THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF SURVIVAL
IN AN URBAN SLUM: THE JAMAICAN CASE

by

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation deals with the political economy of survival within a Jamaican urban slum. It departs from the sociological tradition of viewing the slum as a separate social entity and treats it as an integral part of the urban community.

For theoretical guidance, the dissertation draws significantly upon works subscribing to the dependency perspective. However, the inner dynamics of survival, presented throughout the study are derived through participant observation in the West Kingston slum.

Problems within the slum such as high unemployment, crime, violence, overcrowding and the general state of poverty are viewed within the context of Jamaica's historical dependence. The thrust of the study focuses on the techniques employed by slum dwellers in their struggle for survival. These include participation in petty commodity production and petty trading, most of which takes the form of hustling which is conceptualized as the application of one's wits in securing scarce material
resources. Furthermore, as the slum dwellers struggle to survive, they at the same time contribute to the economy in ways that are not usually recognized by the state. Given the scarcity of jobs, competition tends to be fierce. This is reinforced by a strong orientation towards individual acquisitiveness. The situation is manipulated by politicians through a highly sophisticated political patronage system. Political violence is usually the result.

The slum dwellers do not appear to be in control of their social world. Many make sense of their world by resorting to a strong belief in the occult or participation in various syncretized religious cults. There is an absence of political consciousness among slum dwellers who tend not to perceive their poor material condition as socially produced, thus perpetuating their situation.

This dissertation shows that the slum dwellers sustain an asymmetrical symbiotic relationship with the urban economy.
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This dissertation is based on my longstanding concern with the possibilities for the development of the human potential of the peoples of the Third World. Being born in Jamaica, a society commonly referred to as part of the Third World, I am concerned with its future. Unfortunately, I have expended a great deal of intellectual energy subscribing to an uncritical evolutionist ideology which maintains that if Third World people are to develop such potential, they must follow similar paths to North American and European societies. Of course, my primary socialization process and early formal education reflected and reinforced this ideology.

It is therefore ironic that my intellectual transformation should take place within the context of a North American University. The discipline of sociology facilitated a shift of this interest to my own society, Jamaica. With this shift, I also became interested in the added dimension of external dependency. My transformation was further reinforced by exposure to the works of Caribbean intellectuals such as Franz Fanon, Aime Cesaire, Walter Rodney, George Beckford, Norman Girvan
and Owen Jefferson. I also became aware of the literature on dependency which represented a departure from the classical theory of development. Although this perspective emanates from Latin America, it seems applicable to many other Third World societies. It appears to be the most promising in the sense that it best explains some of the cultural complexities of Jamaican reality with which I have been grappling, such as overall poverty, the merging of race and class and the seemingly unequal relationship that Jamaica and other Third World countries have with the developed world. This unequal relationship has now come to be viewed as the distinguishing feature of dependent states. Equipped with a new perspective, I began to pay closer attention to Jamaica's social history; in particular, the history of slavery, the interplay of the various social classes within the country and the interconnections between Jamaica and the more advanced countries.

I selected the slum for intensive study because it best represents the restricting of human potential. Given the high degree of powerlessness that is exhibited by the people within this sector, it is my contention that this restricting of human potential is carried out in the interest of various privileged groups within Jamaican society. So, rather than viewing the slum as an
isolated community, as other studies have done, I intend to examine it within the context of Jamaican society. I can only hope that the interpretations that follow will present a fairly accurate picture of the life situations of the people in a Kingston slum.
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I would like to thank the members of my committee Dr. Elvi Whittaker, my thesis adviser, Dr. Terry McGee and Dr. Tissa Fernando for their suggestions and help in carrying this work through. Thanks also to Dr. Blanca Muratorio for her help in the initial stages of the work and to my family for financial and emotional support and my colleagues who were always on hand throughout the difficult periods of writing. Finally, thanks to my informants who gave their time, even though time played such an important part in their lives.
CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

My work is concerned with the slum in what has been considered a dependent capitalist state. It is an effort to arrive at a better understanding of how the slum is created, why it persists in spite of efforts to eliminate it, and the role its inhabitants play within the urban economy. In demonstrating this, I will first situate the slum within a particular dependent state, Jamaica, and in the city of Kingston, in particular. Then, I shall try to show how the slum's persistence is partly tied to Jamaica's dependent role within a wider capitalist system. I will try also to show that because many of the everyday activities of the slum residents are inextricably tied to techniques of personal survival, they tend not to be regarded as activities important to the economy. As McGee (1974) shows in reference to slums in Jakarta, there are groups of people involved in activities concerned with the provision of services, for example, car washers, car minders, tire repairers,
professional queuers, self-appointed house guards, prostitutes, number runners, self-employed mechanics or carpenters and other skilled and semi-skilled artisans, magicians and cult leaders, whose contributions to the urban economy are barely recognized.

In the case of Kingston, therefore I will look at how the slum dwellers survive. I will examine also the ideology they develop and adopt in response to their deprived situation. For instance, their attraction to social movements such as the Rastafarian Movement and their maintenance of a strong belief in Obeah as a way of making sense of their world. Obeah is a type of witchcraft which has its origins in Africa but was manifested in Jamaica during the period of slavery. The word is derived from the Ghanaian word obayi meaning witch (Barrett 1976). Most tend to respond to their situation by engaging in enterprising ventures such as hustling which involves hawking, pickpocketing, scuffling, prostitution or becoming casual labourers, such as domestic helpers and gardeners. The financial returns from these activities tend to be quite low and such individuals find it difficult to make ends meet within an economy that is experiencing an ever-increasing rise in the cost of living. Still others participate in
political violence, which tends to be an alternative to other forms of employment and brings in additional income. The main aim of this investigation is to establish a better understanding of the role of the slum within a dependent state.

In many cases slums are the most visible expression of socio-economic inequality within both developed and less developed nation states. Slums tend to persist as 'problem areas' despite the various analytical perspectives that have proliferated to explain their presence and to devise practical solutions. My interest in the slums arises from the fact that they persist both in advanced and dependent capitalist states. In both types of states, discussions concerning ways of eliminating them are constantly generated yet, so far, this has not proven to be successful. This leads one to believe that slums might not be as dysfunctional as they are purported to be.

I have placed emphasis on the slum within the dependent capitalist state because of the basic assumption that the slums in these states tend to play a more significant role within the economy than those within the advanced states. That is, at the very minimum, people within the slum in the dependent state have to devise strategies for survival and income creation. Starting
off with the notion that the economic situation influences that of the social, political and ideological, the very location of the slum within a specific type of economy requires some explanation.

In essence, the slum in an advanced capitalist state such as the United States, is usually a physically deteriorated area which has become a reservoir for the city's poor and oppressed. Most of the residents are minimally supported, by the state through social welfare of one type or another. In reference to the United States, Stack indicates that aid to families with dependent children seems to play a significant role in this regard (1975:10,27). This may have important implications in advanced capitalist states, as Gough explains in the case of Great Britain:

Almost all social policies have a bearing on the capacity of the family to bring up children, and many are specifically directed at the minority of families that at any given time are doing so: not only education, but specific health services for example; and within maintenance and housing policies special regard is given to those families with children. Children form the workforce of the next generation and this is one reason for the growth of state intervention in this process (1979:46).

The same cannot be said for children within most slums of dependent states, as in many cases they are incorporated within the work force at an early age.
Studies of slums within the advanced capitalist states, in particular the United States, focus on social organization (Whyte 1973, Suttles 1968, Clarke 1965, Liebow 1967, Tabb 1970, Rainwater 1973). Other studies investigate specific aspects of the slum. For instance, Valentine (1978) discusses the hardship of hustling among poor blacks. Stack (1970) analyzes the struggles of poor black families in their day to day existence. Perkins (1975) sensitively describes the oppression of poor black children, emphasizing the street as home and children's expert knowledge of that 'home'. Brown (1965) uses an autobiographical approach to depict his everyday experiences in the slum of Harlem as a young boy and his long term involvement with drug pushing and gang wars. Anderson's (1978) study is an ethnographic description of a group of black men from the ghetto who meet regularly at a local bar. The major thrust of this study is to demonstrate that the men are not just idlers stumbling around together, as is often believed, but on the contrary, the group is well structured with members experiencing personal fears, anxieties, hopes and expectations. Although these studies give us some ideas of survival patterns in the slums as well as certain interesting aspects of street life, there is a general tendency not to tie these events to the country's overall political economy.
Lisa Peattie offers a possible explanation for this failure to relate small studies to the wider society:

Field-work anthropology got its start in a series of short term plunges into various exotic societies without written history. Lack of background information and the limited time span of "field work" presented these societies to the ethnographer as isolated from their immediate history. Real isolation of primitive groups was exaggerated in the field worker's perception by the limited reach of the single researcher's ears and legs. Thus, although anthropologists have always looked at cultures as systems of coping with specific real situations, and as developing their systematic quality within the limits set by their situations, the nature of the societies anthropologists studied and the context within which they studied them has made for a focus on internal organization, rather than on the relationship of small systems to larger scale forces (1971:285).

Peattie further suggests that this approach is carried over to studies of groups that are "by no means isolated." This, of course, extends to groups within advanced and dependent capitalist societies. I am aware that examination of sectors of society as an integral part of the political economy moves us into the political realm and that social scientists could be reluctant to do this because of the moral implication of such studies. Alvin Gouldner's (1980:16) concern regarding social scientists in general and their adherence to Weber's doctrine of a value-free sociology also comes to mind as he wonders "whether this group's political intelligence
can ever be adequately mobilized for these purposes so long as it remains tranquillized by the value free doctrine." I intend to depart from this tradition of viewing the slum in isolation and attempt to examine its reality within the historical context of dependency.

The slums within a dependent state tend to be growing at a much more rapid rate than those in the more advanced countries. That has been attributed to the fact that within these countries, the rate of natural increase tends to be higher and also the volume of rural-urban migration is considerable. This is often a consequence of the structure of poverty in the rural areas where many people are systematically excluded from the means of subsistence (Feder 1971). In these cases most of the land is owned by a few. As Robotham (1977:45) shows for Jamaica, "on the average over 70% of the farmers with farms under 5 acres of land occupied only 11-16% of total farm acreage; while on the other hand between 300 and 350 large latifundia representing between 0.15% to 0.2% of all farmers monopolized between 38-45% of all the farm-land." Many small farmers moved to the city with expectations of obtaining jobs. As expressed by many of my informants these expectations all too frequently turned out to be mere illusions. Many remain in the city relying solely upon their hopes. Unable to cope economi-
cally, most find themselves forced to live in the shanty towns or slums of the city, thus swelling the ranks of the unemployed and under-employed. This excessive unemployment adds to the unbearable housing conditions and poor health standards which tend to worsen the social conditions of those within these slums.

Such slums exhibit features similar to their counterparts in the developed countries, such as dilapidation, overcrowding and lack of adequate social amenities; but there is a fundamental difference in the sense that these residents do not receive state support. Thus starting from practically no material base they are left to devise techniques for their own survival. These techniques range from organizing a place to live to finding a daily meal. This precarious situation tends to give rise to squatting, which is the occupation of land and the construction of houses (shanties) on these lands without the consent of the owners. Or, they sometimes become voluntary squatters by renting rooms in tenement within the inner city slums for a short period of time and then refuse to continue rent payments. For the purposes of this study, the terms squatters and slum dwellers will be used synonymously, as they represent the poorest sectors of the population. Slum areas are usually older and more established, with decaying houses the
dominant mode of shelter, while squatter settlements tend to be located on the fringes of the city. These are makeshift shelters, usually of discarded materials such as flattened tin drums, sticks, rags and coconut leaves. In referring to squatters, Turner points out that, "the clandestine developers' or squatters' action is illegal, therefore the settlements they establish do not officially exist" (1970:270). One cannot help but see the reaction of officials to squatters as a reflection of their attitudes towards them as a social group. It is difficult to comprehend this negation when squatters seem to make up rather high percentages of the population in many dependent states:

Squatters make up about 45% of the population of Ankara where some land has had to be turned over to them. They are 21% of Istanbul's population and 18% of Izmir's. In 1951 they numbered sixty thousand in Baghdad and twenty thousand in Basra, Iraq; in Karachi, squatters represented about a third of the population. Squatters account for at least 20% of Manila's population and in Davao squatters have taken possession of the whole parkway area running from the city hall to the retail centre. Urban centres in South America are also experiencing a flood of migrant squatters. In Venezuela, the proportion of squatters (rural and urban) is more than 65% of the total population, with a 35% rate for Caracas and 50% for Maracaibo. Cali, Colombia, has a squatter population that makes up about 30% of the total figure. In Santiago, Chile, squatters represent an estimated 25% of the population. They constitute 15% in Singapore and 12% in Kingston, Jamaica (Abrams 1977:294).
Much of this squatting has been well documented for certain parts of Latin America, Asia and Africa, where the demand for housing tends to be greater than the supply. This problem tends to be exacerbated by the urbanization process that has been taking place within the developing world over the last three decades (McGee 1977, Cornelius 1977, Breese 1966, Clarke 1975, Desai and Pillai 1970, Gutkind 1974). The problem intensifies as neither the Jamaican state nor the private sector takes the responsibility for adequately housing the population brought into the city by the phenomenon of urban explosion:

It is not surprising, in view of the continued growth of the metropolitan population during this period and the increasing housing shortage, that existing shanty towns persisted and expanded unless forcibly removed. New shanties were established on vacant lands throughout the urban areas, particularly on its edges, e.g. Riverton City and Bayfarm Road in the western sector. The established shanty towns increased in density and extended this area where this was possible. Hanson's study found, for example, that the established shanty towns of Grants Pen, Whitehall and Cassava Piece increased their population from 3,290, 1,154 and 563 respectively in 1960 to 9,924, 5,517 and 786 in 1970. Densities during the same period went up from 7.3 in Grants Pen, 2.8 in Whitehall and 21.8 in Casava Piece to 22, 13.6 and 30.5 persons per acre. The same study also showed the beginnings of shanties, such as White Friar and Hope River whose populations were 260 and 19 in 1968 but had increased to 676 and 195 in 1974 (Norton 1978:44).
There is much written about slums and squatter settlements in such Third World regions as Latin America, Africa and Asia. I was unable to find any detailed studies dealing specifically with the slums of Kingston.

Most of the studies on Kingston have concentrated on surveys, such as unemployment ratios, and spatial distribution of the population integrating race and class, or the racial and class components in voting patterns. The most detailed study has been carried out by the geographer Colin Clarke (1975). His work concentrates on urban development in Kingston and although illuminating, his analysis does not make a clear connection between the processes operating in Kingston and the rest of the country, nor for that matter, the connection between enclaves such as slums and shanty towns in Kingston and the city core.

