustainable as the Commonwealth Caribbean will never generate enough revenue to repay these loans.

In a video conference held on April 20, 2020, Executive Secretary of the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) Alicia Bárcena analyze debt relief proposals and other measures to fight the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic. prime ministers, premiers, finance ministers, financial secretaries, and other high-level government representatives from 15 Caribbean countries met to discuss the economic impact of COVID-19 on their economies, which was already beleaguered with climate and economic shocks including high debt. ECLAC's Member Countries and Associate Members in the Caribbean area: Anguilla, Antigua and Barbuda, Bahamas, British Virgin Islands, Cayman Islands, Dominica, Grenada, Guadeloupe, Guyana, Montserrat, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Sint Maarten, Trinidad and Tobago and United States Virgin Islands. Saint Lucia did not send a representative to the conference. Alicia Bárcena acknowledged that Caribbean countries, who are for the most part considered middle income countries, face a lack of access liquidity on concessional terms. She stated: "Caribbean countries must increase their fiscal space and need more favorable financing conditions, notwithstanding their income per capita income levels, in order to face the pandemic's effects" (ECLAC, 2020). All the leaders expressed their concern for vulnerabilities in their economies and urged ECLAC's support for gaining more favorable terms for financing their debts from the IMF for example. Antigua and Barbuda Prime Minister

Gaston Browne said, “the economic burden for our countries has been unsustainable because of the high levels of debt. We don’t have the capacity for printing money and our policy instruments are very limited...” (ECLAC, 2020). Of the many issues discussed in the literature review faced by Saint Lucia and the Commonwealth Caribbean, debt was at the forefront because its effects cascade through their economy and their inability to finance and pay debt can lead to economic stress, leading to other issues such as poverty. The study in many ways, also revealed debt as a prominent theme. To restate, the literature review summarized: 1) deep-seeded corruption in the government, 2) high crime rate in the countries, 3) stagnant economies, deeply burdened in debt, 4) majoritarian leadership with marginalization of the Opposition party, 5) tourism – an almost single-market economic deeply rooted in the slavery and colonial past, and 6) poor governance and lack of transparency: all of which is supported by the results of the study.

### **Interpretation of Findings in Context of Theoretical Framework**

The findings that emerged from this study correlates to the pertinent literature and theoretical framework discussed in detail in Chapter 2. The two theories used for this study were the political constitutional theory, and the historic CDT. As stated in Chapter 2, the political constitutional theory is the idea that government can and should be legally limited in its powers, and that its authority or legitimacy depends on it observing these limitations. CDT, which flourish from 1963 to 1975, primary focus was ending the external controls over countries internal development imposed by countries, mainly the United Kingdom, whose main purpose was to enforce neocolonial political structures.

### *The Caribbean Dependency*

CDT's core principles, which has been sidelined by Caribbean scholars, is at the heart of the economic predicament the Caribbean region finds itself. The key word here is "Dependency." And though the late Professor Norman Girvan sixteen years ago in 2006 recognized in his article *Caribbean Dependency Thought Revisited* the contemporary relevance of the theory, the Caribbean's dependency as a socio-economic formation of peripheral capitalism still holds true and we need to look no further than the previously mentioned video conference held on April 20, 2020 with the Economic Commission for Latin America. At the conference, fifteen Caribbean nations pleaded with ECLAC to speak to financial institutions like the IMF on their behalf for greater access to loans, more favorable interest rates and debt forgiveness on previous loans. The region remains dependent on outside forces for its internal economic sustainability as indicated by the strong push to restore tourism to previous levels during COVID-19. The Honorable Dr. Ernest Hilaire, Saint Lucia's Minister for Tourism, Investment, Culture, Creative Industries and Information stated that the foremost vision for Saint Lucia is to ensure that the tourism industry is sustainable and that it can withstand the various shocks, natural disasters or economic challenges. He also stated that the tourism industry in Saint Lucia is robust and can recover quickly from wherever there are any shocks. Hilaire stated: "More visitors mean that our visitor spend is recovering as well, which is helping our local communities get back to work in tourism and recover economically...The destination has strong airlift" (Breaking Travel News, 2021).

CDT indicates that Caribbean finances are characterized by fiscal dependence and reliance on foreign loans and grants; CDT is primarily concerned with economic self-reliance in

accumulation, production, and consumption in the Caribbean nations. Girvan (2006) observed that though there were varying views on CDT, the main objective, however, was still a desire to create economies that was driven by its own internal dynamic forces. Saint Lucia's dependency on external forces to drive its economy does not start nor end with tourism, though that sector accounts for over 65 % of its GDP. Saint Lucian economist Dr. Claudius Preville said in January 2022 that if the country did not receive direct foreign investment in key parts of the economy, the economy would sputter as best. He also conceded that the country created an economy that was to heavily reliant on tourism. "...The economy is largely driven by the service sector, which makes up approximately 83 % of the economy, with the agricultural and service sectors accounting for a mere 5 %. The average economic growth rate for Saint Lucia over last 10 decade has been a meager 1.1 %" (Nicholas, 2022). With Dr. Preville also stating that more emphasis should be placed on agricultural development, he noted that Saint Lucia has some of the best arable land in the Caribbean, (land capable of producing crops and suitable for farming), making it all the more vexing that Saint Lucia's, pre COVID-19 2019 food import bill exceeded \$150 million, which included \$23 million in vegetable crops. Many of the imported vegetables are also grown and produced on the island.

During the 1970s to the 1980s, Saint Lucia's main economic engine was in agriculture with bananas as its main export. Klak et. al. (2011) indicated that banana exports was a mainstay of Saint Lucia's and Dominica's economy but has contracted. External dependence on this crop as central to their economies, which began during colonial times, proved to be fruitful to these nations as the it was well suited for their colonial powers, the United Kingdom and France, to purchase their bananas almost exclusively, turning their economies in a specialized field

exporting this and perhaps one other commodity. The 1990s created threats and instability to these exports when the United Kingdom joined the EU; with the ratification of the Single European Market (SEM) in 1993, the favorable status Saint Lucia and Dominica had enjoyed in the banana industry was all but lost. They were now faced with stiff competition from Chiquita, Del Monte and Dole and Latin American producers. Saint Lucia's banana revenue went from \$70 million in 1990, to \$24 million in 2006. Now in 2022, there is renewed interest in agriculture and a desire to reduce dependence on foreign produce imports. Saint Lucia's Minister for Agriculture Alfred Prospere indicated that through the locally growing 7-Foods Project launched in 2019, may finally bear fruit and begin chipping away at the food import bill. "The 7-Foods Project focuses on cabbage, lettuce, watermelon, cantaloupe, bell pepper, pineapple and tomato crops. Financing and technical support will come from The Republic of China on Taiwan for a period of three years" (Isadore, 2021).

### ***The Political Constitutional Theory***

The endurance of Constitutions asserts that constitutions survive over time. Ginsberg (2011) stated that without endurance, constitutions cannot provide the framework for politics and thus, these documents survive for an extended period. The authors however, discovered that most written constitutions are short-lived. Thomas Jefferson also critiqued and argued that constitutions should be replaced every 19 years to allow successive generations the opportunity to determine their own basic rules to govern their society. "Thomas Jefferson engaged in the most extensive of these critiques, arguing that the dead had no right to govern the living" (Ginsberg, 2011, p. 113). This supports the notion that every generation has a voice and constitutions should change or be updated to meet the political and social needs of a generation.

The endurance of constitutions is its ability to survive and thrive throughout time; they cannot remain “dead” with those who originally created them, who are no longer among the living.

Table 2 indicate that Saint Lucia was among only three Commonwealth Caribbean nations who have not updated or amended their constitutions since its conception, for Saint Lucia, since 1978. This document appears stale and stagnant, with little social and political relevance for the present generation.

The Political Constitutional Theory’s core principles describes a system of power-sharing between the branches of government and the separation of powers. Minkkinen (2013) stated that a constitution had the power to standardize formal processes through the creation of norms and the political principles that must be observed to in order to gain validity. Since that the findings of the study revealed that the constitutions of the Commonwealth Caribbean mirror each other and were primarily based on the Jamaica’s 1962 constitution, it fails one key criteria of The Political Constitutional Theory: it does not conform to any norms or political principles. Since these documents were similar to each other, the norms, traditions and customs of each specific country was not an integral part of the constitutions once the former colonies became independent nations. Though independence was granted, the United Kingdom treated their former possession as monolithic by giving the similar constitutions. For this reason, the region is constantly lumped together was a single entity and not always as single member nations. Girvan mentions several times in my study independence was truly a ruse to maintain the status quo: colonialism. Elected officials in the Caribbean, including the prime minister, ministers of government and members of Parliament, upon taking the oath of office are required in 2022 to be faithful and bear true allegiance to Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, Her Heirs and Successors.



Professor Norman Girvan recalled the time when the Jamaica's constitution was being written, public consultation in 1962 were sessions attended by a handful of officials and that no one believed that these officials were taken serious by the British. "The template of the Constitution was, I presume, supplied by the Colonial Office. There was a joke that they printed them all somewhere and just substituted the name of the newest country" (Girvan, 2015, p. 96). Again, it cannot be overstated the importance of having the norms, traditions and customs of each specific country initially be an integral part of the constitutions. It is now a daunting task to retrofit these documents with reverence for the present generations. Constitutional reform in the region is recommended and would be a far easier task.

Another core principle of The Political Constitutional Theory was the concept of constitution-making. First, it is the process by which a nation constitutes the foundations of its political existence; second, through this process, the nation decides the manner in which it will institute unity through the political and legal institutions. Constitution-making power determines the reality of the political harmony in the society. It supports the principles, in terms of political will, of how the authority make decisions about the political existence and how it is structured to make the society function. Political existence, therefore, in the formation of a constitution, is effective if and only if the focus of constitution-making has the power and ability to make the vital decision. Constitution-making power is uniform and indivisible. "The constituent nature of constitution-making power is responsible both for the constitution as the initial expression of political self-determination and for the exceptions required when the existence of the political and legal institutions thus constituted are threatened" (Minkkinen, 2013, p. 595). It appears however, that these principles of constitution-making power were not a concept that was

important to Premier Norman Manley when five months before Jamaica's constitution and independence in 1962 he said, "I make no apology for the fact that we did not attempt to embark upon any original or novel exercise in constitutional building...Let us not make the mistake of describing as colonial, institutions which are part and parcel of the heritage of this country" (Girvan, 2015, p.97). Premier Manley proclaimed that the British constitution was the best in the world and that the members of the government of Jamaica should do nothing the cost the country the opportunity to receive the foundations of the Westminster government. It appears that the first island to gain their independence...the leader of the pack of sort...abandoned its right, its duty, its obligation to the region, to participate in its own constitution-making process. Instead, Jamaica surrendered the constitution-making process to the Colonial Office to chart the way forward for their independent country, and thus, made the constitution-making process almost dead for Caribbean colonies whose independence came from the United Kingdom over the next two decades.

In 1966, Barbados became independent and adopted the Westminster model: the parliamentary system of governance similar to Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago who were first to achieve independence in 1962. Barbados, in 2021 was presented a unique opportunity immerse itself in the core principles of the Political Constitutional Theory: updating its 55-year-old constitution and subsequently, engaging in the constitution-making process. This would be a great departure from the days of the Colonial Office "handing" former colonies their constitutions. Unlike Jamaica's Premier Norman Manley in the preceding paragraph, there would be no proclamations from Barbados prime minister Mia Mottley reminiscent of "I make no apology for the fact that we did not attempt to embark upon any original or novel exercise in

constitutional building...” In fact, it was quite the opposite. In July 2021, Prime Minister Mottley stated that she accepted the recommendations of the Fourth Commission on Constitutional Reform to appoint a non-executive president who would be elected by a majority of both Houses of Parliament. The prime minister also indicated that constitutional amendments would be made to facilitate the new president, who would sworn in on November 30, 2021; she further indicated that work would begin on a new constitution. “...We start from December 1, the journey of the settlement of the new Constitution of Barbados which will be the subject of extensive consultation and communication with the people of this nation” (Bennett, 2021). What is substantially and noteworthy about Prime Minister Mottley’s statement was the planned involvement of the people in the constitution-making process. As previously stated, one of the key aspects of the Political Constitutional Theory was constitutions are created based on norms and political principles that should be followed for the document to have validity. Barbados’ constitution and those of the Commonwealth Caribbean were not written based on the individual country’s norms, customs, traditions or values; therefore, these documents failed to be a beacon of governance to adequately guide the governments on the best methods to provide for their people’s social and economic welfare.