Kuper has attempted to cover too many issues. He therefore ends up contributing too little to the study of Jamaica's political economy, a task which he declares is his intent. Although his aim was to place the slums in a more "realistic perspective...in order to demystify various fashionable (foreign and home-made) models of the social environment of Kingston" (1976:98), his chapter on Kingston's slums seems to be a mere catalogue of existing features.
Other anthropological studies have covered various aspects of Jamaican life. Smith (1962, 1965) has studied the family in the Caribbean and has discussed both Jamaica's rural and urban family patterns in order to explain the nature of domestic organization. In looking at ethnic pluralism in the Caribbean, he completely ignores the historical analysis of race and class and argues that each cultural sector possesses a different institutional system with regard to family, kinship and religion. In addition, each cultural sector may be internally divided by social class. He chooses not to analyze the dominant class's ideological penetration through institutions such as education and its relationship to the perpetuation of the social structure. David Lowenthal's (1972) work portrays a comprehensive study of Caribbean societies. He concentrates on the development of the different social structures over time, demonstrating the differences and similarities within the English, Dutch and French speaking Caribbean. Fernando Henriques (1968) focuses his attention on the role of colour in Jamaican family life. He also ignores the historical legacy and assumes as given the situation where colour is hierarchically correlated with social class.
Recent writers are now focusing attention on some of the economic, political and social issues confronting contemporary Jamaica. Their works are helpful as a frame of reference for examining the slum. Norman Girvan (1971) and Owen Jefferson (1972) attack the investment patterns of the multinational companies, maintaining that they contribute to Jamaica's condition of dependent development. This is confirmed, they argue, by the nature of the relationship between these companies and the Jamaican economy. Keith (1978) also sees the impulse of multinational companies toward the Third World as a manifestation of metropolitan based capitalism to find markets for its investments, economic surplus, manufactured goods and cheap labour power to cut the rising production cost in the advanced capitalist countries (Baran 1957; Magdoff 1969; Jalee 1968, 1969). Munroe and Robotham (1977) point out that the Jamaican masses can only change their present situation if they are politically aware of their history and the causes of their plight. The book therefore presents a political history of the struggles of the Jamaican working class. Rex Nettleford (1970) traces the history of the development of a Jamaican identity. In his chapter on the Rastafarian Movement, he has located his empirical problem in Kingston, but has not, to any great extent, linked the emergence of this movement to Jamaica's political economy.
Walter Rodney also located his work in Kingston but concentrated exclusively on the development of a black identity. His objective was the call for a break with imperialism and the assumption of power by the black masses "and the cultural reconstruction of the society in the image of the blacks" (1969:21). Leonard Barrett (1974), in looking at the Rastafarians in Kingston, examined them under the rubric of messianic cultism in Jamaica. Although he has focused on the Rastafarians in Kingston, he did not examine the possibility that their emergence was a consequence of the nature of Kingston's political economy.

Michael Manley (1974) is concerned with the country's socio-political history and its ultimate future. He argues for a total reconstruction of the society in the hope of ridding it of its historical legacy of dependence. Beckford (1972) goes into great detail in noting the causes of underdevelopment in Third World economies and the relationship with the history of the plantation system. In their study entitled Small Garden, Bitter Weed, Beckford and Witter (1980) go much further and try to make the link between some of Jamaica's contemporary social and economic problems and the mechanisms of the international system.
The only work dealing specifically with the urban slum is Jamaican sociologist Orlando Patterson's (1964) novel *The Children of Sisyphus*, in which he has creatively captured the spirit of life in the slums. Throughout the novel daily struggles for survival are vividly portrayed. Here again, the slum is treated in isolation from the rest of Jamaican society. One could theorize that the frequent approach of looking at various aspects of Jamaican society as separate entities is possibly a reflection of the nature of the relationship of dependent capitalist countries within the international system.

**The Setting**

Numerous slums and shanty town settlements dot Kingston's landscape. West Kingston was chosen as the area of study as it is an established slum and displays the typical features of the urban slum including (a) high unemployment (b) poor housing (c) absence of or poor social amenities (d) overcrowding and (e) high rate of crime. Because of these features this slum represents a microcosm of all of Kingston's slums.

The population of the West Kingston area in 1979 was 25,194. It was predominantly black with a sprinkling of East Indians, commonly referred to by the local residents as *coolies*. Since 1969, the area has been
divided into three parish council divisions: (1) Tivoli Gardens, (2) Denham Town, and (3) Hannah Town. Tivoli Gardens has been upgraded with low income concrete apartments. Denham Town and Hannah Town have not been upgraded. Denham Town was chosen as the specific area of study because of its long history of being a high density slum and its residential pattern (i.e. a predominance of rundown tenements). Hannah Town was eliminated because its commercial nature did not suit my research interest concerning family and tenancy patterns. The fact that no sociological study of this type had been done in this particular area, added to the decision.

The Denham Town slum is situated in an area where much of the land is occupied by the largest cemetery, the largest government market (Coronation), the public hospital, the public morgue and the largest numbers of funeral parlours, the Jamaica Railway Corporation, the Abbatoir, the main sewage plant and the city's major garbage disposal plant. The physical setting of the slum is indicative of the life-style within it.

Denham Town's population in 1979 was 10,676 although the population of my study area was considerably less, numbering 3,500. This smaller area, consisting of the features typical of the slum, was delineated using the boundaries of the enumeration districts of the 1970 Census (see Appendix 1).
Within the slum poverty is a stark reality. The inhabitants eke out a precarious existence as a consequence of the high rate of unemployment. Men and women are constantly in the streets and in the tenement yards at various hours of the night and day. Young children play in the streets. Their clothes are usually dirty and their noses runny. One informant indicated to me that the mode of dress of the children (i.e. their being sparsely clothed) gives the impression of an African environment "wen yu si de pickney dem yu tink se yu de a Africa," (Looking at the children reminds one of being in Africa). The African continent is usually viewed pejoratively. This attitude is rooted in the alienation of most Jamaicans from their African heritage. This alienation has its foundation in slavery.

Some of the residents are attired in ragged clothes, some of which are intact but are stylistically a few generations in the past. The clothes of many of the older people are usually too large for their emanciated bodies and many have indicated that they are "handouts." Some residents are shod but often their shoes are well worn and in need of repair while others are barefooted. There is a mark of misery on many faces. This misery is shown by habitual distortion of the facial structure. This distortion is emphasized by the heat of the sun which reflects from the asphalt. The sun also reflects
from zinc roofs of some houses. A topic at the forefront of most conversations is a common complaint - lack of money. The residents refer to themselves as sufferers, scufflers, baby-mothers and baby-fathers. Some are actively begging, gambling or selling a variety of small commodities such as fruits, eggs, matches, zippers and spools of thread.

There is a constant reminder of the poor drainage system within the slum as there is always water running down the narrow gutters on the sides of the streets. The gutters are invariably strewn with garbage. Piles of garbage are a common sight in the area and among the refuse mangy dogs rummage for food. The manginess of these dogs seems to bear a close resemblance to the social conditions of the slum.

The people on the streets tend to congregate around the sparsely stocked shops and rum bars. Much drinking takes place within these bars at all hours of the day. On several occasions, men and women are seen stumbling out of the bars onto the streets. Sometimes, in their drunken state, a few regulars look towards heaven and give vent to their feelings of frustration and anger by shouting local obscenities. This appears to be a defiance of their social world as the expressions tend not to be socially acceptable by the society against
which they rail. On the whole, there tends to be much
discussion about everyday life but party politics,
especially political violence within the slum, appear to
dominate the scene.

Poverty and misery are expressed in the slum
through a great deal of tension which is often manifested
in quarrels between neighbours or between tenants living
in the same yards. Sometimes these quarrels involve pro-lemns with male-female relationships or problems with
children. A common reason for quarrels is the use, with­
out permission, of domestic items belonging to others,
such as detergent substances and toiletries. Although
these possessions may seem insignificant, to most slum
dwellers they represent luxury items priced beyond
reach. Some tenants try to hide these items, but given
that many tenants share the same sanitary facilities,
this is not always possible. Sometimes these quarrels
are resolved by fighting, and on many occasions women are
seen fighting in the streets. Some women carry knives on
their persons and under these circumstances, the knives
are used. They tend to be of the kitchen variety, unlike
the ratchet knives carried by the men. The winner of
these fights seems to be determined to rip to shreds the
clothes of her opponent leaving her practically naked.
During these fights, there is much cursing which
reinforces the original motivation for the fight. I have witnessed the same situation among young school girls in the slums, the only difference being the absence of knives. Young boys also tend to be involved in fights, but their objective is that of a show of strength, which plays a major role in their adult life. Men do not usually fight but they threaten others with rachet knives. Some are known gunmen and this acts as a deterrent to prospective adversaries.

Since cars are generally absent from the slum, unmarked police cars stand out. They cruise through the area regularly and the young men complain of continual harrassment by the police. The slum dwellers refer to the police as ticks (parasites) and identify them by the colours of the cars they drive. For example, they talk of silver ticks, blue ticks or green ticks. On several occasions during my own discussions with young men, a police car would slowly approach us. The occupants usually stared at us and then drove slowly on. The young men indicated that on such occasions they were not harrassed because of my presence as an outsider. They indicated that they were also free from harrassment if they were with the older and more respectable residents of the slum. When alone, however, they tend to be harrassed and would sooner run for cover than face confrontation with the police.
Pickpockets tended to congregate in groups and leave the slum in groups although they worked separately or in pairs. They proved difficult to interview as some of them complained that as I had nothing to offer them, they were losing money by standing around and talking to me. For me, this point was well taken, as researchers have a tendency to forget the value of their informants' time.

Pregnant women were frequently seen on the streets in their tightly fitted dresses and were usually barefooted. Given the material poverty of the area, this mode of attire is an indication that they could not afford extra clothing for this temporary period.

Due to the absence of a play area in many yards children constantly played in the streets. Shortage of money resulted in the improvisation of equipment for certain games. Milk boxes were used as balls and discarded tins as wickets in games of cricket. Overall, the setting of the slum seemed to reflect a great degree of material poverty. This was in contrast to the affluence demonstrated in certain other parts of the city. For instance, "the man who lives in the suburb of St. Andrew on a one-third acre lot of land with his wife and two children, must realize that a lot of this same size would house over 70 persons in West Kingston." (Seaga 1963:6)
Gaining Entry to the Setting

Being a Jamaican, returning to my homeland to do fieldwork seemed trouble-free enough. Not needing a visa meant I could stay as long as I chose. As the Jamaican government did not demand my research proposal or need to issue approval of it, I did not have to sit through a long waiting period in Canada. All this seemed fine, until I arrived in Jamaica and realized that I was not prepared for the situation that confronted me. The violence in the slum was viewed as unpredictable. Many people warned that even if I were accepted by the slum dwellers I could run into difficulties because of the political violence in the area. Many indicated the possibility of my getting caught in a cross fire between opposing political party gun men. I was advised by my family, friends and academic colleagues not to undertake a research project that could possibly endanger my life. Some colleagues even suggested that I would be safer studying the middle and upper classes. I was frequently told that I needed to have a political contact within the slum. This was necessary because at the time, the year 1979, the slums were politically controlled and outsiders entering without such contacts would be viewed with suspicion. This presented a problem for me as I did not know anyone with political contacts within the slum.
Family, friends and colleagues put me in touch with politicians, or others such as pastors, who could eventually make contacts for me. This proved futile in the end. Some of the politicians had no clout in the slum I had chosen to study. Others who possibly had some clout, chose, for whatever reasons, to ignore me. One pastor had his own doctoral research plan and in exchange for his introduction, expected me to help with his research. He pointed out that by helping with his research I too could get a thesis out of it. I flatly refused. Some colleagues suggested that I switch to slums where they had political connections. This was also unappealing, as my objective was to carry out research in a specific slum. The particular slum I had chosen dated back to the period of slavery and was important because I was interested in investigating it in its historical continuity. In retrospect, this adamant stance towards my choice of a slum with such a history was uncalled for, as I was later to discover that historical material on slums in Jamaica is practically non-existent.

After three weeks, a strong feeling of frustration began to overtake me and I began wondering if I would ever make it into the slum. An old family friend, a detective, seeing my frustration, offered to walk with me into the slum dressed in his official uniform.
Despite my frustration, being aware of the antagonism between most slum dwellers and the police, I realized that this would have been disastrous. I was convinced that no one would have spoken to me if I had undertaken this venture.

I decided to organize my own contacts in a direct manner and expressed this possibility to the Deputy Dean of the Social Science Department at the University of the West Indies in Kingston. I told him that I would contact the Hon. Edward Seaga, now Prime Minister of Jamaica, but at the time, a member of Parliament for the slum area. He gave me a letter of introduction. As the Deputy Dean was a friend he had already allowed me library access, office space, use of the clerical staff and access to the Faculty Club. I called Seaga's office, told his secretary my research plan, and she connected me directly to the Community Centre in the slum. Telephone communication proved to be a slow process. I felt that I was constantly being stalled. I somehow managed to communicate my desperation to the community organizer and shortly found myself in the slum trying to negotiate directly. My fear must have been evident, because the first group of people with whom I spoke asked me if people on the outside had "poisoned my mind" against them. I admitted to hearing that the slum was described
as violent. As a matter of fact it has been referred to as Kingston's most violent slum. They responded by asking me to convey to outsiders that they were a peaceful people and would bring harm to no one.

After meeting with the community organizer concerning my project, she introduced me to others working in the centre. Among these was the councillor of the area who walked me through the slum and gave me its history. He further introduced me to some key people. This introduction proved very useful as he was born and raised within the slum, knew it well, and was highly respected by most of the residents. During my first week within the slum, people referred to the fact that they had seen me with him. For me, this was very positive, as people seemed willing to interact. I had access to office space in his building and also at the Community Centre. Since most of my interviews took place outside of the office, I used these spaces as places to start off in the mornings before my interviews and also as places to rest during the day.

Shortly after setting up these arrangements — something very tragic occurred. An important ghetto hero was murdered by the police and most of the slum dwellers went into mourning. It was impossible to carry out interviews at this time, so I stayed away for about two
weeks, doing library research and interviews outside the slum. Throughout the research period, individuals within the slum were shot and sometimes killed. There was a nagging fear of having to discontinue my project, but somehow, the slum kept its calm and I was able to complete it.

Methods of Fieldwork

Most of the data for this dissertation were gathered between 1978 and 1979. The historical materials were obtained from the University libraries, the Institute of Jamaica, Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of the West Indies, social agencies, government departments, newspapers and newspaper libraries.

The ethnographic account is derived from participant observation fieldwork data collected from the West Kingston slum. This was a deliberate choice as it allowed me to interact directly with a group of people who tended to be more verbal than scribal. The high rate of illiteracy, especially among the older residents, probably accounts for this. Although a large number of the people indicated that they could read and write, many exhibited signs of lapsed literacy (possibly due to lack of exposure to reading materials).
I also had intended to use a tape recorder but soon became skeptical as people expressed a certain degree of apprehension towards it. This seemed understandable, as at the time a well publicized enquiry into the Spy Robinson Affair was taking place. This was a political scandal involving the extensive use of tape recorders thereby implicating some well known politicians. Many people equated the case to that of Watergate in the United States and referred to it as Little Watergate. At this point, for fear of jeopardizing potential data or going against members' better judgements, the idea of using a tape recorder was abandoned. Three other reasons reinforced this decision: (1) because of the nature of tension and suspicion which I felt existed within the slum, I considered the possibility of being held hostage for any information on tape that might threaten individuals or groups, (2) carrying expensive equipment could make me an easy target for pickpockets given the economic situation, and (3) most of the slum dwellers spoke Creole English, patois which would present added difficulties with later transcription.

The first few weeks of the research were spent meeting people and orienting myself to the geographical area. Most importantly, I was introduced to a young man who had grown up in the area and knew it very well. He
had successfully completed high school but like other youths, was unemployed and had been for three years. He became my research assistant and for the first few months assisted me in locating certain people and places. After developing a known presence in the area, I was able to carry out my research on my own without fear, although my assistant was always on hand should the need arise.

A noticeable feature of the slum was the vast numbers of people on the streets at all times. Jane Jacobs, in The Death and Life of Great American Cities, classifies such behaviour within a neighbourhood as healthy. She argues that everyone can be an overseer of everyone else, and this tends to foster a certain degree of security. If people were not congregating in the streets, standing around, hustling their trade, sitting by foodstalls or on the sidewalks, they were in their yards doing domestic chores such as washing, ironing, cooking, cleaning or utilizing their yards as work-places. The self-employed, for example, were carpenters, mechanical repairers, plumbers, cabinet and dressmakers, steel metal workers, house painters, and small shop-keepers.