In September 2020 the Government of Barbados announced their intentions to vacate its Parliamentary Constitutional Monarchy system in favor of a republic by November 2021. On November 30, 2021, Barbados celebrated its Independence Day by officially become a republic; the Caribbean welcomed its fourth republic, The Republic of Barbados. On that faithful evening and into the early morning, with much pomp and circumstance, and in the presence of special guest His Royal Highness Prince Charles Philip Arthur George, Prince of Wales, Duke of

Cornwall, Duke of Rothesay, Duke of Edinburgh, Earl of Chester, Earl of Carrick, Earl of Merioneth, Barbados transitioned from a Parliamentary Constitutional Monarchy with Queen Elizabeth II as Head of State to a Parliamentary Republic with a ceremonial indirectly elected President Dame Sandra Mason as head of state. Dame Mason previously served of Governor-General, Queen Elizabeth II's official representative in the nation. Guyana become a republic in 1970, Trinidad and Tobago followed in 1976, and Dominica two years later in 1978. Barbados is not the only Commonwealth Caribbean nation to consider becoming a republic. The presence of the British Crown in the region has been repeatedly placed on reform movements. Barrow-Giles (2021) reported that in 2011, the Saint Lucia Constitutional Reform Commission (more on Saint Lucia's reform later in this chapter) and a similar commission in Saint Vincent and the Grenadines have recommended and urged for the adoption of parliamentary republics. Saint Vincent placed the proposed reforms on the ballot as a constitutional amendment: the people on November 25, 2009 overwhelmingly voted against the referendum.

It is worth noting the procedures Barbados undertook, particularly through Parliamentary action, to prepare for the move to become a republic. The process began with a vote in Parliament, a 25-0 margin, to amend the Constitution to allow the nation to be a republic by November 30, 2021. Caribbean National Weekly (2021) reported Parliament voted to revoke Barbados Order of 1966 (The Independence Act) as an Order in Council of Her Majesty; the Constitution, however would remain intact, though amended to align with the nation's new republic status. This amendment made the provision that a person of Barbadian descent would be the Head of State and the oath of allegiance would change forever. Henceforth allegiance would be made to Barbados and continuity of its institutions and no longer to Her Majesty Queen

Elizabeth II, Her Heirs and Successors. The 1966 Barbados Order in Council of Her Majesty,(see Appendix C ) represents the first pages of the Independence document followed by the contents of the Constitution. The Order, also referred to as Statutory Instrument 1966 No. 1455 established, among other provisions, the following: 1) Established the Governor as the Governor-General, the Queen's official representative 2) Provides that the Premier would now become the prime minister 3) The Oath of Allegiance, "I, do swear that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, Her Heirs and Successors, according to law, so help me God." Therefore, to facilitate the movement towards being a republic, it was necessary for the Parliament revoke Order in Council of Her Majesty and the oath of allegiance to Her Majesty, particularly. To complete preparations for becoming a republic, the Parliament introduced The Constitution (Amendment) (No.2) Bill 2021 on September 20, 2021 and was unanimously passed on October 6, 2021. This bill directly revoked the oath of allegiance to Her Majesty and the oath would then be to the State of Barbados. Many sections of the Constitution were deleted and substituted. The colonial position of Governor-General was deleted. Section 63 of the Constitution was deleted and the following was substituted: "The executive authority of Barbados is vested in the President. Subject to the provisions of this Constitution, the executive authority of Barbados may be exercised by the President either directly or through officers subordinate to him" (Constitution (Amendment) (No.2) Bill, 2021).

Barbados creation of a new constitution auger well for the region as it may become a living document that can provide better governance and greater standards of living for the people of Barbados. It is the hope...the desire that the new constitution will be absent of all relics of the colonial past and will usher in a new era in Caribbean governance. Prime Minister Mottley

indicated that new Constitution eventually will reflect who they are in the third decade of the 21st century, a statement that can be seen as a direct reference to their 55-year-old constitution written with deep colonial underpinnings. The prime minister indicated that the current constitution will be broken down, chapter by chapter in a process that will take 12 to 15 months. Based on Thomas Jefferson's assessment that constitutions have a lifespan of roughly 19 years, the constitutions in the English-Speaking Caribbean has far outlived its life expectancy by a significant margin. The Commonwealth Caribbean has produced a total of sixteen new constitutions. Guyana and Trinidad and Tobago, who are republics, are the only countries, to their credit, no longer functioning under their original independence constitutions. It is hopeful that at the end of 12 to 15-month process, Barbados will join Guyana and Trinidad and Tobago in retiring its 55-year-old original constitutional charter.

### **Limitations of the Study**

I stated three limitations to the study in Chapter 1. The first limitation was my inability to travel to Saint Lucia and other Caribbean nations to personally examine, analyze and study documents, particularly, government documents in their libraries and archives. The second limitation was the potential for biases given my relative knowledge of the topic. The third limitation was the dependence on publicly available documents. The limitations for the study did not change and no additional surprises were revealed. The COVID-19 pandemic, travel restrictions and social distancing requirements made it difficult to travel to the Caribbean to only examine relevant current and historical documents. In fact, COVID-19 compelled me to change my research design to a document content analysis. The biases for my study were eliminated in two way: first, a variety of over 120 documents was used for the study in Chapter 4; once they

were imported coded in NVivo, analysis was performed which removed any bias that might have existed; second, analysis of the documents was based strictly on the results of the coding manually and using the computerized data management software.

The third limitation was the dependence on publicly available documents proved difficult a times. Peer-reviewed journal articles was not difficult to find; however, articles on specific subject matter and government documents provided more of a challenge. For example, very little literature on the internet, if at all, existed on the actual process by which the former colonies gained their independence from the United Kingdom. Date, time and place was available but not an accounting of the actual process. The only article cited for my study that gives a glimpse into the process was Girvan (2015) recollection of Orlando Patterson's observation that Jamaica's government officials were brainwashed in the rank urine of British culture and the few officials who were allowed to attend session discussing Jamaica's pending independence. At the time, the writing of the new constitution was merely ceremonial and government participation was not meant to be taken seriously. Beyond this recollection, I could not find any other accounts of the independence process. I do suspect that such information might be available in Saint Lucia's and other countries' archives, which would require in-person analysis. Data and datasets on government websites were either missing or incomplete. The original Independence Acts and Constitutions for the Commonwealth Caribbean was available on the United Kingdom Statutory Instruments website (see Appendix C), except for Jamaica, Guyana, Trinidad and Tobago. Financial and economic data was difficult to find on official government websites, requiring me to rely on the IMF, World Bank and other financial institution's websites to gather economic data for Saint Lucia and the other countries in the region. Newspapers and other periodicals in

Saint Lucia and the Caribbean did not have robust searchable archival systems on their websites; Saint Lucia's television news stations seldom (if at all), maintained archived news clips and videos on their websites, some preferring instead to archive their videos on their YouTube channels; however, these channels contained outdated and poorly managed content. Overall, finding documents for my study took many hours of research which often times, resulted in one or two relevant documents; I truly utilized the World Wide Web as my searches took me to databases and websites worldwide, with limited results: documents that should have been available, mainly public government documents, were simply not readily available or difficult to find.