My decision to live outside the slum and commute daily could be viewed as a shortcoming, but this did not seem to be a problem for my research or the slum
dwellers. I strongly felt that my living in the slum would present an imposition on the lifestyles of the family concerned because of the problem of limited housing space. Added to this decision, I funded my own research and needed to economize, hence free accommodation with my relatives proved helpful.

Most people appeared open and friendly and expressed pleasure that I was interested in learning about them. They indicated that - "nobody nuh come roun ya so." "A like seh we no part a Jamaica" (no one visits us, it is as if this area is not a part of Jamaica). They were concerned about their violent image and asked me to communicate to others that although there were a few bad people, most of them were good. Although I was open in telling the slum dwellers my reason for being there, many seemed puzzled and asked me if I got paid for my work. On hearing that I did not, they appeared even more puzzled. By the frequency of the queries it seemed difficult for the people in the Kingston slum, struggling to survive, to understand the role of the researcher. Many people wanted to know if I were there to help them. Some discreetly asked if I were from the government. Given the political climate, a positive answer would most likely have put me in the category of a "spy." Informants involved in illegal activities obviously found it
necessary to determine whether or not I were an under­
cover agent. Consequently, I was invariably questioned
in very subtle ways about this possibility.

At times I was offered fruits from stalls, *sky
juice* (water and fruit syrup), tamarind balls, and *suck-
suck* (flavoured ice cubes). In this setting, people did
not go out of their way to offer food. If one dropped in
at meal time, one was then offered a part of that meal,
regardless of how meagre it was. The offer of alcoholic
beverages, soda pop, tea or coffee, so common to Jamaican
hospitality, did not occur here. This is understandable,
as these are expensive items. People in the slum regu-
larly make "tea" from various bushes in the neighbour­
hood or buy it cheaply from the local market. They tend, how­
ever, to feel embarrassed about offering it to stran­
gers. This attitude seems to be tied to some overall
ideology which declares that "anything local is not
good."

It was within this milieu that I carried out
some of my observations, sometimes talking to women wash­ing clothes for their families or for financial returns,
or to men repairing cars and bicycles. At times, I sat
under a tree in a *yard* or with informants on the side­
walks. At other times I interviewed within the confines
of the homes of informants.
Although the setting was usually informal, I used a structured interview schedule (see Appendix 2), as it was important to get at specific information relating to the research problem.

The Problem

There is a general tendency to view the slum as an isolated socio-economic entity. In situating the slum in Jamaica, I treat it as an integral part of Jamaican society. The objective of this approach is to show that while the slum appears to be a redundant by-product of Jamaica's development, it is the residence of slum dwellers. These slum dwellers do contribute economically by creating their own jobs thus relieving the state of its responsibility. Most of these self-created jobs recycle waste materials, transforming them into new products. By participating in the electoral process the slum dwellers contribute politically by propping up the careers of politicians. This process is maintained through the promise of jobs and better housing, both of which are in short supply in this slum. Socially the residents are a threat to the members of the workforce, who are compelled to accept poor working conditions and low wages. This, in turn, is beneficial to employers.
Jamaica is viewed as a dependent capitalist society. The main feature of such a society is that the industrial and financial sectors are foreign-controlled. As Beckford explains:

Jamaica's exporting industries are tied to the developed world. This occurs through the use of employment that is imported, technology, raw materials, foreign finance and foreign markets. These apply to bauxite, sugar, tourism and manufacturing. This allows for a certain twisted pattern of production in the sense that Jamaicans are at a disadvantage since they find themselves paying high prices for imports and receiving low prices for exports. While the industries are integrated within the developed economy, one finds that refining of these products which is more profitable takes place outside Jamaica. The hotels, for instance, hardly use Jamaican commodities. Manufacturing uses little of Jamaica's abundant labour, because most manufacturing companies are assembly branch plants (1980:81).

Jamaican society reflects a class structure which responds to the economic imbalances generated by such control. The slum under study mirrors this condition.

Some major structural features such as the legacy of slavery, the educational system, racism and class discrimination explain how the slum is created and maintained. Mechanism of survival devised by slum dwellers are described and analyzed. This study also shows that
by their very effort to survive, slum dwellers not only contribute to the society but also aid in the perpetuation of their social conditions. This is accomplished through the social and economic interactions of the slum dwellers with the rest of Jamaican society.

Because much of Jamaica's industries and technology are foreign controlled, effects of decisions made abroad influence the daily lives of the Jamaican people. Although this is not a central focus of this work, recognition of this foreign influence is necessary in comprehending the Jamaican reality.

The major structural components of the Jamaican state are delineated in order to show their interconnection with the slum dwellers. The state consists of the government bureaucracy (responsible for health, education and development), the local and parliamentary assemblies, the police, military and legal system. The political process is dominated by two parties. The business sector includes the major industries, the manufacturing companies and the financial institutions dominated by the economic elite. The state is strongly influenced by this latter sector.

Politicians are mainly involved with slum dwellers through politically motivated jobs. Political manipulation is widespread, although it is most evident
in the slum where a political patronage system has developed. This is sustained by the fierce competition for scarce material resources, jobs, housing and food. A consequence of this is party consolidation and political violence, including riots, killings and large scale residential evictions. Political manipulation can be viewed as a mechanism of social control orchestrated by the politicians. This diverts the attention of slum dwellers from such structural problems as high unemployment and inadequate social amenities and engages them in political activities that support the interests of the political and economic elites. The situation is aided by the law enforcers (especially local police officers) who have a most powerful presence in the slum. They maintain a great degree of social control by instilling fear into the minds of the slum dwellers. This fear is reinforced by the increasing incarceration of slum dwellers. It is quite ironic that some parents indicated to me that they would be relieved to have their children in "reformatory schools" (or famitary, as it is locally referred to) because here, at least, their offspring would be taken care of, thus alleviating the economic strains placed upon them as parents and often sole supporters.

The daily activities of slum dwellers are also shaped by the policies which are brought into being
through the collaboration of the policy makers and their enforcers. An example is the bureaucrats, the policy enforcers who are involved with slum dwellers as health care and social workers, teachers, police officers and city councillors.

Kingston, the capital city and seat of the manufacturing centre, presently has a population of 635,000 and is constantly growing. During the 1950s it attracted dispossessed rural migrants who added to its own unemployed. Today (1979), the city is still unable to productively absorb this surplus labour and many migrants are integrated within the slums and shanty towns. In the early 1960s the government responded to Kingston's growth by creating various housing schemes. It bulldozed some of the slums, as part of an urban renewal plan. The displacement of the poor caused a short-lived public outcry. The success of the housing schemes depended on the joint participation of the poor residents and the government. But since they had no jobs the scheme failed, and many of those houses subsequently fell into the hands of members of the working and lower middle classes who could afford to cooperate financially with the government.

The remaining slum and shanty town dwellers constitute a surplus labour and are forced to devise their own techniques of survival. In the West Kingston
slum, this survival technique is referred to as hustling. Individuals obtain their material rewards through their wit and cunning in struggling with their environment. This includes small scale street trading, stealing, gambling and begging. Some slum dwellers are self-employed shoemakers, tailors, dressmakers and carpenters. Some women take in washing and ironing.

Hustling is necessary since the Jamaican government does not provide the slum with regular employment or engage in redistributive policies. Since there are a minimal number of social welfare programmes, individuals develop various socio-economic networks such as food-sharing, and informal savings. This seems to serve as a means of redistributing material needs, thus providing a mechanism for social welfare among the poor. (Lomnitz 1977; Safa 1974; Locano 1975; Geertz 1962; Katzin 1958). In some ways, the government appeases the slum dwellers by providing minimal educational and health care facilities.

The yard consists of several households with various families and individuals and is the dominant residential pattern within the slum. It is within the yards that certain changes emanating from outside the slum are manifested. For instance, given the high unemployment rate in Kingston, the slum is perpetuated as
more people gravitate towards the yards which invariably offer inexpensive accommodation. In adapting to Jamaica's rigid economic situation, slum dwellers find that their living conditions become more restrictive, for example, personal relationships are propelled into the public domain.

My work is a contribution to the dearth of literature on how the urban slum is created and maintained. It is original in the sense that it explores Jamaica's historical experience of dependence, reinforcing this with data gathered through the participant observation of various survival techniques devised by individual slum dwellers. This approach illustrates the connection between Jamaica's historical roots of dependence and the continuity of this dependence in the present social context.

The Research Procedure

In investigating the Jamaican slum as an integral part of the wider socio-economic structure it was necessary to examine data derived from books and backdated copies of newspaper articles in order to situate the study historically. Ethnographic data were gathered through the method of participant observation in one of Kingston's major slums.
The population used for the ethnographic research was an electoral district selected from the Jamaican Census of 1970. From a population of 3,500, one hundred in depth interviews were conducted with one adult in 100 households. Of these, there were 38 males and 62 females (see Appendix 12). Females also outnumbered males in the Denham Town Census data (see Appendix 13 and the West Kingston Census data (see Appendix 14). The first household was randomly selected. Since each yard had several household units, the first household encountered was the one used for the interview. Each yard has very clear physical boundaries, usually fences (see Appendix 3). These boundaries do not usually appear on municipal surveys but are accepted within the community. If there were no response from the first household I would subsequently try the second household. One household in each yard was used for the interview. However, information which greatly assisted me in observation of life in the slum was obtained by speaking informally to other household members in the yards. This was necessary not only for information gathering but to gain continued cooperation and to avoid being rejected by the community. Every effort was made to include individuals who readily availed themselves. Not to do so would possibly lead to these individuals feeling
alienated from the research process, a risk that I was not willing to take. Information was gathered from the adult available in the household. Adult is defined as a person over 18 years or recognized head of the household. In addition, information was gathered on all individuals who made an economic contribution to the household.

For purposes of this study "permanent residence" is residence of over two months or statement of intention to reside as opposed to the status of visiting relatives. This was necessary as the background information on slums presents a picture of high levels of mobility.

There were other assumptions that had to be adjusted to suit the area of this research. Prior to entering the slum I had a preconceived definition of what constituted a household; for example, husband, wife, children. As I began fulfilling my role as a participant observer I found I had to modify my interview schedule to accommodate the information received and the setting in which I worked. Another example of this adjustment had to do with how work was perceived. Within the Denham Town slum the word hustling is used in reference to the dominant economic activities. This is elaborated in Chapter Five.

Given the high illiteracy rate within the slum, the survey questionnaire method was not considered. In
addition, pens and pencils were of very low priority as these were imported and hence expensive. While in Jamaica I myself found these items both scarce and expensive. The interview schedule yielded information on family relationships, tenancy patterns, education, informal economic networks, hustling (both legal and illegal), reciprocity, violence, relationship to relatives outside the slum and changes effected by the high cost of living. The informal discussions provided much of the groundwork for my research. For example, they assisted me in getting a clearer understanding of what people actually do in light of high unemployment in the slum. I suspect that illegal activities would never have appeared on a survey type questionnaire or more formal models of research. After deciding I was trustworthy, slum dwellers spoke freely of these activities. Apart from the hundred households and other slum dwellers, I also interviewed the Member of Parliament for the area, the two councillors as well as community leaders, pastors, psychic healers, members of the police force serving the area, civil servants such as poor relief officers, special employment officers who administer slum dwellers from outside, the Mayor of Kingston, economists from the National Planning Agency and the Ministry of Finance. I interacted with people from all age groups. My indepth
interviews covered informants from ages 16 to 87. I was involved in the children's summer school and was one of their guides to one of the major radio stations. I regularly visited the Golden Age Club where I interacted with those over 65 years of age. Participant observation allowed me a certain degree of flexibility so that I could accommodate a wide range of activities of various groups. I made every effort not to get involved in any one group. I moved easily among the pickpockets - usually those between 18-25, the shoplifters usually female between 18-25, the "grabbers and fleers" usually boys between 12-17. There were many Rastafarians in the slum in general but in my particular area they were not very visible. Many of the people who professed to be Rastafarians were "bald" in the sense that they did not wear long hair or the type of clothing common to the members of the movement. The reason they gave for this appearance is that they do not want to be harrassed by the police. Street traders were everywhere, but most concentrated in and around the marketplace where I visited regularly and had numerous discussions and observed the activities. Traders were mainly adults but there were also children. I found the ethnographic approach to the slum very useful as it allowed me to present the lifestyles of slum dwellers which were openly expressed in real life situations and discussions.
An important source of information was provided by regularly reading the three daily newspapers, the *Daily Gleaner*, the *Daily News* and the *Evening Star*. I listened to both radio stations (Radio Jamaica and Rediffusion (RJR) and the Jamaica Broadcasting Corporation (JBC). The Prime Minister and his key cabinet ministers addressed the nation frequently on radio and television. Listening and watching these programmes proved useful in evaluating the relationship between the politicians and the various sections of the Jamaican population. The opposition parties also used the media extensively. Local intellectuals participated in regular commentaries on Jamaica's political economy. The "Public Eye" was a radio talk show hosted by a local lawyer and a political scientist from the University of the West Indies at Mona. The issues raised focused on Jamaica's political situation. Often academics, politicians and bureaucrats were interviewed. Members of the public were allowed to telephone into the programme and address questions to the guests.

The study is divided into six major sections. Chapter Two is a theoretical discussion focusing on the socio-economic structure of Jamaica and detailing the historical nature of dependency. Chapter Three gives an account of the major structural features contributing to
the development and maintenance of a major Jamaican slum from the early post-colonial period to the present.

Chapter Four provides a careful scrutiny of the social conditions within the slum and the adaptation of slum dwellers to these conditions. By adapting to these conditions, possible efforts towards structural changes become thwarted, subsequently leading to the persistence of slum conditions. Chapter Five examines the survival mechanism slum dwellers have devised. It also shows that by their very effort to survive, they are contributing to the urban economy in ways which seem disproportionate to the rewards they receive. Chapter Six examines the political polarization within the slum. This has its origins in gang rivalry, and with the scarcity of material resources, competition is fierce. The members of the economic elite, through their close association with those of the political elite, manipulate the polarization through their ability to dispense patronage. Chapter Seven, the concluding chapter, draws together the major elements within Jamaican society and shows how these aid in the perpetuation of the slum, as well as addressing the possible future of the slum dwellers within the context of the present socio-economic and political conditions.
CHAPTER TWO

SOME ASPECTS OF JAMAICA'S DEPENDENT RELATIONSHIPS: A BACKGROUND

This chapter serves as a background to this study in the sense that the social existence of people within the slums, or for that matter, people within other sections of Jamaican society, tends to represent a striking continuity to the society's historical experience of socio-economic and political dependence. This dependence is posited within the plantation system, which, as Cross (1979:22) suggests, "is the creation par excellence of the dependent society."

The Jamaican state, like other post colonial states, has been characterized as dependent capitalist as a consequence of its integration within the international capitalist system at a subordinate level. The advanced countries within this system include geopolitical areas such as the United States, Great Britain, Japan and Canada. The dependent states which are represented by most of Africa, Asia, Latin America, Oceania and the Caribbean, are seen to be perpetually developing. This
situation has aroused the curiosity of several social scientists such as Frank (1967, 1969, 1972, 1979), Dos Santos (1971, 1976), Cardoso (1972), Amin (1974, 1977) and others who have opened the discussion that dependent development in post-colonial societies is a result of the manner in which these societies have been integrated into the international capitalist system from the 16th century onwards. Stated briefly, they maintain that the contemporary social problems of these societies are the consequence of a historical process of 'dependent development'. They claim that incorrect interpretations are derived from the error of assuming that one can arrive at solutions to the socio-economic problems within dependent states by looking solely within those states. They also argue that it should be recognized that the relationship between the advanced and the dependent states is one of exploitation manifested in unequal trading terms, foreign ownership in mining (bauxite), tourism, manufacturing and textile processing (Girvan 1971; Jefferson 1972; Mays and Wheaton 1979).