## **Recommendations**

### **Saint Lucia Should Implement Constitutional Reforms**

Saint Lucia Statutory Instrument No. 50 of 2004, dated July 16, 2004, voted on and approved by the House of Assembly and the Senate, by unanimous resolution, established the Constitutional Reform Commission. The Commission was comprised of 25 commissioners from all sectors of Saint Lucian society and mandated to produce a report in writing of the Commission's opinions, making recommendations, and providing for consideration of any amendments, reforms and changes to the constitution and related laws. The Commission was chaired by Saint Lucian-born the late Madam Justice Suzie d'Auvergne, The Eastern Caribbean Supreme Court, who said about the constitution, "It served well, but it has done its time...and it has to be amended. It has to fit the time. We have to move forward. A constitution cannot be stagnant" (ConReformSLU, 2007). Former Prime Minister and Saint Lucia's first prime minister Sir John Compton, echoed Justice d'Auvergne's sentiments. ConReformSLU, (2007) reported



the former prime minister saying that he felt that the 30-year old constitution need to be upgraded to fit the time, saying, it has served us quite well and that there were some things in the constitution that we have to upgrade. The prime minister at the time was Dr. Kenny D. Anthony who brought the report before Parliament on Tuesday, August 18, 2015 for debate. While many in Parliament admitted that the constitution needed to be update, there was general opposition to the reforms by the Government of Saint Lucia with one member calling the recommendations “ridiculous and preposterous.” Current Prime Minister Philip J. Pierre who at the time served as the Parliamentary Representative of Castries East (a position he still holds) though supportive of updating the constitution, was generally opposed to many of the recommendations. Pierre felt that those serving on the Commission did not have the right to dictate how the country was to be run because of their financial position, education, background and class. He stated: “The people are the ones who must tell us how to run the country and not any group or men or women who believe that they have the better brain...” (George, 2015). The Commission took seven years to create the 368-page report which contained 190 separate recommendations. The proposed constitution was a parliamentary-presidential hybrid, preserving the strong central government that characteristic of the British Westminster model, while also adopting the American systems of checks and balances. In January 2022, Prime Minister Pierre said his government plans to bring the Constitutional Reform Report up for discussion and debate during his current administration.

The report was debated in Parliament. The Saint Lucia Constitutional Report Commission Report (2011) stated that Saint Lucians expressed strong concern about the seeming lack of a system of checks and balances, the nature and composition of the parliament and the

overwhelming power of the prime minister. The report contained but not limited to the following recommendations:

1. The constitutional monarchical system should be abolished and replaced with a republican constitutional system
2. There should be fixed dates for Parliamentary Elections so that these elections are held every five (5) years on the 5th anniversary of the previous elections
3. No person should be appointed to the Office of prime Minister for more than three consecutive five-year terms. Where a prime minister has served for three (3) consecutive terms, he/she may return after a hiatus of five years
4. With the exception of the prime minister and the deputy prime minister, Members of the House of Assembly and the Senate will no longer be members of the Cabinet
5. The system of elected Local Government in Saint Lucia should be re-established
6. All foreign government contributions for election purposes should be banned; All financial contributions from foreign companies to political parties should be prohibited

I recommend that the Government of Saint Lucia implement The Saint Lucia Constitutional Report Commission Report document and give strong consideration on becoming a republic.

### **The Caribbean Nations Should Replace the Privy Council**

The Caribbean Court of Justice (CCJ) vs. The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council: Established in 2001, signatories to the creation of the CCJ includes the following member countries: Antigua and Barbuda, Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Dominica, Grenada, Guyana, Haiti, Jamaica, Montserrat, Saint Lucia, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Suriname and Trinidad and Tobago. The CCJ has exclusive and compulsory authority for

interpreting and applying the Revised Treaty of Chaguaramas. Only four Commonwealth Caribbean nations utilize the CCJ as its court of final appeal: Dominica, Barbados, Belize and Guyana. The other nations retain the Privy Council as its court of last resort. The Privy Council, located in the United Kingdom, is cost prohibitive and tends to favor the elite class. To bring a case before the Council costs upward of \$6,700. Over 10 years ago, the Privy Council indicated its desire to move beyond adjudicating cases of their former colonies. BBC Caribbean (2009) reported that Lord Phillips, formerly UK Chief Justice stated that that “in an ideal world” the Commonwealth Caribbean would stop using the Privy Council and establish their own final court of appeal. The Privy Council also represents one of the last vestiges of the colonial past. Saint Lucia’s prime minister Philip J. Pierre indicated on Monday January 25, 2022 his intentions to move to the CCJ as the nation’s final appellate court. The Government of Saint Lucia (2022) reported that his government is working to bring about solutions to ascent to the jurisdiction of the Caribbean Court of Justice and sated that the nation should move forward, recognize our potential and to have trust our institutions. I recommend that the remaining nations adopt the CCJ as its court of final appeal. A thorough research project is also recommended to determine the reasons that the other ten nations resist the CCJ as a viable court of last resort.

### **Climate Change at the Micro Level**

I recommend further, in-depth studies on the impact of climate change on the Caribbean beyond the over-produced research on rising sea levels and temperatures, continuing damage and depletion of the coral reef and increased violent hurricanes. Community-level research at the human level needs to be conducted. For example, on the micro level, research needs to measure

impact of the dry season in the Caribbean on small farmers and their ability to cope with changing weather patterns and sustain their livelihood. Dr. James Fletcher, Saint Lucia's former Minister of Sustainable Development stated on several occasions that the misuse of lands and the lack of a sound development plan was worsening the impacts of climate change in the Caribbean. He stated that infrastructure developments in areas that compromise the integrity of watersheds, poor waste management and government's continued support for hotel development along the coastline affects the sea level with the creation of rising and deadly storm surges, again, worsening the impacts of climate change on Caribbean nations. The Voice (2018) reported that Dr. Fletcher recommended that fighting climate change should begin at the household, community and national level and must become a number one priority for heads of Caribbean governments. Studies should also include the effects of local pollution not only on the environment, but on individuals in countries in the Caribbean. First, studies should be conducted on the number of countries in the region with programs in place to test vehicle emissions and how current emissions contribute to climate change. Second, the studies should include aggressive testing of the water supply and the effects polluted water has on agriculture and the health of citizens. Lastly, the studies must include health factors regarding the use of fossil fuels such as burning charcoal for cooking, has on persons, and what negative contributions do these fuels make to the environment, with emphasis focused on the release of carbon dioxide (CO<sub>2</sub>) in the atmosphere.