Although sugar held dominance as a main export for over 300 years and was British controlled, it has periodically been overtaken by banana, controlled by the United Fruit Company, an American owned industry. In the early 1940s bauxite was discovered in Jamaica and because
of the importance of the metal, namely its light weight and easy access to American ports, five companies were eventually attracted to the Island to mine the ore. Four are American controlled, Reynolds, Kaiser, Alcoa and Alpart, and one is Canadian controlled, Alcan. Jamaica's construction, transportation, textile and food processing industries became off-shoots of the bauxite industry. Other foreign companies began investing in Jamaica and this led to a rapid increase in manufacturing (Jefferson 1972). During this same period the rise of tourism contributed significantly to Jamaica's foreign exchange earnings. Initially, the growth of tourism encouraged the opening up of such aspects of the economy as construction, transportation and services. With the advent of tourism, huge international hotels have been established on the island, for example, Sheraton, Pegasus, Mallard Beach Hotel, Hotel Intercontinental, the Hilton and the Ramada Inn. Many of these hotels are connected to airline services and travel agencies. For instance, the Sheraton industry is controlled by International Telephone and Telegraph (ITT), Hotel Intercontinental is controlled by Pan American Airlines, while Hilton International is a subsidiary of Trans World (Turner 1973: 213). The entire investment process has transformed Jamaica's social organization to such an extent that
Jamaicans have become attracted to these new ventures and their alien ideologies. By internalizing these new ideologies Jamaicans become attracted to foreign markets at the expense of their own national development.

Looking at the situation within dependent states as one of unequal trading patterns which are detrimental to developing nations, appears to be a direct reaction to the views put forward by such neo-classical economic theorists as Lewis (1955), Rostow (1962) and Hoselitz (1964), who maintain that underdevelopment is caused by a traditional state of backwardness which can only be overcome by the transformation of underdeveloped states to a modernized form which reflects the values of the wealthier countries. Inherent in this approach is the notion "that industrialism is essentially a liberalizing force and a progressive one; and hence that the Western societies provide a model for 'underdeveloped' societies to follow." (Giddens 1982:143) The modernization process appears to be beneficial to the wealthier countries in the sense that in the process of internalizing their dominant ideology, the populations of dependent states also internalize their consumption patterns. This is reflected in the types of imported consumer items utilized in these dependent states.

These neo-classical theorists saw
underdeveloped countries as having dual economies, one
sector modern and the other traditional, without any real
connection between the two. Even in the so-called modern
sectors, where most slums exist, as is the case in
Jamaica, the neo-classical theorists have neglected to
examine these areas as socio-economic regions in their
own rights. There is a common notion that slums are
marginal to the urban economy and they have been
summarily dismissed as non-productive zones. As Nelson
explicates the views of established metropolitan and
national elites:

In Latin American, the growing
numbers of unskilled, semi-employed,
and abysmally poor urbanites are
often called the "marginals." The
term is apt. The people to whom it
is applied are economically marginal
in that they contribute little to and
benefit little from production and
economic growth. Their social status
is low, and they are excluded from
the formal organizations and associa-
tions and the informal and private
webs of contacts which constitute the
urban social structure. To the
extent that they are rural in origin,
they may also be culturally marginal,
clinging to customs, manners, dress,
speech and values which contrast with
accepted urban patterns. They lack
ties to or influence on the estab-
lished political institutions. Many
are marginal in a literal geographic
sense, living in squatter settlements
on the fringes of the cities (1969:
5).

For the neo-classical theorists, populations
clinging to traditional values tend to perpetuate backwardness. For such a situation modernization could be a possible answer. This modernization could only come about by the injection of capital in the form of investments from the advanced capitalist countries into the modern sector of the underdeveloped countries. Industrialization would follow and thus eliminate many of the problems associated with unemployment. Implicit within this theory of underdevelopment is the belief that development achieved by the advanced capitalist countries is a desirable goal for the present underdeveloped countries. Dos Santos sees the inappropriateness of this assumption by pointing out that:

Historical time is not uni-linear and future societies will not be able to attain stages reached by other societies at a previous time. All societies move together towards the future and towards new forms of modern society. The historic experience of developed capitalist societies has been completely transcended; their basic source of private capital formation in foreign trade, the incorporation of vast masses of workers in industrial production, their indigenous technological development, constitute options no longer opened to underdeveloped countries of today. The history of developed socialist societies is rooted in the experience of 'socialism in one country' or 'socialism in one bloc', of 'primitive socialist accumulation' at the expense of peasant agriculture, of the autarchic establishment of a heavy industry, and the so-called 'iron-curtain'. The models of development in existence are therefore not to be repeated, nor can 'models' of developed society be taken as a crystallization of aims to be achieved (1976:59).
In further reference to this model, Streeten points out that:

Economically, it is deficient because it ignores the fact that the propagation of impulses from the rich to the poor countries alters the nature of the development process; that latecomers face problems essentially different from the early starters and that 'latecomers' again find themselves in a world with a range of demonstration effects and other impulses, both from the advanced countries and from other latecomers, which present opportunities and obstacles quite different from those that England, or even Germany, France and Russia faced in their pre-industrialization phase (1979:27).

Amin (1974:8) also argues that in terms of this model, underdeveloped countries are seen as being like the developed countries at an earlier stage of their development. He points out that an essential fact is left out, that is: "underdeveloped countries form part of a world system, that the history of their integration into this system forged their special structure - which thenceforth has nothing in common with what prevailed before their integration into the modern world." He further points out that "the structural features of underdevelopment (1) unevenness of productivity as between sectors (2) disarticulation of the economic system and (3) domination from outside are clearly not traditional in character" (1974:15).
Although the paradigmatic shift from the ahistorical modernization method appears to be pointing towards a more promising direction, there are certain theoretical and methodological problems. Lloyd, in criticizing this approach, writes:

Marxists interested in the Third World have, indeed, inclined strongly towards structural approaches, specifying the contradictions inherent in the international capitalist system. These tend to be defined at an abstract and ideological level and the role of people and organizations in linking these contradictions, to be discovered by empirical research, is weakly developed (1979:63).

In addressing problems associated with Third World integration into the international economic system and subsequent underdevelopment, these dependency theorists have neglected to investigate such structural conditions as the existence of slums and shanty towns, high rates of unemployment and overall poverty within specific Third World countries that are a direct result of that integration. They have failed to investigate ideological, social, economic and political legacies of colonial domination and how these legacies help to sustain conditions of dependent development. In investigating the persistence of the slum, these legacies will be brought to bear on the description and analyses.
Major Features of a Dependent Capitalist State

The dependency theorists argue that with the integration of certain areas into the international system a particular social formation takes place which is very different from the capitalist mode of production in the developed countries. Dos Santos sees this process as a case of the formation of a certain type of internal structure conditioned by international relationships of dependence. Dependence, he points out:

is a conditioning situation in which the economies of one group of countries are conditioned by the development and expansion of others. A relationship of interdependence between two or more economies or between such economies and the world trading system becomes a dependent relationship when some countries can expand through self-impulsion while others, being in a dependent position, can only expand as a reflection of the expansion of the dominant countries, which may have positive or negative effects on their immediate development. In either case, the basic situation of dependence causes these countries to be both backward and exploited. Dominant countries are endowed with technological, commercial, capital and socio-political predominance over dependent countries - the form of this predominance varying according to the particular historical moment - and can therefore exploit them, and extract part of the locally produced surplus. Dependence, then is based upon an international division of labour which allows industrial development to take place in some countries while restricting it in others, whose growth is conditioned by and subjected to the power centres of the world (1976:76).
Thus development within this type of system tends to be limited by world relations which are conducive to the development of only certain sectors. Frank views this situation as the development of underdevelopment.

A major criticism of dependency theory has been that the theorists, in making the claim that advanced countries develop at the expense of the less advanced, do not make a logical connection in their arguments regarding this claim (Laclau 1977; Cardoso 1972; Dos Santos 1976; Foster-Carter 1978). Although this appears to be a valid and interesting point, it is not within the scope of this thesis to produce arguments for or against these connections. Roberts aptly suggests that "the empirical weakness of dependency studies, as pointed out frequently by critics, is based precisely on the absence of autonomous data for each country to validate these deductive inferences. Without them, assertions derived from an abstract framework are always suspect" (1978:177). In an effort to avoid these errors, my main objective is to situate the slum within a dependent capitalist state and try to delineate factors that possibly contribute to its persistence.

The main feature of a dependent capitalist state is the articulation of capitalist and
non-capitalist modes of economic production, with the non-capitalist mode in subordination to the capitalist mode. The dependent state is in most cases controlled by foreign capital which tends to put limits on the creation of basic local industries. Beckford & Witter explain this by pointing out that:

Surplus extraction derives from ownership of Third World resources, from the unequal exchange in trade, from interest charged on loans, from management services provided and from royalties and fees charged for technology. Together these constitute a substantial drain on the productive potential of Third World countries. The multinational corporations, international lending agencies like the I.M.F. and World Bank (IBRD) and metropolitan governments are the institutional mechanisms which effect transfers of the surplus. To the extent that some of the surplus is reinvested in the country, this increases the economic power of foreign capital and this enhances its political power in the body politic of the dependent country. This capitalism on a world scale simultaneously generates economic growth (development) of central metropolitan economies and economic retardation (underdevelopment) of the peripheral economies. The two results are linked. They stem from the nature of capitalism as a world system (1980:79).

Jamaica's productive process is maintained through the importation of capital intensive technology from the developed world along with the infiltration of its ideology. This ideology helps to perpetuate a dependence on foreign goods which is not in the interest of Jamaican development. Other companies also make use of Jamaica's cheap labour by creating industries that import
parts which are assembled by Jamaicans. The finished product is then exported. As these industries are foreign owned, profits are remitted abroad so there is little benefit to Jamaica in terms of local reinvestment or national development. Although there is increased productivity in the modern sector and more people are employed, this process does not generate enough jobs to absorb effectively the increasing population from the rural areas. A consequence of this is a surplus jobless population, which includes displaced peasants, artisans, redundant wage earners, youths and women. The members of this population tend to find informal means of survival. In the case of the Kingston slum, as has been pointed out earlier, this informal means of survival is hustling, whereby members employ rationality and street tactics to realize material needs. The con artist is a prime example of this. Although this mechanism may be legal or illegal it serves the dual purpose of sustaining the mass of the urban poor on the one hand, while benefitting the modern sector on the other, in the sense that many within these networks are producers in this sector. Beckford & Witter maintain that such an existence is possible in Jamaica because "the creativity of our people born out of struggle for survival, has allowed them to exist on the margins of the productive economy, by selling their
services, engaging in petty trading of consumer goods and hustling of all sorts. These activities cut across the frontiers of legality; but even so, they must be squarely faced as genuine economic activities. (1980:82)

Many of the contemporary problems that have been manifested within many dependent societies tend to focus primarily around the city. These problems include (1) rapid urbanization without an accompanying industrialization process to absorb the ever increasing labour force (this increase constitutes natural growth as well as the population streaming from the rural areas); (2) growth of slums and shanty towns related to the lack of adequate housing for these new migrants. (3) high unemployment among urban dwellers. This situation could be seen as being exacerbated by the presence of multinational companies and their capital intensive methods. Even though few people are employed in these companies, there is a general tendency to view their existence positively in the sense that they symbolize hope for the mass of the unemployed. Slum dwellers constantly talk about the advantages of having foreign investments in Jamaica through these companies. This is commonly expressed by them as "bring back the capitalist dem, so dat we can fin(d) wuk." The reality of an official job is what most slum dwellers seek. It sometimes appears that a job will
solve all their social, economic and political ills. As Safa notes in the case of the urban poor in Puerto Rico:

Rather than emphasizing class solidarity or radical ideologies aimed at the overthrow of the existing order, the poor seem intent on promoting their own individual mobility within that order. They are remarkably optimistic and profess a strong belief in the possibility of upward mobility based on individual initiative, thrift, education and other values commonly associated with the Protestant Ethic (1974:103).

With the existence of a high percentage of foreign investments within dependent societies, sometimes up to 100%, multinational companies tend to exert hegemonic powers within these societies. Decision making thus tends to be in their hands. According to Barnet and Muller: "In the process of developing a new world, the managers of firms like GM, IBM, Pepsico, G.E. Pfizer, Shell, Volkswagen, Exxon and a few hundred others are making daily business decisions which have more impact than those of most sovereign governments on where people live; what work if any, they will do; what they will eat, drink and wear; what sorts of knowledge schools and universities will encourage; and what kind of society their children will inherit" (1974:15). One major consequence of this is that socio-economic development does not progress in the interest of the nationals, but in the interest of the foreign companies. The use of local resources
in the interest of the national economy tends to be ignored, leaving nationals with high import bills, especially in the area of food. This illuminates a serious contradiction in that most dependent societies tend to have a significant agricultural base.

Dependence on imported foods tends to thrust the consumption pattern into a state of disequilibrium. Local foods such as fish, poultry, fruits and ground provisions give way to preferences for expensive imported canned foods, such as beef, vegetables, fruits and fish. There is also a marked dependence on imported clothing, shoes and many other luxury consumer goods. This dependence on imported consumer goods appears to be located within a cultural legacy. For instance, Jamaica was first integrated into the world economic system under the hegemony of Great Britain. The country became primarily an exporter of raw agricultural material and the importer of manufactured goods. This relationship was so circumscribed that it precluded, or at times, destroyed, local development. This situation, although modified, is still evident today. Amin has shown for Africa how the contemporary situation reflects this destruction of local development by stating that "in the underdeveloped countries, the traditional economic system has been gradually destroyed by its integration into the world capitalist
system. The handicrafts have almost disappeared due to the competition of manufactured goods and the system of agricultural production has deteriorated due to external pressures which have forced it to adjust to the requirements of the world market" (1974:163). In Jamaica, Beckford and Witter point out that "perhaps the greatest pressure has been felt by the peasantry: pressure from plantations, from mining and from tourism, all competing with the poor peasant for the limited land base that Jamaica possesses. Peasants only managed to maintain a subsistence level when competition was not intense and when new income opportunities arose" (1980:68).3

With the advent of the multinational companies in Jamaica, a decrease was experienced in the country's agricultural exports as certain stages of industrial production took place. This production was, and still is, under the control of multinational companies. Although a certain degree of domestic economic development takes place within Jamaica, the most important part of the production process tends to take place outside of it. A case in point is the bauxite industry. The ore is mined cheaply in Jamaica by unskilled labour and most of the smelting is done overseas. As Keith and Girling point out:
The enormous capital requirements of the industry have helped determine the international division of labour within it. The Third World supplies the bauxite raw material, while the capital-intensive smelting is located in the safer havens of the capitalist industrialized world. While the U.S., Japan and Western Europe produced only 11 percent of the entire world's bauxite in 1976, they smelted 57% of the aluminium. The IBA (International Bauxite Association) member countries (all Third World except for Australia), on the other hand produced 76% of the bauxite and smelted only 6% of the aluminium (1978:9).

Under such control, countries linked to the international system tend to remain economically, socially and politically dependent.