### **The Caribbean Dependency Theory Should Be Revived**

The CDT, which served as one of my theoretical frameworks was abandoned in peer-review research in the mid to late 1970s. As previously mentioned, CDT was based on the idea of

creating a Caribbean-centered cosmology and theory of society derived from historical study: epistemic decolonization of the Caribbean region. The problems stemming from the lack of development in the region was linked to epistemic dependence, the reliance of regional elites on imported ideas and concepts of little to no significance to the real conditions in the nations in the Caribbean. It was a “home-grown” theory, conceived and brought into political thought in the 1960’s by young faculty members at The University College, and now is The University of The West Indies. CDT’s primary focus was ending the external controls over countries internal development imposed by countries, mainly the United Kingdom, whose main purpose was to enforce neocolonial political structures. Girvan (2006) suggested that the theory ultimate decline was due to several unresolved theoretical, methodological, and political issues as well as wider intellectual and political developments. First, research must be performed to ascertain what unresolved issues led to the decline of CDT. Second, additional research must be conducted to determine how, if possible, to modernized the theory and enhance its original intent. Third, CDT’s refined framework and core principles must be applied to explain Caribbean dependency and why it continues to persist in modern era.

## **Implications**

### **Implications for Positive Social Change**

The objective of this study was to bring about social change that will create better standards of living for the people of the Caribbean. Social change is defined and mentioned throughout the study and was a thread woven tightly to the objective of the study and its ultimate result. The most significant restating of social change and its objective in this study is: social change does not require advanced education and training; it is a simple premise that can be

proposed by the average citizen in the community, pushing for basic changes that is so meaningful that it creates events that could lead to social changes such as constitutional reforms, transparent and measurable governance and economic and change that will create better standards of living for the people of the Caribbean. Social change is that which emboldens an individual, a people or a society to seek correction of an ill in our society which will bring about positive changes in our daily lives. When I hear the term social change, I immediately think of something that has caused harm to a part of our society which must, with a great sense of urgency, be addressed and changed for the betterment of the society. The findings of this chapter showed a region wrestling with its colonial past, with constitutions...governing documents that are over 60-year-old that can no longer provide for social needs of its people. Further, these constitutions, similar in language and laws, though adequate at the time, can no longer be a substitute for the Commonwealth Caribbean countries' individual norms, customs, traditions and values.

The results of the study and its findings show that it is the people of the Caribbean that are most in peril and most in need of a mechanism(s) that can bring positive social change to their lives. They live under the Westminster model that has not served them well and at times, curtailed and challenged the civil rights and liberties guaranteed to them by their colonial constitutions. The recommendation of this study is that the region, particularly Saint Lucia, embark on constitutional reforms. This represents that best opportunity to bring positive social change to individuals, families, on an organizational level and to society on the whole: a new charter...a constitution steeped not in colonialism but in the values and traditions that makes Saint Lucia and other Caribbean nations exude the ideals that have allowed them to endure

through the centuries. The countries in the region cannot benefit from the impact of positive social change when its citizens are asked to swear and bear allegiance to a monarch in another country. Constitutional reforms are the only mechanism to allow the people of the Caribbean to bear allegiance to their own country.

### **Conclusions**

The findings of this study revealed a region continuing to struggle with its colonial past: four nations, Guyana, Trinidad and Tobago, Dominica and Barbados are now republics, removed Queen Elizabeth II as their head of state but are still members of the British Commonwealth of Nations. The other former colonies, including Saint Lucia do not appear ready to remove the last remanence of their colonial past and fully embrace and join the four brethren in becoming a republic through a constitutional reform process. The concept that grounded this study was colonialism; therefore, my overarching recommendation for the nations who comprise the Commonwealth Caribbean is to embrace their rich history, culture and heritage and leave the colonial past where it belongs: in the past. When the region was colonized, the island was populated and flourished with the Amerindians, Arawak and the Carib Indians who left behind a lush rich history of tradition, some of which are visible in today Caribbean societies, but most are all have vanished. The Westminster model has been credited for creating the largest collection of thriving democracies in the Caribbean than in any part of the world. In 2022, the Commonwealth Caribbean, this sustaining region of free democracies should not be governed by constitutions that require them to be faithful and bear true allegiance to Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, Her Heirs and Successors, according to law, so help them God.

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[Trochim/publication/243783609\\_The\\_Research\\_Methods\\_Knowledge\\_Base/links/55db837008aed6a199ac6246/The-Research-Methods-Knowledge-Base.pdf](https://www.researchgate.net/profile/William-Trochim/publication/243783609_The_Research_Methods_Knowledge_Base/links/55db837008aed6a199ac6246/The-Research-Methods-Knowledge-Base.pdf)

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## Appendix A: Theme, Subthemes in the Literature Review

Theme	Subthemes	Frequencies ( <i>f</i> )
Political		303
	Political System	12
	Political Life	12
	Political Institutions	12
	Political Rights	8
	Political Economy	7
	Political Party	7
	Political Elite	6
	Political Stability	6
	Political Process	5
	Political Tribalism	5
Constitutional		200
	Constitutional Change	12
	Draft Constitutions	6
	Independence Constitutions	6
	Constitutional System	6
	Constitutional Reform Process	6
	Constitutional Provisions	5
	Constitutional Amendment Methods	4
	Constitutional Arrangements	4
	Constitutional Design	4
	Constitutional Replacements	4
State		134
	Independent States	10
	Small States	9
	Caribbean States	9
	Small Island State	5
	Colonial State	5
	Post-Colonial State	4
	Sovereign States	3
	Anglo-Caribbean States	3
System		96
	Political System	12
	Parliamentary System	9
	Electoral System	9
	Democratic System	3
	Dominant Party System	2
	Winner-Takes-All System	2

Theme	Subthemes	Frequencies ( <i>f</i> )
Colonial		83
	British Colonial Heritage	11
	Colonial Heritage	6
	Colonial State	5
	British Colonial Rule	4
	Colonial Powers	3
	Colonial Service	2
	Colonial Experience	2