As the multinational companies expand, their positions become dominant and increase the degree of dependency of the local elites and, indirectly, the masses. This tends to occur despite formal political independence in these countries. Independence under these situations is now cynically referred to as flag independence, as access to power is not gained through this process. Even with Jamaica's efforts towards the adoption of the ideology of Democratic Socialism, these obstacles are not being seriously confronted on the political level and remain problematic. For instance, the export of capital through foreign investments from the dependent to the advanced societies continues to be an issue. This has not been resolved because of the full or
near full control of the economy by multinational companies. As Galeano emphasizes:

*Imperialism* does not make its colonies more prosperous, although it enriches their poles of development; it does not ease social and regional tensions, but aggravates them; it spreads poverty even more widely and concentrates wealth even more narrowly; it pays wages twenty times lower than in Detroit and charges prices three times higher than in New York; it takes over the internal market and the mainsprings of the productive apparatus; it assumes proprietary rights to chart the course and fix the frontiers of progress; it controls national credit and orients external trade at its whim; it denationalizes not only industry but the profits earned by industry; it fosters the waste of resources by diverting a large part of the economic surplus abroad; it does not bring in capital for development but takes it out (1973:227).

It thus becomes apparent that within the international system the status of countries such as Jamaica is disadvantageous. This in turn seriously affects the internal dynamics of these countries. This situation is allowed to persist as those who constitute the local economic elite tend to represent links that help to keep these countries within the international system. Members of this elite tend to be quite influential. They are allowed a certain amount of privileges and they make every effort to maintain them. In fostering its self interest, the elite tends to ignore positive structural changes in employment, education and health that could
benefit the mass of the population. As Phillips (1977: 11) explains for Jamaica:

The victory of the P.N.P. in 1972 after 10 years in opposition and their revival of the philosophy of "Democratic Socialism" have failed to alter significantly these patterns of elite influences. Members of influential business groups occupy not only crucial Cabinet positions (e.g. Matalon) but also occupy preeminent posts on statutory boards such as the urban Development Corporation, the Agricultural Development Corporation, the Jamaica National Export Corporation and the Jamaica Industrial Development Corporation - to name a few - (e.g. Matalon, Issa, Graham, etc.).

In Jamaica's case, 2l families (see Appendix 4) form the core of the country's economic elite (Reid 1977:24; Phillips 1977:10) and they supply the link between Jamaica and the multinational companies. It was apparently through their influence that multinational companies began arriving in Jamaica in the 1950s, under the industrialisation by invitation programme (Jefferson 1972).

Once the links of dependency became established, a certain dynamic, restricted industrialization with its use of capital intensive methods, was created within the society. This had an adverse effect on Jamaica's already high labour surplus and reinforced the rigidity of the different social classes formed during the post-emancipation period. (See Chapter Three). The tendency of the privileged classes to gain and maintain a
stronghold over scarce resources prevents access to these resources by other classes.

It is assumed that because of the benefits derived by the local elite through contacts with the multinational companies, the type of economy which persisted in the early colonial period is allowed to continue in the interest of the metropolitan powers. This process seems easily facilitated by the conditioning effects of colonialism. As Caulfield notes: "the cultural exploitation in the economic sphere, while fundamental to the exploitation of other elements of the culture, was exploitation not simply of the economic resources of the colonized peoples, but of the total economic organization and the subordination of the traditional elites as well as peasant and labouring classes to the interest of the imperial power" (1974:194).

Foreign control manifests itself within the Jamaican economy in areas related to trade and the ownership of major resources. One finds that dependence appears to be further perpetuated as this type of control tends to seriously inhibit the country's ability to plan for its own national development (Girvan and Jefferson 1976). During the early 1960s, investments through multinational companies rapidly developed in Jamaica. These companies were encouraged to invest with the notion
that these investments would help to develop the local economy. Many of the companies were offered generous incentives. Today, they control the country's major resources, bauxite as well as the tourist industry, and the financial corporations. With this control they command more decision making power over the entire production process. Decisions tend to be made from the viewpoint of the profit goals of these foreign companies whether or not these goals are consistent with local economic development aims. As Keith and Girling show:

Many of these foreign companies produced consumer goods for the wealthy classes - such as refrigerators and electric stoves - in a country where 80% of the people still used kerosene due to the lack of electrification. Companies such as Good-year, Colgate-Palmolive and Mead Johnson established subsidiaries on the island. In other cases, the foreign investors did not produce for the foreign market at all, but took advantage of the cheap labour and proximity to the U.S. markets to build up export industries. The screwdriver industries imported components, which were assembled by Jamaican workers and then re-exported (1978:10).

Dos Santos (1971:72) argues that these disadvantageous relations persist because dependent countries are forced to super-exploit their labour forces. What results is a restriction on their internal market, technology and the physical well-being of their people. Seers (1979:83) sees reliance on foreign investment and technology as negating a country's independence. To
avoid this, he suggests that developing countries should have their own programme of development. If they do not, they run the risk of being influenced by the proposal of the foreign investors whose basic interest is pursuing the most profitable ventures. In emphasizing the point that the multinational companies have their own interests, Girvan and Jefferson show that:

The multinational company with raw material facilities and processing capacity will not normally purchase raw materials from another producer. For in the first place, the cost of purchase from another producer will be in some sense at a market value which includes profit, while the material is obtained from their own subsidiary at production cost. ....the opportunity cost of purchasing from one producer will be the lower utilization of capacity in the subsidiary. In other words, one of the elements of a profit maximization policy for an MNC is the fullest utilization of capacity in all its vertically and horizontally integrated activities (1976:351).

Yet, dependent industrialization does at times facilitate some degree of economic growth. "There occurs a kind of dependent capitalist development in the sectors of the Third World integrated into the new forms of monopolistic expansion" (Cardoso 1972:89). The benefits of this growth largely sustain the rising standard of living of the middle and upper classes in these countries (Reno 1970:82). At the same time, it further generates class inequalities and contradictions. These inequalities and contradictions manifest themselves in the quality of life
within the rural/urban continuum and most markedly within the slum/residential area dichotomy. For example, there exists high quality housing juxtaposed to the teeming slums, or the existence of excellent roads invariably surrounded by inadequate roads and houses. These excellent roads tend to be the result of financial resources channelled into tourist resorts and other multinational industries.

During the early 1950s Jamaica's economic policy reflected the perspectives of the neo-classical economic theorists. It was widely held that countries would develop if massive amounts of foreign capital were injected into them. Development was perceived on the basis of the achievement of the consumption patterns, culture and technology of the advanced states, particularly the United States. The idea of introducing import substitution industrialization was therefore strongly encouraged. "Through the new industrialists' influence, the Jamaican government sponsored a programme of import substitution. With the intent of stimulating domestic manufacturing to substitute foreign imports, the programme opened Jamaica's doors wide to foreign investors by offering generous tax concessions" (Keith and Girling 1978:10). This process further pushed back any effort of the development of local resources which could benefit Jamaican
society as a whole. This explains Jamaica's orientation to the development of such industries as mining, manufacturing, tourism, transportation, construction and public utilities.

The offering of such generous tax concessions did not benefit the Jamaican economy. Foreign capital became concentrated in the least competitive and most productive and profitable sectors of the economy. As pointed out earlier, most of these companies imported capital intensive technology, a situation which did not help to alleviate the problem of the high unemployment rate (Jefferson 1972). In fact, unemployment worsened as individuals from rural Jamaica became attracted to the industrial activities that were taking place and gravitated to the urban centre in the hope of escaping rural poverty. Their non-absorption into the mainstream of the economy forced them to survive through petty economic activities. "In the underdeveloped countries, the contradictions of the system thus assume a violent and almost caricatured form. We are witnessing not only the dispossession of work in the industrial world, but also the degradation and dispossession of a mode of work which is not even being replaced with industrial labour. In other words, there is a growing number of unemployed who are unskilled in the full sense of the term - they are
neither artisans nor peasants, having no longer those skills and they are not even degraded industrial workers" (Amin 1977:164).

The notion of the mass of the people being unskilled has been used to rationalize the almost total absence of these labourers from industry. It has also served as justification for the introduction of capital intensive technology. In order to maintain this system, substantial amounts of foreign capital keep pouring into the country, especially from North America. This merely increases dependence:

The result of this type of situation is that 'foreign financing' becomes necessary in two forms, (1) to cover the existing deficit and (2) to finance development by means of loans for the stimulation of investments and to "supply" an internal economic surplus which was decapitalized to a large extent by remittance of part of the surplus value generated locally and sent abroad as profits. Foreign "aid" and foreign capital thus fill up the gap they create (Dos Santos 1971:243).

In the general terms of aid, Bettelheim argues that:

the so-called programs of aid to under-developed countries are not intended to speed up the "development" of these countries and objectively cannot be so intended; their result is necessary to keep these countries in a state of dependence by reproducing economic inequalities. If any aid is given by the imperialist countries, it is given to the dominant classes of the poor countries, whom it enables to consolidate their domination (1972:290)
What one also notices is that the dependent countries tend to find that they are left in debt or with agreements to buy goods directly from the aid-giving country. In this sense, the conditions attached to loans tied to the purchase of goods and services from developed countries are to the latter's advantage:

This aid to the Third World is not gratuitous generosity, and it would be childish to deny the political or commercial motivations of what is variously called aid, technical assistance or co-operation. It even happens that potential donors enter into secret competition to be the first to show their generosity to those newly admitted to national sovereignty. A glance at the map will show that nations without strategic importance get less than others (Jalee 1968:61).

The whole system of investments, loans and aid creates a dilemma for a country like Jamaica. Loans and investments increase and as a result the payments of interest and other services also increase. In his address to the United Nations Conference in Vancouver, May 9th, 1981, Michael Manley, former Prime Minister of Jamaica pointed out that at the present time, the Third World owed $300 billion in debts and the cost to service this debt was $40 billion. In order to make these payments, it became necessary to incur more foreign capital that generated still greater obligations. "If other aspects are examined, such as the fact that a large part of these
credits are payable in local currency, the contribution of Latin American and Caribbean countries to international financial institutions and the effects of tying these credits, we find a 'real component of foreign aid' of 42.2% on a very favourable hypothesis and of 38.3% on a more realistic one" (Dos Santos 1971:228). Dos Santos further points out that the irony of the situation is that the purposes of these credits is mainly to finance North American investments or subsidize imports which compete with local products. It is also used to pay for the imposition of a type of technology that does not adapt to the physical and social environment of dependent societies. The credit is often invested in areas that are not necessarily high priority insofar as the debtor region is concerned. Developing countries therefore end up paying the full amount for the aid they receive and find themselves becoming more economically dependent on the developed countries (1971:229).

Some Social Implications of External Dependence

A much neglected aspect of external dependence is that of its social implications. In this section, I will show that these social aspects sometimes help to stifle economic development and contribute to the perpetuation of the slums.
The link between the multinational companies and the dependent states is not neutral. Along with foreign technology comes the ideology of the dominant culture in which the parent multinational company is embedded. Once the link between the multinational company and the dependent country is firmly established, the multinational company has a fair amount of freedom to produce goods and services that are profitable to it. There tends to be total disregard as to whether these goods are useful to the dependent country. Ragnar Nurske used the concept of the demonstration effect to explain how this process is allowed to take place. He points out that when people become exposed to certain goods or styles of consumption that they perceive as superior, their imagination tends to be stimulated. New desires are experienced and there is an urgency to consume (1966:58).

According to Kumar (1980:44) multinational corporations are also responsible for the transnational diffusion of music, art, literature and films. Given Jamaica's historical background of a long experience of cultural hegemony on the part of Europe, this process was easily facilitated: "There was a time when Jamaican poets spoke of daffodils and snow neither of which are noticeably a part of the Jamaican scene" (Manley 1974a: 146). Jamaica is now experiencing some resistance to
this cultural hegemony. This is manifested through interest in indigenous music and art, emanating mostly from the slums, and the upsurge of literature and drama reflecting Jamaican society:

Since 1938, however, our sculptors, painters, novelists, dramatists and poets have become increasingly the mirrors through which Jamaica can see herself. This has led to an art movement that combines vigour of expression with relevance of comment. In the context of an egalitarian concern it is fascinating to note that the artists themselves have sprung from every walk of life and share a remarkable 'camaraderie' and community of interest. During the 1960s the field of popular music which used to be completely derivative, ranging from adaptations of The Mikado to an almost stupefying appetite for exact renditions of the songs, styles and variations of leading American pop singers, has shown hopeful signs of indigenous vigour. Urban poverty has at last asserted its own reality and troubadours of ghetto misery, frustration and hope have emerged. The search for self confidence demands the organization of training, economic opportunity and constant mass exposure for all these artists so that a total dialogue with the society can be assured (Manley 1974a:146).

The ideological effect of this upsurge within the society remains questionable. The middle and upper classes frequently attend concerts and plays depicting slum life, but in their daily routine of living they continue to negate the social existence of slum dwellers. Jamaican commodities still take a subordinate position to commodities from the wealthier countries, especially in the areas of certain types of food and clothing (such as
canned fruits and shoes). The economy remains dependent and social influences continue to flow through comics and other inexpensive books and foreign films. These films tend to be of the Kung-Fu variety and are well supported by slum dwellers who explain that movie going remains one of the cheapest forms of entertainment. In the slums films are advertised through posters on the walls of theatres and in the newspapers. These theatres are of painted white concrete and are graffiti-ridden. One sees remains of old posters that were originally advertisements. Iron grills dominate the structure and during the shows, well-built body guards are on duty. There is an underlying assumption that slum dwellers will crash the theatre, that is, enter without paying the admission cost. This has always been the situation in theatres in the slum, but not in theatres with a middle and upper class clientele. In the early 1970s, the slum dwellers asserted themselves as patrons of theatres outside the slum. The middle class has virtually fled the theatres and many attend only concerts and plays held in playhouses in non-slum areas. Many have indicated the reason as being "too many butus and streggaes are going to our theatres now." Of course, what one notices is that many of these theatres are now catering to the new clientele by a bombardment of Kung-Fu films. It is interesting to
note that these theatres are part of a multinational chain. Jamaican society continues to be influenced by the electronic media, especially television among the middle class and radio among the masses. Although Beckford and Witter (1980:45) aptly note that these values and mores are transformed to a greater degree among those on the lower rungs of the social ladder, what one finds is that Jamaicans in general tend to internalize the values of the dominant advanced culture to the detriment of their own culture. With respect to the slum dwellers, this internalization and transformation of values will be discussed in Chapter Three.

The transmission of values, especially those related to consumerism, is very important to multinational companies for the effective marketing of their products. The demonstration effect as discussed earlier:

supports the producers' belief that products can be established as socially desirable with one group or class in the expectation that its subsequent high ranking within that group will be made known to other (lower) socio-economic groups who are highly motivated to make status gains - the lower middle class for example - will subsequently ensure volume sales of the product in question across two or more socio-economic sectors. It also lends credibility to the argument that status sensitive groups belonging to the same broadly defined middle class can be treated as a single market in the expectations that views and values will easily be transmitted across and between subgroups and will generate a volume level of sales
for those products which are successful in securing a prestige 'ranking' on the social level (Mason 1981:124).

In terms of the transference of products to the developing societies, Kumar (1980:38) has pointed out that the multinational companies generally introduce new products in their home nations or in developed countries where they have large markets and effective sales organizations. Once the product proves successful (i.e. is being consumed by the elite and later the masses), as Mason has demonstrated, the company often decides to manufacture the item in the developing country. Since the multinational companies have been producing the products for some time, technical problems that could develop when the products reach the dependent states are minimized.

A major effect of dependence is that individuals are consuming commodities that they do not produce, thus decreasing or inhibiting local production which is necessary for some sort of independent survival. A country is economically in a more stable position if it produces most of what it consumes and leaves room within the productive process for the reinvestment of surplus. Strong external dependence, as in Jamaica, tends to lock the country ever tighter within the international capitalist system, which can be dangerous in times of international economic crisis (Beckford & Witter 1980). The
oil crisis in the early 1970s is a case in point. Such crises affect all sectors of the economy as modern societies become more and more oil dependent: "A country is especially dependent if it relies on one or two foreign countries for foreign exchange to buy imports which are essential either as industrial inputs or consumer goods (especially spare parts) which depends ultimately on the goodwill of one or two particular governments" (Seers 1979:98).