## Appendix B: Theme, Subthemes Caribbean Original Independence Order

Theme	Subthemes	Frequencies ( <i>f</i> )	In No. of Constitutions
Public		391	11
	Public Safety	48	10
	Public Order	45	10
	Public Morality	38	10
	Public Officer	30	6
	Public Purpose	28	10
	Public Service	26	8
	Public Emergency	24	7
	Public Interest	17	9
	Public Office	17	5
Reasonable		219	10
	Reasonable Time	44	10
	Reasonably Justifiable	29	5
	Reasonably Necessary	24	10
	Reasonably Practicable	24	10
	Reasonable Conditions	15	10
	Reasonable Suspicion	14	8
	Reasonable Fee	12	8
	Reasonable Facilities	10	7
	Reasonable Grounds	9	5
	Reasonable Restrictions	8	8
Law		119	12
	Existing Law	33	7
	Disciplinary Law	28	9
	Appropriation Law	18	6
	Personal Law	8	8
	Pensions Law	6	4
	Emergency Laws	6	6
	Supreme Law	5	4
	Later Law	4	4
	Service Law	2	1
	Law Regulation	1	1
Force		115	12
	Disciplined Force	34	9
	Air Force	26	10
	Forced Labour	18	10
	Defence Force	17	3
	Police Force	14	8
	Armed Force	3	3
	Force There Under	2	2

Theme	Subthemes	Frequencies ( <i>f</i> )	In No. of Constitutions
	Force Subject	1	1
Provisions		105	12
	Following Provisions	30	10
	Foregoing Provisions	17	8
	Transitional Provisions	11	9
	Different Provision	7	7
	Protective Provisions	6	5
	Including Provision	5	5
	Additional Provisions	4	4
	Subsequent Provisions	3	3
	Electoral Provisions	2	1
Person		100	10
	Detained Person	19	10
	Particular Person Votes	10	4
	Deceased Person	9	9
	Protected Person	8	5
	Proceedings Persons	8	8
	Following Persons	7	4
	Appropriate Person	5	4
	Respective Persons	5	4
	Appropriate Person	5	4



## Appendix C: Caribbean Nations Original Independence Order/Act

Author	Date	Title	Source	
			Website name	URL
United Kingdom Statutory Instruments	1981	The Antigua and Barbuda Constitution Order 1981	The National Archives	Retrieved December 22, 2021, from <a href="https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukxi/1981/1106/contents/made">https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukxi/1981/1106/contents/made</a>
	1973	The Bahamas Independence Order 1973		Retrieved December 22, 2021, from <a href="https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukxi/1973/1080/contents/made">https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukxi/1973/1080/contents/made</a>
ECOLEX	1966	Barbados Independence Act 1966		Retrieved December 22, 2021, from <a href="https://www.ecolex.org/details/legislation/barbados-independence-order-1966-and-the-constitution-of-barbados-lex-faoc129680/">https://www.ecolex.org/details/legislation/barbados-independence-order-1966-and-the-constitution-of-barbados-lex-faoc129680/</a>
United Kingdom Statutory Instruments	1981	The Belize Independence Order 1981		Retrieved December 22, 2021, from <a href="https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukxi/1981/1107/contents/made">https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukxi/1981/1107/contents/made</a>
	1978	The Commonwealth of Dominica Constitution Order 1978		Retrieved December 22, 2021, from <a href="https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukxi/1978/1027/contents/made">https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukxi/1978/1027/contents/made</a>

Author	Date	Title	Source	
			Website name	URL
	(1973, December 19).	The Grenada Constitution Order 1973		Retrieved December 22, 2021, from <a href="https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukxi/1973/2155/contents/made">https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukxi/1973/2155/contents/made</a>
	(1962, July 19).	Jamaica Independence Act, 1962		Retrieved December 22, 2021, from <a href="https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1962/40/pdfs/ukpga_19620040_en.pdf">https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1962/40/pdfs/ukpga_19620040_en.pdf</a>
Government of Jamaica	(1962, July 24).	Jamaica (Constitution) Order in Council. 1962	Ministry of Justice	Retrieved December 22, 2021, from <a href="https://moj.gov.jm/laws/jamaica-constitution-order-council-1962">https://moj.gov.jm/laws/jamaica-constitution-order-council-1962</a>
United Kingdom Statutory Instruments	1966, May 26).	Guyana Independence Act 1966	The National Archives	Retrieved December 22, 2021, from <a href="https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1966/14/pdfs/ukpga_19660014_en.pdf">https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1966/14/pdfs/ukpga_19660014_en.pdf</a>
The Government of Guyana	(1966, May 16).	The Guyana Independence Order 1966	The Parliament of Guyana	Retrieved December 22, 2021, from <a href="http://parliament.gov.gy/new2/documents/bills/21123/statutory_instrument_guyana_independence_order">http://parliament.gov.gy/new2/documents/bills/21123/statutory_instrument_guyana_independence_order</a>

Author	Date	Title	Source	
			Website name	URL
				<a href="#">_1966_no_575.pdf</a>
United Kingdom Statutory Instruments	(1983, June 22).	The Saint Christopher (Kitts) and Nevis Constitution Order 1983	The National Archives	Retrieved December 22, 2021, from <a href="https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukxi/1983/881/contents/made">https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukxi/1983/881/contents/made</a>
	(1979, February 22).	The Saint Lucia Constitution Order 1978		Retrieved December 22, 2021, from <a href="https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukxi/1978/1901/contents/made">https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukxi/1978/1901/contents/made</a>
	(1979, October 27).	The Saint Vincent Constitution Order 1979		Retrieved December 22, 2021, from <a href="https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukxi/1979/916/contents/made">https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukxi/1979/916/contents/made</a>
	(1962, August 31).	Trinidad and Tobago Independence Act 1962		Retrieved December 22, 2021, from <a href="https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1962/54/pdfs/ukpga_19620054_en.pdf">https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1962/54/pdfs/ukpga_19620054_en.pdf</a>
United Kingdom Statutory Instruments		The Trinidad and Tobago (Constitution) Order in Council, 1961	The Parliament of Trinidad and Tobago	Retrieved December 22, 2021, from <a href="http://www.ttparliament.org/documents/1099.pdf">http://www.ttparliament.org/documents/1099.pdf</a>

## Appendix D: State of Emergency &amp; COVID-19 Legislation

Author	Date	Title	Source	
			Website name	URL
The Government of Antigua and Barbuda	(2020, July 31).	PUBLIC HEALTH ACT (DANGEROUS INFECTIOUS DISEASE) (AMENDMENT ) (NO.7) REGULATIONS 2020 STATUTORY INSTRUMENT 2020, NO.52	The Ministry of Legal Affairs Laws Website	Retrieved December 24, 2021, from <a href="https://covid19.gov.ag/pdf-post/public-health-act/">https://covid19.gov.ag/pdf-post/public-health-act/</a>
The Commonwealth of The Bahamas	(2020, July 27).	EMERGENCY POWERS (COVID 19 PANDEMIC) (NO. 3) ORDER, 2020	Office of the Prime Minister	Retrieved December 24, 2021, from <a href="https://opm.gov.bs/emergency-powers-covid19-pandemicno-3order2020-pdf/">https://opm.gov.bs/emergency-powers-covid19-pandemicno-3order2020-pdf/</a>
The Government of Belize	(2020, June 11).	BELIZE CONSTITUTION (EMERGENCY POWERS) REGULATIONS, 2020.	Government of Belize Press Office	Retrieved December 24, 2021, from <a href="https://www.pressoffice.gov.bz/wp-content/uploads/2019/12/SI-No.-85-of-2020-Belize-Constitution-Emergency-Powers-Regulations-2020.pdf">https://www.pressoffice.gov.bz/wp-content/uploads/2019/12/SI-No.-85-of-2020-Belize-Constitution-Emergency-Powers-Regulations-2020.pdf</a>
The Government of Barbados	(2021, February 17).	Emergency Management (COVID-19)	The Barbados Government Information Service (BGIS)	Retrieved December 24, 2021, from <a href="https://gisbarbado">https://gisbarbado</a>

Author	Date	Title	Source	
			Website name	URL
		(Curfew) (No. 4) Directive, 2021		<a href="https://www.gov.bb/download/emergency-management-covid-19-curfew-no-4-directive-2021/">s.gov.bb/download/emergency-management-covid-19-curfew-no-4-directive-2021/</a>
The Government of The Commonwealth of Dominica	(2020, April 1).	Emergency Powers (Curfew) Order, 2020	Commonwealth of Dominica, Office of the President	Retrieved December 24, 2021, from <a href="http://presidentoffice.gov.dm/images/docs/Scanned_Copy_of_Proclamation_Declaring_State_of_Emergency_2020.pdf">http://presidentoffice.gov.dm/images/docs/Scanned_Copy_of_Proclamation_Declaring_State_of_Emergency_2020.pdf</a>  <a href="http://presidentoffice.gov.dm/images/docs/Scanned_Copy_of_Emergency_Powers_Curfew_Order_2020.pdf">http://presidentoffice.gov.dm/images/docs/Scanned_Copy_of_Emergency_Powers_Curfew_Order_2020.pdf</a>
The Government of Grenada	(2020, December 21).	Emergency Powers (COVID-19) (Proclamation No. 3) Regulations, 2020	Now Grenada	Retrieved December 24, 2021, from <a href="https://www.nowgrenada.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/12/S.R.O.-73-of-2020-Emergency-Powers-Covid-19-Proclamation-No.-3-Regulations.pdf">https://www.nowgrenada.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/12/S.R.O.-73-of-2020-Emergency-Powers-Covid-19-Proclamation-No.-3-Regulations.pdf</a>
The Government of Guyana	(2020, March 16).	COVID-19 Emergency Measures (no. 2)	The Official Gazette of Guyana	Retrieved December 24, 2021, from <a href="https://officialgazette.gov.gy/">https://officialgazette.gov.gy/</a>

Author	Date	Title	Source	
			Website name	URL
				<a href="http://ette.gov.gy/images/gazette2020/apr/Extra_9APRIL2020NotCv19_2.pdf">ette.gov.gy/images/gazette2020/apr/Extra_9APRIL2020NotCv19_2.pdf</a>
The Government of Jamaica	2021, January 15).	The Disaster Risk Management (Enforcement Measures) Order, 2021	Ministry of Justice	Retrieved December 24, 2021, from <a href="https://moj.gov.jm/sites/default/files/DRM2021_0.pdf">https://moj.gov.jm/sites/default/files/DRM2021_0.pdf</a>
The Government of Saint Christopher (Kitts) and Nevis	(2020, April 3).	Emergency Powers (COVID-19) (No. 3) Regulations	The Government of Saint Christopher (Kitts) and Nevis Ministry of Health	Retrieved December 24, 2021, from <a href="https://covid19.gov.kn/2020/04/02/saint-christopher-and-nevis-statutory-rules-and-orders-no-10-of-2020-emergency-powers-covid-19-no-3-regulations/">https://covid19.gov.kn/2020/04/02/saint-christopher-and-nevis-statutory-rules-and-orders-no-10-of-2020-emergency-powers-covid-19-no-3-regulations/</a>
The Government of Saint Lucia	(2020, October 2).	The COVID-19 (Prevention and Control) Act, 2020	Saint Lucia - National Printing Corporation	Retrieved December 24, 2021, from <a href="http://slugovprinting.com/template/files/document_for_sale/laws/4659/Act%20of%202020-%20COVID-19(Prevention%20and%20Control)%20Act.pdf">http://slugovprinting.com/template/files/document_for_sale/laws/4659/Act%20of%202020-%20COVID-19(Prevention%20and%20Control)%20Act.pdf</a>
The Government of The Republic of	(2020, May 11).	The Public Health [2019 Novel	Government of the Republic of	Retrieved December 24, 2021, from

			Source	
Author	Date	Title	Website name	URL
Trinidad and Tobago		Coronavirus (2019-nCoV)] (No. 28) Regulations, 2020	Trinidad and Tobago News	<a href="http://www.news.gov.tt/content/public-health-regulations-no-13#.Yd9Gb_7MKUm">http://www.news.gov.tt/content/public-health-regulations-no-13#.Yd9Gb_7MKUm</a>