The Underground Economy: A Perpetuation of Dependence

During the 1970s, Jamaica was experiencing a very critical stage of its development. The country was experimenting with the ideology of Democratic Socialism and was going through a period of a fierce balance of payments deficit. As Beckford and Witter explain:

The structure of the Jamaican economy makes it extremely vulnerable to external developments. Accordingly, the current crisis hit us for six. Falling export earnings coupled with rising import prices put a tight squeeze on our capacity to import. Rising import prices pushed up our cost of living dramatically, thus lowering the real incomes of the masses of poor people. Foreign capital inflows declined during the recession of 1974-5 and so few job opportunities were created. Government expenditure had to expand to accommodate legitimate demands for wage increases in the public sector while private sector wages also increased. This created a fiscal crisis (i.e. excess of foreign payments over foreign receipts) (1980:89-90).
This situation was compounded by the fact that the country's usual position was that of importing more goods than it exported. For instance, Jamaica imports 60% of its foodstuff, therefore, shortage of foreign exchange to purchase foodstuff presented a serious problem. In outlining Jamaica's high dependence on food Beckford and Witter point out that increased imports are the result of the demise of the peasantry, which had been the main source of domestic food supply. In the late 1970s, food shortages in Jamaican have become so intense that "systems of informal rationing, hoarding and black markets have developed" (1980:68-69). Another difficulty was felt in the area of the purchase of spare parts for motor vehicles and industrial machines. The island was at a virtual collapse with government members running to various parts of the globe in search of loan and investment possibilities. The population was in a state of panic and the middle and upper classes began exporting their capital in whatever form possible. I became aware of this as it was a general topic of conversation. Individuals freely discussed cases of money being sent in letters that poorly identified the senders. Money was also stuffed in paintings of value and any other items being sent out of the country. Perhaps, the most ingenious, was the stuffing of money into the roasted
breadfruit for export to relatives overseas. Traveling friends and relatives tended to be the agents of this type of blackmarket. Foreign goods also became very scarce and, like food and money, entered the blackmarket at inflated prices.

This crisis created a contradictory situation which benefitted a few people, but was counter-productive as far as national development was concerned. According to Beckford and Witter:

Shortages of imported consumer goods set the stage for the rapid growth of the hustle economy which constitutes some illegal activities. Higglers began purchasing foodstuffs such as skellion and ground provisions for sale abroad in regions like Cayman and Panama. From these countries they purchase cornflakes and clothing and on their return to Jamaica they retail these at exorbitant prices. During the economic crisis sidewalk vendors therefore prospered. The ability of people to survive in this manner definitely depends on the approach taken by the government whether or not it will clamp down on these activities (1980:97-98).

On one level, this situation pacified the Jamaican population as the foreign goods to which they were accustomed were being supplied. Of course, this diverted certain social tensions. On another level, it could be argued that these higglers placed themselves in the role of unpaid agents for foreign companies as they helped in the limiting of the development of local
resources for local use. The Jamaican population may still have been a customer of the United States in an indirect way, as it is alleged that most of the goods from Haiti, Panama and Cayman, brought into Jamaica by these higglers, originated in the United States. As many of these higglers tend to be from the slum areas, they can be seen as creating more lucrative jobs for themselves without any aid from the state. As a matter of fact, they tend to be inhibited by the state, as heavy fines are levied against them at the customs offices. Sometimes, the higglers leave the island for about two to three days and an unemployed friend or relative is left to operate their food stalls. This opens up yet another avenue for others to obtain money, even if it is on a short term basis. Given this situation, one can expect that the individuals involved in this process will tend to be more concerned with their own survival than national development.

Another area wherein dependence on external forces is proving to be detrimental involves the producers of infant formula. These are multinational corporations such as Nestle and Mead Johnson that have penetrated the Third World and gained international publicity in 1978 regarding their advertising practices and the subsequent misuse of their product by consumers. These companies also first produced in the developed countries and
did successful business. It has been argued that within the developed countries as more women moved into the labour market, the infant formula was seen as an acceptable alternative to mothers' milk. But with the onset of the Women's Liberation Movement in the developed world and the apparent increased social consciousness among women, more and more women appear to be reverting to the use of mothers' milk. The multinationals have poured their products, more emphatically, into the Third World countries, and have been successful in obtaining a market by reaching both the rich and the poor. But there are implications for the poor in terms of cost and at times, access to clean water.

In the case of Jamaica, clean water is usually available but lack of money forces the poor both in the slums and in the rural areas to dilute the products so that it can last over a longer period of time. A Jamaican pediatrician has stated that because of this dilution, there are insufficient nutrients and many children tend to suffer from malnutrition, which sometimes results in brain damage or death. A very sophisticated advertising strategy was employed in Jamaica whereby multinationals hired nurses to go to the hospitals and make direct contact with the new mothers. After the contact, a free
sample was usually left with the mother. On returning home, she tended to start her baby on the formula, and more often than not continue with the use of the product. The fact that the mass of the people have been conditioned to give much credence to the opinions expressed by members of the health profession probably helped in influencing the new mothers towards the product.

Because of the adverse effects of the product, the Jamaican government has had to spend huge sums of money on counter-advertising, using billboards advocating that "The breast is best." Extra nurses have had to visit local clinics in order to explain the importance of breast feeding. The intervention of this type of multinational company only created more obstacles within the failing Jamaican economy.

Breakfast cereals were also introduced into Jamaica in a similarly subtle way. The argument put forward, which appeared convincing, was that the product was very easy to prepare. Prior to this, most people breakfasted on such foods as plantains, boiled green bananas and ackee. These were inexpensive and abundant. This healthy breakfast habit was eroded by Kellogg's Cornflakes, which is said to have less nutritional value:

In the past, few Jamaicans consumed cereals, nor did they need to; they consumed fish and green bananas which were cheap and plentiful throughout the island. In the post-war period the idea of consuming oatmeal and cornflakes was introduced and
promoted via advertising. In part, the idea gained acceptance through the need of industrial workers for a quick breakfast in order to get to work on time. The process culminated in the construction in 1968 of a wholly-owned subsidiary of Kellogg for production of "instant" oatmeal from imported oats. The local content of the product is merely the salaries of the 19 workers who operate the highly automated plant. Meanwhile, large quantities of Jamaican bananas spoil for want of market (Girling 1976:59).

Not only do the bananas spoil for want of a market but there is yet another indirect effect on slum dwellers through the introduction of such food products into Jamaican eating patterns. It is that many slum dwellers work as domestic helpers in the homes of the middle and upper classes. Breakfast in Jamaica among members of these classes is an important domestic activity mainly carried out by these helpers. By reducing this domestic activity to the stage where it can be done without much effort by other members of the household, it tends to jeopardize the job of the domestic helper. It acts as one more mechanism in the process of labour displacement and thus contributes to the increase of the already high unemployment rate:

In recent years, an increasing proportion of the urban population has been pushed into a swelling lumpen-proletariat. There is a fine line which distinguishes the unemployed labour army from the lumpen-proletariat in Jamaica, and this line is easily crossed. The spread of criminal
activities like drug traffic, gambling, robbery and also political thuggery has been a rising barometer of the hostility and frustration bottled up among the urban slum dwellers who find it difficult to secure regular employment (Keith and Girling 1978:13).

Jamaica's Power Structure and the Maintenance of Dependent Development

Some major aspects of Jamaica's dependence on external sources have been delineated in an attempt to show how these reinforce dependent development. These are maintained through the mediation of certain power structures within the contemporary Jamaican state, one of which has been described as dependent capitalist. Although the Jamaican state is made up of institutions similar to those in advanced capitalist societies such as those described by Miliband (1973:50), "the government, the administration, the military and the police, the judicial branch, sub-central government and parliamentary assemblies", given its post-colonial history it exhibits certain differences. According to Alavi (1972:61):

The essential problem about the state in post colonial societies stems from the fact that it is not established by an ascendant native bourgeoisie but instead by a foreign imperialist bourgeoisie. At independence, however, the direct command of the latter over the colonial state is ended. But, by the same token, its influence over it is by no means brought to an
end. The metropolitan bourgeoisie, now joined by other neo-colonialist bourgeoisie, is present in the post-colonial society. Together, they constitute a powerful element in the class structure.

It is the articulation of the metropolitan elite with the local elite (economic and political) that constitutes the structure of power within Jamaica. As pointed out earlier, the economic elite includes variants of the 21 prominent families in Jamaica who account for 125 of 219 corporate directorships and nearly 70% of the chairmen (Ambursley 1981:78). The political elite consists of Cabinet Ministers and other lower level political officials, with a Prime Minister invested with authority over the bureaucratic and military complexes.

Jamaica boasts a system of Parliamentary Democracy based on the Westminster model. There is a two party system, namely, the Jamaica Labour Party and the People's National Party, each having a strong labour union attached to it. These parties emerged from the 1938 labour unrests which swept the island. Members of Parliament are elected every four years through a general election. There is a strong argument which holds that reliance on such existing institutions in the present context, tends to prevent radical political transformation in post colonial societies (Saul 1974:366).
Prior to political independence in 1962, Jamaica was a crown colony. With independence, there was a noticeable shift of economic relations from Great Britain to the United States, leading to an economic strategy based on the model of Puerto Rico's 'Operation Bootstrap'. In essence this model encourages multinational companies to invest in Jamaica by offering them cheap labour and generous tax exemptions. It is interesting that Munroe (1972:195) has observed that five years after independence "the rate of unemployment, the numbers of the unemployed and the deprivation of the lumpen-proletariat and the working class increased at the same time as and partly as a result of a growing orientation of the Jamaican economy toward North America." This penetration of North American capital into Jamaica, and the profits that are appropriated, helps to maintain Jamaica's dependent relationship. Inequalities tend to become sharpened and the boundaries of the already distinct social classes, a legacy of British colonialism, tend to become more rigid, especially at the higher levels. A consequence of this situation is the exclusion of large segments of the population from an adequate standard of living. The state is thus forced to accommodate this surplus, but given its resources, can only do so in a very limited way, leaving a large portion
of people to eke out an existence for themselves. Munroe (1972:202) argues that:

this growing weight of the government has resulted from the relatively few and skilled jobs offered by the North American capital, now growing to dominance over the economy, the apparent incapacity of more labour intensive modes of production to hold labour as a result of this penetration and the expansion of government activities capable of absorbing relatively large numbers of unskilled labour.

Given the scarcity of jobs and the government's role as a significant employer, political patronage, which began with the introduction of universal adult suffrage in 1944, is reinforced. In emphasizing its pervasiveness within Jamaican politics, Ambursley (1981: 84) quoting Munroe (1972) informs us that, "It was common knowledge that under both J.L.P. and P.N.P. regimes the distribution of tickets for seasonal farm work in the U.S. proceeded along political lines. An official P.N.P. document of 1959 went so far as to declare openly that the duty of the good party member was to 'see that P.N.P. people get work...out of every ten, make it six P.N.P. and four J.L.P.'" The J.L.P. also practised political patronage whenever it formed the government and for both parties patronage tended to cut across class lines. Casual workers, civil servants, upper level administrators, developers, merchants and manufacturers all form part of this patronage system. Since Jamaica's
central aim is economic development, political patronage continues to be the background for economic development projects which usually involve the private and public sectors and foreign private investors and/or governments. Government support is therefore not necessarily predicated upon sound socio-economic policies but rather on the interests of certain individuals or groups. The features of the two major parties are such that it has been observed that, "The P.N.P. - J.L.P. regime possesses a considerable capacity to pre-empt open support for movements antagonistic to the regime or potential "third party'' groupings among politically significant social sections" (Munroe 1972:203).

This situation has basically remained the same although at present there is a fledgling workers' third party. The economic elite also has grown more powerful, thus increasingly weakening the position of the elected political officials. The experiment of Democratic Socialism in Jamaica is a case in point. Not having the support of this elite, it failed miserably, demonstrating the importance of economic power and control and its overriding influence on politics. There is a general social illusion in Jamaica that elected officials have unlimited political power. This tends to mystify the continual manipulation carried out by these officials.
By the same token, members of the economic elite find that alliance with the metropolitan elite works in their best interest and they ensure that this alliance is maintained, even if this means the neglect of the basic needs of the majority of the population. Given their power, they wield great influence over major institutions such as the political parties, the church, the educational system and most importantly, the mass media. As these are significant agents of socialization, the ideological impact is obvious. The effect of this impact is especially manifested in the daily lives of slum dwellers, where the contradiction of ideology and social existence is striking. It is appropriate therefore, that the next chapter deals with some of the institutions that contribute to the development and persistence of the slum.
Chapter Two

The multinational corporations do not operate by themselves, but within the context of a set of modern international institutions, and among power groups whose interests are interrelated with those of the corporations. The expansion of multinational corporations to underdeveloped countries has in part been made feasible by the rationalization of international capital flows and monetary transactions carried out by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund - international agencies that rather strictly serve the interests of the multinational corporations, exporters of the industrial nations, and international financial circles. These nations can and do exercise enormous pressure upon underdeveloped countries to keep their financial houses in order and to promote a favourable climate for private business. The favourite mechanism of control by the IMF and World Bank is setting conditions on loans - creditor governments must follow certain monetary, fiscal, and tariff policies that are consistent with the interests that the international agencies represent. The adoption of these policies usually means economic contraction, unemployment, and reduced real salaries and wages in the country that applies them. Underdeveloped countries find it difficult to avoid external borrowing due, in part, to their dependent position in the international economy in the first instance. (Johnson: 1972:95)

An example is the tourist industry. In Jamaica it represents the second largest industry, bauxite mining being number one. The "industry was developed for a particularly affluent sector of middle and upper class America which normally demands standards in accommodation and food that can only feasibly be met by importing supplies and utilizing capital investment from international hotel chains. The result is an external leakage effect produced by the diseconomies of increased import bills and little domestic control over the industry: (Cross 1979:42). In terms of the amount of food imported,
devVries (1981:71) quotes Jainarain (1976:314) who reports that for Jamaica, the proportion of imported food consumed in hotels is estimated at 70%.

3 Dr. Whittaker, my thesis advisor, takes exception to the use of the word *peasant* by Beckford and Witter in describing certain elements of Jamaican society. She sees it as a Europeanization of their argument and a kind of *scholarship dependency*. Her point is well taken and supports my argument that Jamaican dependence is pervasive. This is a good example of how it is reflected in the language.

4 For a detailed account of the degradation of work in capitalist society during the 20th century, see Braverman (1974).

5 The breadfruit is a fruit used as a starchy vegetable and makes a good bread substitute when roasted. It is usually served with ackee and cod fish and is a very delightful and popular breakfast dish. Over the years, Jamaicans have sent the roasted breadfruit abroad to friends and relatives. This helps to alleviate the feeling of homesickness that they tend to experience in North America and Great Britain. Utilizing the breadfruit as a way of transporting illegal money is a way of diverting the attention of customs officers. It certainly is one of the least expected places that one would check for money. Most blackmarket offenders tend to be caught through *tip-offs*. This tends to happen as offenders are inclined to boast about their ingenious blackmarket endeavours.
CHAPTER THREE

SOME STRUCTURAL FEATURES CONTRIBUTING TO THE DEVELOPMENT AND PERSISTENCE OF THE SLUM

In the light of the theoretical perspectives discussed in Chapter Two, there is general agreement with the explanation that dependent development, now being experienced in most Third World countries, is the direct result of the integration of these countries into the international economic system, from the 16th century onwards. What appears lacking in such an explanation are the mechanisms that allow for the persistence of dependent development.

Using Jamaica as an example, I argue in this chapter that dependent development persists because of the structural conditions that developed with the penetration of capitalism and that these structural conditions now present themselves as obstacles to social and economic development. One such obstacle is the consequence of the growth and persistence of slums and shanty towns in the city of Kingston (West Kingston, in particular). Contemporary capitalism, through industries such
as bauxite mining and tourism, reinforces these conditions by displacing peasants from their lands. For instance:

Tourism has resulted in the alienation of national property by and/or for foreigners; beaches and coasts have become the patrimony of tourists. The local population, in search of cheaper land, is pushed away from the coast. Increasingly beaches are withdrawn from public use by hotels and resorts; underdeveloped ones are held for speculation or with plans for future hotels and resort sites (Perez 1982:252).

In essence, the best lands are alienated by the foreign companies or by local landowners. Small farmers who represent the largest social groups in the society own the least amount of lands (Robotham 1977:45).

Given the nature of Jamaica's dependent economy, the unemployment rate tends to be constantly on the increase. A consequence of this is the transformation of certain areas into slums, as individuals are unable to maintain an adequate standard of living. Unlike many countries in Latin America, Asia and Africa, where rural-urban migration constitutes the major causes for the growth of the slum population, in Jamaica the major causes appear to be natural population growth or the slum areas spreading out to encompass other areas. Through the informal economic activities of their members these slums are an integral part of the urban structure. Due
to neglect by the state, the poor social conditions of these slums are maintained, thus helping to reinforce the prevailing perspective that this sector of the economy is non-productive.

By examining some aspects of Jamaica's economic, political and social conditions, this chapter also intends to demonstrate that the system of labour exploitation which began in slavery, gave rise to racism: "Slavery was not born of racism: rather, racism was the consequence of slavery. Unfree labour in the New World was brown, white, black and yellow; Catholic, Protestant and pagan" (Williams 1975:7). Today, racism is somewhat obscured by class and is inextricably tied to the persistence of urban slums. Class is here used in the Marxist sense, wherein "classes are large groups of people differing from each other by the place they occupy in a historically determined system of social production, by their relations to the means of production, by their role in the social organization of labour and consequently by the share of social wealth of which they dispose and the mode of acquiring it" (Lenin 1973:421). Therefore, any discussion of the development and maintenance of Jamaica's contemporary urban slums must necessarily start with the realities of slavery.

Jamaica's political economy developed within a
colonial framework based on the availability of such resources as sugar and labour. This began during the 16th century when Europe was at the height of expansion. In Jamaica, this expansion took the form of the plantation system. Within this particular system, sugar, which was abundantly produced, was exported to Britain. African labour was imported to produce the sugar and Europeans controlled the production process.

The plantation system served the purpose of producing goods for foreign markets while at the same time integrating Jamaica within the expanding international system. Unlike Asia, Africa and Latin America, where an indigenous tradition existed before Colonialism, the Jamaican situation differed slightly, in that the indigenous Arawak Indians represented only a small number of people who were quickly exterminated. Africans were brought in as slaves, and this marked a turning point in Jamaica's history.

During this period, cities were created specifically on the coastline for easy access to trading routes. Kingston, for instance, was established as a trading town, which was strategically built on a harbour. It was Jamaica's major commercial centre and the key link with Spanish American trade. Given the nature of the plantation system, that is, goods being produced mainly
for export, it appeared that industrial development was not encouraged. Encouragement would probably have proven counter-productive to European manufactured commodities such as foodstuff and other consumer goods that were sold on the island at that time. Lack of interest in the island also contributed to little development. This disinterest was manifested in the absenteeism practised by plantation owners. They enjoyed high status by visiting England on a regular basis and remaining for long periods. Sometimes many of these owners did not return to the island. Some sent their children to school in England, pointing out that educational facilities were not available in Jamaica (Williams 1973; Patterson 1967). It has been suggested also that laws were passed to make sure that the colonies would not put themselves in a position to compete with the European markets. This situation has created a certain type of external dependency, which has remained today in a modified form as Third World countries like Jamaica, in responding to outside market forces, developed features that have come to be referred to as dependent capitalism. Demas points out that this dependent situation constituted:

- export monoculture of sugar in a relatively unprocessed form, foreign ownership and foreign decision making; the basing of the entire productive system on metropolitan preferences; the
failure to establish "linkages" between productive units within each island and between different islands of the region; competitive rather than complementary strategies of development taking the form of fierce rivalry between the different islands for the retention or gaining of privileged preferential positions in the British market; in short, the absence of genuine national economies and the existence of regional disintegration rather than integration (1976:2).

Further effects of this dependency of the developing country were felt in late 1973 with the onset of the international oil crisis [involving oil producing and exporting countries (OPEC)] which carried in its wake unprecedented rates of inflation (now at 30% in Jamaica). This was felt mainly in the areas of exports and imports which were already disadvantageous to Third World countries.

As the entire productive system was based on metropolitan preferences, Kingston's industries were only those related to a seaport town. Freeport trade was the mainstay of the urban economy, its needs being for docks, warehouses and temporary houses for slaves. "Kingston's role was the import, storage and dispatch of slaves and British manufactured goods to the sugar estates and the collection, storage and export of sugar to Britain" (Clarke 1975:13). The growth of Kingston's economy was therefore geared to the growth of the island's economy. Today, in terms of trade, preference for the capital city
still persists, as evidenced by the location of industry dominated by the multinational companies (e.g. manufacturing plants and hotels). This preference is perpetuated because throughout Jamaica, uneven development, which is advantageous to the urban sector has always been maintained. Therefore, any expansion of the area bore direct relationship to the needs of the waterfront. During this period, most of the lands away from the waterfront were unoccupied, as housing played a very minor role. Due to the commercial nature of the area, land was very expensive (Graham 1973).

In the early 1800s a new area which was connected with the extension of the waterfront emerged in West Kingston. During its early years this area developed into a slum. By 1823 the Wherry Wharf came into being, employing jobbing slaves and free artisans. Later in the 1820s, just north of this area appeared Reitti's Town, later called Smith's Village and now Denham Town (the area where this research was conducted). This expansion was accompanied by the development of new industries - brick yards, tanneries, bakeries and establishments for cabinet making and coach building. The rise of these industries contributed to the migration of people to these parts from other sections of the city. As Graham describes this area "the west was vague; partly
an extension of the city in slums, partly townships, a little like the pre 1871 one and partly an expansion of the suburban area" (1973:14).

With the revolution in Haiti, many refugees fled to Kingston. In 1834 Apprenticeship in Jamaica transformed the vast majority of the population from a condition of slavery on the estates to that of the landless poor. Subsequently, emancipation in 1838 promoted the growth of Kingston as some of the ex-slaves migrated there. Many remained on the rural plantations as wage workers, while others acquired lands around the plantations, becoming involved with small scale agriculture. This included the raising of income producing livestock such as cows, sheep, goats, and the cultivation of minor cash crops. This allowed the ex-slaves a limited degree of ownership of the means of production. This was limited in the sense that they were forced to operate within the constraints of the plantation system. Some were also involved as wage labourers on lands of other small farmers, particularly on the outskirts of the city. A modern wage earning class did not develop from the plantation system. The system required a ready supply of unskilled labourers on a seasonal basis. Between crops these labourers remained in reserve as tenant farmers or as small peasants existing at a bare subsistence level.
Emancipation did not result in much change in the structure of the plantation system. There was no change in the state apparatus, and above all, there was no significant change in the racial situation. The black majority continued to be discriminated against, and as it had no institutional part to play in the development of the society, remained politically excluded. The blacks continued to be marginal mountain planters or very small shopkeepers. During the 1840s with the introduction of beet sugar in Europe the cane sugar industry suffered a decline (Williams 1975; Dookhan 1977). Many plantations were forced to close down and some reduced their productivity, thus laying off many of their workers. Many of these unemployed agricultural workers began drifting into Kingston in the hope of finding employment. After the mid-1840s no new development took place for many years. Kingston's growth was slow in the first four decades after emancipation because births exceeded deaths in Jamaica by the low margin of only 52 to 40 per 1,000 population during the intercensal period 1844-1861 and deaths from cholera in Kingston numbered 5,000 between 1850 and 1852 (Clarke 1975:30).

In 1899, with the expansion of new towns, animal drawn trams and trolley cars were introduced. As is the case in newly developed towns, the population
density began increasing rapidly along the tram lines. The large numbers of people that were streaming into the city seeking work had to find places to live, and many moved into the West Kingston area because of its close proximity to the seaport sector. This migratory movement led to high levels of unemployment as the productive resources of the city could not absorb the newly arrived population. A consequence of this was that the area became extremely overcrowded. To balance the high rents that were being charged, many individuals began sharing very small quarters. Because of the pressure on accommodation, the high rents persisted and a vicious circle was thus maintained. By the period 1891-1921, the city grew from 9,702 to 25,337 (Tekse 1967:26).

Between 1921 and 1943 more than 2,000 rural born Jamaicans were arriving in Kingston each year. By 1921, the capital was ten times the size of Spanish Town, whereas it had been only 5 times as large sixty years earlier. While the number of towns recording a population of more than 1,000 had increased from ten to thirteen during this period, and their proportion of the Jamaican population had risen from 11.2 to 14.8 percent, Kingston's share of the urban dwellers had increased from 55 to 69 percent (Clarke 1975:32).

At this point urbanization was at full force: "From the 1920s, the concentration of the declassed peasants in wretched slums such as Smith Village near Coronation Market and along Spanish Town Road began. And by 1945,
45% of Kingston's population was rural born" (Munroe & Robotham 1977:99).

During the 1940s the rate of population growth increased so rapidly that between 1943 and 1970 the population grew from 202,000 to 562,416 and by 1977 had reached 643,800 (Demographic Statistics 1978:4). As the labour force increased so did the number of tenement yards. As far back as 1893, a correspondent writing for the Daily Gleaner newspaper on the conditions of Kingston's poor wrote:

Kingston Penn (now West Kingston) consisted of little plots. It is a little town in itself and few persons who have lived in the city for many years are aware that such a place is in existence. Here, the people, amongst whom are included creoles, Chinese, coolies etc., pay from 9 pence to one shilling per week for a little plot of land on which they have to build their own houses. The result is that there is no regular form of architecture, each man creating according to the dictates of his fancy or according to his ability to work. Every conceivable material has been used in the construction of these tenements which for variety cannot be equalled. One composed entirely of straw - one room in which a family of 5 or 6 persons live. Another is clay throughout, with a bamboo roof. Several are erected entirely from grass woven into shape in a skillful manner and most airy and cool in the hot dry months.

The Historical Continuity of the Slum

Today, in 1979, the tenements still exist, the
houses are of wooden frames and many people still crowd into one room. In some of these rooms there are as many as eight persons - two adults and six children. Cooking, eating and sleeping take place in the rooms, though many people set up make-shift facilities for cooking in the general yard area. Toilet facilities are generally shared among tenants. One room costs from J$1.20 for a government owned room to J$12.00 per month for a privately owned one. A few of the older residents in the area remember Kingston Penn in the 1940s and early 1950s and described the thatched huts of wattle and daub that existed at that time. Some of the houses, referred to as wapun & bapun\(^1\), were made with boxes that were containers for Ford cars. One container made two rooms which was finished with old corrugated metal roofing. One informant explained to me that he and many others made a good part of their living by constructing these shacks. They picked up most of the material from the city dump or dungle, as they called it then. Most of the shacks were owned by coollies (East Indians) and many of the tenants were blacks, a number of whom were new arrivals to the city in search of work. They paid two shillings and six pence per week for one of these shacks.

Those who could not afford to pay rent because they were permanently unemployed resorted to squatting in
an area which became known as *Back-o-Wall*. These squa- 
tters built their own shacks, which had few or no ameni- 
ties. These living conditions in the slum areas gave 
rise to such public health problems as tuberculosis and 
dysentery.

By the early 1900s, further rail extension took 
place connecting Kingston to the rest of the island. The 
movement of people from the rural area to Kingston was 
greatly intensified and continued for about another sixty 
years.

During this time, the population remained poor 
and fairly stable, but this stability was aggravated in 
the 1930s when more foreign capital began penetrating the 
Caribbean region. For instance, many people were dis- 
placed when Tate and Lyle, the giant sugar refining 
enterprise, bought out large areas of land from the pea- 
sants and established subsidiary companies for the pro- 
duction of sugar cane. Today, that company produces 60% 
of Jamaica's sugar output (Beckford 1978:324). Banana 
production, carried out mainly by the American owned 
United Fruit Company formed a second major export indus- 
try. The landless peasants were forced into wage work, 
which was scarce, or they joined the trek to Kingston.

The trek to Kingston only heightened the 
conditions of poverty and unemployment as the urban
structure could not absorb the surplus rural labourers. Jamaica as a whole was still economically dependent on the metropolis and a declining sugar industry. Low wages and substandard conditions of life, particularly in housing and health, prevailed. Malnutrition was widespread, as was lack of educational opportunities, and only rudimentary social services were available to the mass of the people.

By 1935, out of a total of 200,368 income earners, it was estimated that 184,000 earned under £65 a year. Only 18% of the entire population earned any income at all, while 92% of those employed received weekly, less than 25 shillings and 71% less than 14 shillings. The average weekly wage for women workers was 5 shillings. At least 11% of the population was estimated as permanently unemployed in 1935 and at least 50% as partially employed. Malnutrition and malaria, tuberculosis and hookworm, the workhouse and the poor houses, became the lot of the masses during these hard years (Munroe & Robotham 1977:32).

In the present day situation, many informants not born in Kingston arrived there as nursemaids and domestics or gardeners. On arrival the ages of nursemaids and domestics ranged between 14-16. Many had completed elementary school or others were elementary school drop-outs. As the informants explained, there was usually an informal system whereby these domestic jobs were prearranged between middle class families in Kingston and the families of potential domestics before the latter
left their rural homes. A large number of middle class families seemed to prefer rural workers as they tended not to be exposed to working class ideas and had not yet developed a working class consciousness. Thus, their labour could easily be exploited. Advertisements in the newspapers clearly stated this preference - "girl from the country needed to do housework". In these cases, most were given room and board. After working for a while with their original employers, many domestics tended to branch out on their own, some taking up residence in the West Kingston area. Those who did not come as part of a network, also tended to settle in the West Kingston area, where they had relatives or friends or because the rents were relatively cheap. The area also allowed for a high degree of koteching that is, sponging off relatives or friends, a system that was not very common in the rest of Kingston. Using this area as a base, some domestics obtained jobs in other parts of Kingston.

Kingston was not the only area experiencing overcrowding, high unemployment and subsequent poverty, for the island as a whole was feeling the effects of the world depression of the 1930s. Falling prices for primary products aggravated the situation. Nearly a hundred years after slavery was ended, modern development had
made little progress on the island and therefore the class structure still retained the characteristics that existed under the plantation system: "Throughout the island, labour in the sugar industry was paid an average of a shilling a day, dockers received three shillings and eight pence for an eleven hour work day. The men and women of the banana industry, the thousands in domestic service, in road gangs, indeed workers throughout the economy were no better off" (Manley 1975:35). To add to the problem during this period, "thousands of emigrants were repatriated from the United States of America and Cuba, penniless to Jamaica. While between 1921 and 1943 the population of the whole island increased by some 30%, that of Kingston alone went up over 100% from 130,000 to 280,000" (Munroe & Robotham 1977:99).