## Appendix E: Theme, Subthemes Caribbean State of Emergency/COVID-19 Acts

Theme	Subthemes	Frequencies ( <i>f</i> )	In No. of Legislation/Acts
Public		93	9
	Public Place	14	7
	Public Service	8	5
	Public Emergency	6	1
	Public Hospital	5	3
	Public Space	5	3
	Public Transport	4	3
	General Public	4	3
	Public Health System	2	2
	Public Access	2	2
Services		78	9
	Public Service	8	7
	Essential Service	7	4
	Receiving Services	4	3
	Funeral Services	4	3
	Private Ambulance Service	3	1
	Money Services Business	3	2
	Room Service	3	2
	Veterinary Services	3	1
	Exempt Services	3	1
	Credit Union Services	2	1
Business		35	9
	Business Purposes	4	1
	Business Processing	3	1
	Business Operations	3	2
	Businesses Establishments	2	2
	Credit Union Business	2	1
	Transacting Business	2	1
	Retail Business Establishments	1	1
	Accordance Business	1	1
	Related Businesses	1	1
	Regular Business Hours	1	1
Distancing		32	9
	Physical Distancing Protocols	14	5
	Social Distancing Protocol	7	1
	Social Distancing	4	2
	Distancing Markers	2	1
	Physical Distancing	2	2
	Concerning Distancing	1	1
Facility		29	5

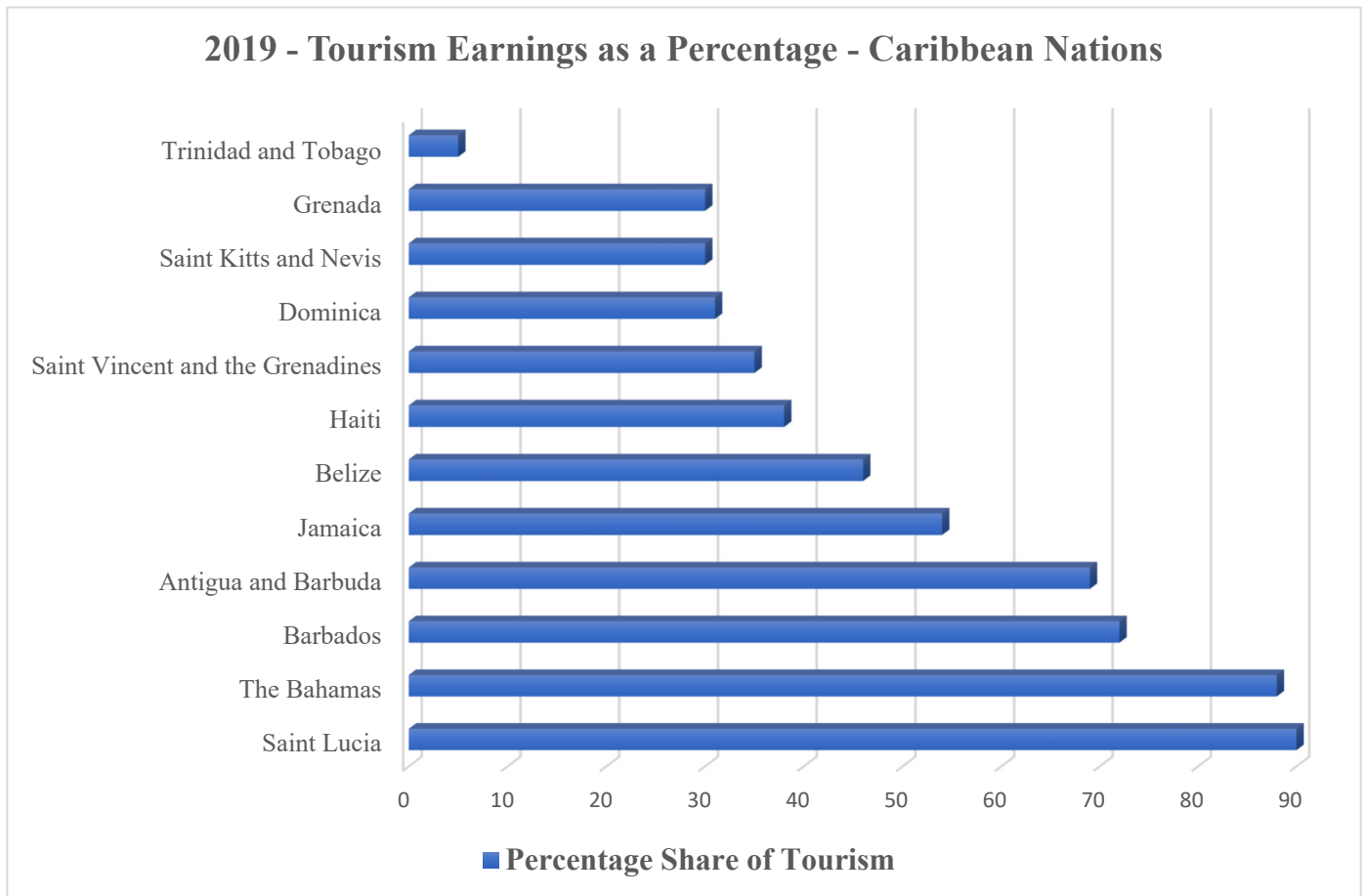


Theme	Subthemes	Frequencies ( <i>f</i> )	In No. of Legislation/Acts
	Appropriate Facility	5	1
	Medical Facilities	3	2
	Quarantine Facility	3	1
	Government Facility	3	1
	Correctional Facilities	2	2
	Fuel storage Facilities	2	1
	Residential Care Establishment Facility	2	1
	Outdoor Shower Facilities	1	1
	Establishment Offering Dining Facilities	1	1
Mask		32	8
	Face Mask	25	7
	Failure to Wear Mask	1	1
	Public Mask	1	1
	Wear Masks	1	1

## Appendix F: Theme, Subthemes Saint Lucia State of Emergency/COVID-19 Act

Theme	Subthemes	Frequencies (f)
Public		93
	Public Omnibus	5
	Public Safety	3
	Public Officer	3
	Public Order	2
	Public Service Vehicle	1
	General Public	1
	Public Interest	1
Electronic Monitoring		11
	Electronic Monitoring Device	9
	Electronic Monitoring Literacy	1
	Electronic Monitoring Awareness	1
Tourism		9
	Certified Tourism Transport	3
	Tourism Service Aids	2
	Valid Tourism Taxi	1
	Including Tourism Tour Bus	1
	Tourism Site	1
	Local Tourism	1
Electronic Monitoring Device		9
	Electronic Monitoring Device	9
Authority		5
	Regulatory Authority	4
	Official Authority	1
Visitors		4
	Transporting Visitors	1
	Guides Visitors	1
	Visitors Choice	1
	Greeting Visitors	1

## Appendix G: Tourism earnings as a percentage share of exports in SIDS, 201



*Note:* Elkins, Ginsburg, Blount, (Gounder, Cox, 2021, p. 4).