Members of the working class began questioning their material condition and organized themselves into groups in order to discuss the adverse effects of Jamaica's economic state of affairs. These discussions came to a head in labour unrest starting in the parish of Westmoreland in the Tate and Lyle Sugar refinery, followed by more labour unrest in Spanish Town and Kingston: "Serious violence, put down by an armed constabulary with the loss of many lives, brought Jamaican conditions to the attention of the Imperial Government, which appointed
a Royal Commission under the leadership of Lord Moyne" (Barrett 1977:25). A hundred years after emancipation there occurred a turning point in Jamaica's labour history. From the mass movement emerged two prominent union leaders, Alexander Bustamante and Norman Manley, who later became party leaders, polarizing the country into a two party system. Although they represented the interest of the masses, they were not of the masses; Manley was a barrister at Law, and Bustamante, later to be knighted, was a businessman. This trend of middle class political leadership has remained in Jamaica to this day. This becomes obvious when one observes the lack of development of any solidarity among the masses concerning their social conditions. What is present today, especially in the slum areas, is a strong sense of frustration regarding inadequate material conditions. This feeling is not channelled by any political force and one finds a high degree of aggression manifested in "riots" and "shoot-outs."

By the 1950s, new forms of dependent development came into being as more capital from abroad was injected into the Jamaican economy through investments in the bauxite mining, tourist, manufacturing, financial, transportation and communications industries. These new industries brought with them new techniques which allowed
for changes in the production process. The production process in these new industrial sectors became capital rather than labour intensive which can be detrimental in a society that has a long history of continuing labour surplus. Also, with the introduction of new techniques, the capitalist social relations of production in these sectors were reinforced. Therefore, although these industries diversified the production process, they also changed the class structure. For instance, the bauxite and tourist industries occupied large areas of land bought cheaply from the peasants. As development accelerated, many peasants were displaced, adding to the already unemployed labour pool. Those who obtained jobs, found these to be extremely low paid. This was especially so in the tourist industry where they worked as waiters, waitresses and bus boys. A relatively new phenomenon in Jamaica and other tourist oriented centres in the Third World is the presence of beach boys who perform various social functions for the tourists and received financial gains in return. For this group, I have coined the phrase beach hustlers as their methods for economic survival are very similar to other types of hustlers in the Kingston slum. Given these circumstances, migration again seemed the only choice and many peasants chose Kingston. As Jefferson writes: "Differential rates of
growth between town and country are explained largely by migration, the pace of which increased substantially during the 1950s. As was the case during the period 1921-43, when the tempo of internal migration increased as pressure on the available land built up and opportunities for emigration to Cuba and Panama dried up, the Kingston and St. Andrew area was the chief destination for internal migrants" (1972:16-17). Phillips emphasizes this point:

The failure of the agricultural sector of the economy to engender development; and the increasing alienation of locally owned land by the newly arrived bauxite companies set in train a rural-urban migration. In 1943 for example, 19.26% of the total population resided in Kingston and St. Andrew. By 1960, this figure had risen to 26.06% and in 1970 had risen further to approximately 30%. (1977:11).

This migration has contributed to a phenomenal growth of urbanization which has been most noticeable over the last three decades as many impoverished rural migrants continue to drift to the city in hopes of pursuing a better life. Most of these rural migrants find the urban environment harsh in terms of employment. Unable to cope economically, most find themselves forced to live in the shanty towns or slum areas of the city. This tends to swell the ranks of the underemployed as the city is not able to absorb adequately its new migrants.
Historically, the country's productive system has never been able to generate productive employment for its growing labour force, and this appears to be one of the main factors contributing to the growth and persistence of the slum areas. The fact that most of the rural migrants are perceived as ill-equipped for the urban environment in terms of work skills is used as a rationalization for the high rate of unemployment among this group. This situation raises some fundamental questions as to the social, economic and political differences that tend to exist between the rural and urban populations.

One is forced to look at these differences in terms of the social and economic development of the country. For instance, much emphasis was placed on the cities at the expense of the rural areas. Resources, both human, in the form of migrant labourers and natural, in the form of agricultural products were extracted and transported to the cities. This process subsequently led to the deterioration of the rural areas.

In general, migrants are prompted to move by the prospect of improving their socio-economic situations. This migration could be at the national or international level, each level having its particular effects. While national migration tends to create an economic and social imbalance between the rural and urban areas,
international migration, because of the nature of each receiving country's restrictions, tends to remove the better educated and skilled. It also tends to remove from the country of origin individuals that are within the most productive years of their lives (i.e. an age range from 24-45). This process robs such countries of essential human resources. The fact that potential international migrants seek out developed countries for their destination is also an important factor. This situation has far-reaching effects as it tends to aggravate the political economy of developing countries in terms of the "brain drain" effects. According to Portes:

it is a fact seldom noted that major colonial cities quickly became acquainted with the phenomenon of internal migration. Destruction of pre-conquest patterns of agricultural production forced many natives, survivors of the encomiendas, to look for their livelihood in cities. Many were brought as servants; others gradually established themselves as small artisans and menial workers. These concentrated like the Spanish population they served, in the largest cities, such as Mexico City, Lima and Potosi, or, on a lesser scale Cuzco and Guadalajara (1974:65).

Historically, Jamaican emigration appeared as an effective process during periods of high levels of unemployment. As far back as 1871, when sugar cultivation declined, many Jamaicans emigrated to Haiti, Colombia, British Guiana and British Honduras and the
United States of America. By 1905, large numbers left for the Panama Canal, and many did not return. Many also left in 1916 to work on the Venezuelan oil fields. After World War I, a sugar boom in Cuba offered more jobs to Jamaicans, and by the early 1930s more than 60,000 Jamaicans were living there (Hurwitz and Hurwitz 1971). The situation reversed itself to the detriment of Jamaica during the world depression of the late 1930s when many of these migrant labourers were forced to return home. Having experienced urban life abroad most settled back in Kingston along with the labour surplus population that had accumulated due to the rural-urban migration that was already underway. As previously mentioned, these migrants were at the forefront in the 1938 labour unrest which included both the unemployed and the under-employed.

The Role of Race and Religion in Maintaining Dependency

What eventually evolved from Jamaica's historical experience was a type of society initially divided into two groups, one large, black and powerless (slaves), the other small, white and powerful (slave-masters). Race was the basis of this division and, as Girvan (1975: 6) has argued, racism was generated and systematically applied to legitimize the exploitation of one race by
another for the smooth running of the economic system.

The structural features of present day Jamaican society reflect in many ways those features that existed under colonialism. For instance, racism was used for the advancement of capitalism. Today, racism has become institutionalized. It also has become articulated with social class. The term 'articulated' is used since racism has not completely disappeared. Class is the dominant feature of the discriminatory process. A significant number of blacks have remained at the bottom of the social pyramid and this correlates with the colour-caste classification system that existed during the period of slavery. Although some blacks have made it to the top of the social pyramid, the white and socially white (Jews and Syrians) groups dominate this position. This is easy to understand, as members of the white plantocracy dominated the means of production at the outset and have been able to maintain power (Beckford 1976: 37).

Norris supports this maintenance of power by pointing out that "discrimination is against the masses as a historically determined economic and cultural class, not as a racial group." She states further that:
colour and race are not the explicit reasons for this discrimination, but this is not to say it is any less emotional or intense than for example, in the Southern United States. Something of the same contempt which the white Southerner feels for his "negro" labourers, is also in the breast of the upper class Jamaican, but it is rationalized in another way. For instance, the Southern "negro" is treated as a second class human being because his skin is black, the lower class Jamaican is treated as a second class human being because he is poor and ignorant (1962:81).

Having rationalized poverty and ignorance to justify social inequality, the privileged position of elite members within the society is more firmly entrenched, since notions of justice can now be used in their defence. This inequality between the upper class and the masses manifests itself at all levels of social relationship. One example is the relationship between employers and employees in the workplace. As Manley states, "it is no exaggeration to say that until quite recently in our history, the working class did not exist as human beings for the privileged. So total was the cumulative effect of history that the average members of the privileged groups were incapable of perceiving the common humanity which made the worker a part of the same total experience as themselves" (1975:54).

Holzberg brings the present day attitude of the elite towards the masses to the forefront when she explains, "I hesitated to disclose that I had crossed the
class/colour line by being friendly with those often scornfully described as "butus", "radicals", "communists", "monkey" and "Quashee" (1980:17). This debasing conduct of the elite members toward the masses is so engrained that despite the fact that economic power is exclusively in their hands, this social situation is accepted as a natural phenomenon by the majority of the population. The members of this elite continue to be held in high esteem. For instance, during my fieldwork, the two major political parties were campaigning for the 1980 general elections by holding huge political meetings at various locations. One of these meetings took place in the slum and attracted hundreds of people. In discussions with slum dwellers the following morning, many were pleased to inform me of the large numbers of light-skin people\(^2\) that had attended. In the words of one informant, "Si, dem fe we, dem even cum dung a de slum." (It is obvious that they support us since they make the effort to come to the slum.) This deference toward whites or other members of the Jamaican elite is expressed by the use of the term bakra, which is a West African word used during slavery referring to members of the white plantocracy. Today, it is generally used to refer to employers but, often at the end of an interview, the informant would say "mek me go do bakra wuk" (I am going
to something that is imperative). Or after a discussion of politics they often comment "mek me cum outa bakra business." (To deal with this affair is too complex for me.) Through the local dialect one can detect a distance between the classes that was pervasive during the period of slavery. This is manifested in the deference inherent in the meaning of the words.

Christianity in its various forms occupies a dominant position in Jamaica. There is a distinct difference in social class among members of the various religious sects. Some of these sects include Anglican, Baptist, Brethren, Church of God, Methodist, Pentecostal, Roman Catholic and Seventh Day Adventist. The doctrine of these religions is Eurocentric. Among the oppressed, there is a myriad of syncretized religious cults subsumed under the generic term Revivalism. The doctrine is Afrocentric:

Revivalist are mostly outside the socio-economic framework of the middle class; membership is drawn primarily from the working class. The Christian middle class widely holds particular views of Revivalists; pagan, superstitious, comical in ritual behaviour, tolerant of dishonesty. The suspicion of the practise of obeah (the use of spirits for destructive purposes) adds further to the middle class disrepute of cultists. The ambivalent attitude of the middle class groups towards their African heritage contributes to the contempt (Seaga 1969:5)

The religious cults emerged around the 1860s
when Jamaica experienced a massive religious revival (Lanternari 1963:159). In essence, this experience was a rejection of Christianity, the teachings of which focused on the eradication of African traditions. In effect, what occurred was the Africanization of Christianity. Although most of the cults were fundamentally Christian in ritual, they had a strong millenial focus. Members often resorted to supernatural powers to achieve their ends, since this was not possible within the existing social order. Today, the philosophy remains basically the same. In an interview with the Deaconess of the United Holy Church of Jamaica (Revivalist) which has its headquarters in the slum, it was indicated that about 40% of slum dwellers are avowed Revivalists. Of this, 70% are youths between the ages of 18 and 30. There is no specific church building, but seal yards are the locations of Revivalist meetings. The seal refers to the area where the most significant sacred activities take place. The seal yards are usually a part of the Revivalist leader's residence. Individuals get together in these yards through the ritual of the different laying of tables. That is, paying respect through certain rituals to special events such as baptism, death, prosperity and memorials. A table is laid with certain types of food such as vegetables, fruits and bread. The choice of food
depends on the event. At the conclusion of the ritual which consists of singing, praying and sometimes drumming, the table is "broken", that is, the food is distributed to the participants. A portion is usually left for the spirits concerned. In cases where a sacrifice is offered, for example, the killing of a goat, the ritual ends with the cooking and eating of the meat. Often, during these rituals spirit possession (at times accompanied by glossalalia) takes place. Invariably, during spirit possession the individual is incapacitated for up to three months at which time he or she takes on a new role which could take the spirit form of a Queen or an East Indian. According to informants, the spirit informs the individual as to the role he or she should take. The individual is able to play the part by asking people for the items necessary to the new spirit role (e.g. clothing).

Given the irregularity of employment within the slum, these rituals do not appear to affect work patterns. Many slum dwellers use religion to explain and often times to soothe the pain derived from their social conditions. For instance, when asked about the difficulties in coping with their poor material conditions, many invariably reply "The Lord wi provide" (The Lord will provide) or "God wi tek care a im pickney dem." (God
will take care of his children.) It seems to enable them to accept their position as inevitable, therefore leaving little room for questioning. While these cults can be seen as a mechanism for relieving social tensions among slum dwellers, they can be quite advantageous to the ruling class in the sense that the cult members support the status quo and accept their lot as second class citizens. This is not saying that orthodox religions are not forms of social control. But there is a difference in the sense that there is a tendency among Jamaican middle and upper class members not to view their religious affiliations as all encompassing as is the case among the slum dwellers. Some of these attitudes have been perpetuated through the ideology of colonial education although, from time to time, a minority of the population has resisted this cultural hegemony through slave revolts (Patterson 1967; Memmi 1965) and later, working class revolts (Post 1971).

Rastafarianism: Cultural Rejection Through Ritual

In contemporary times, this rejection is manifested in the pervasive ideology of Rastafarianism. Like the earlier cults it is basically millenarian. Its members reject the notion of a Caucasian God and promote the Divinity of Haile Selasie, former Emperor of
Ethiopia. They argue that much of the Bible has been misinterpreted, so they view its interpretation with suspicion. There is a popular Jamaican song which reflects this feeling. It calls for the denouncement of the King James version of the Bible and the reaffirmation of the Maccabees version which deals with Jewish oppression. This version consists of the four books written in Hebrew translated into Greek. The members also reject Jamaican society, which they see as a cultural carbon copy of Europe. The deference to things European not only negates African religion, music and art, which are dominant features of Jamaican society, but the concept of a black identity as well.

The movement gained momentum in the slums of West Kingston, and is often linked with Garveyism, which has its beginnings in the early 1920s. Marcus Garvey (who was later to be glorified as a prophet), seeing the frustration of the black poor, envisioned a mass repatriation of black people to their homeland Africa from whence they came as slaves. The adherents of the movement have become frustrated with the inequalities within Jamaican society. They see repatriation to Africa, Ethiopia in particular, as a solution to their social, economic and political oppression. Their most pressing concern is the continuous degradation of the African
presence in Jamaica. The members see themselves as the reincarnation of the ancient tribes of Israel who have been exiled in Jamaica for their past sins. This exile is seen as a punishment and Jamaica, referred to as Babylon represents the blackman's hell on earth. Some members concentrated on the religious aspects of the movement, while others took a more militant stand.

Many of the urban poor seemed to find solace in the Rastafarian movement as it appeared to transform their extreme social, political and economic alienation into a well defined philosophy. This transformation also had the tendency of giving the illusion that their exclusion from the dominant society, mainly in employment, was a conscious choice on their part, rather than a choice that was and continues to be socially produced. They continue to verbalize their disdain for Jamaican society, Babylon, by pointing out that they do not wish to work within it.

The politico-religious ideology (i.e. total rejection of Jamaican society and the desire for repatriation) of the Rastafarian movement was perceived as a threat to the Jamaican state. The state responded through the use of force, that is, through constant police harassment. Rastafarians were easily recognized by their physical appearance (long, unkempt hair and
colourful clothing), by their prophetic ways of speech and by the smoking of ganja, declared by the state to be an illegal act. The police gained the support of many members of the dominant society who viewed the Rastafarians as repulsive and treated them as social outcasts. There were constant altercations between the police and members of the Rastafarian movement, some of which resulted in riots which led to arrests and legal sentences. With this harassment, the Rastafarians became more rebellious and publicly indulged in the use of obscene language. Constant government intervention seemed successful in co-opting the movement.

Instead of continuing to pursue a posture of militant political opposition to the established and dominant political groups, the Rastafarian movement eagerly embraced the opportunity for the establishment of a church that would be tolerated by the local elites. The post 1960 Rastafarian dialogue with Ethiopia which was facilitated by the Jamaican government gave birth to a strong local chapter of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. With this development, which has been correctly characterized as the Jamaicanization of the African thrust of the movement, the demand for African repatriation lost its urgency, centrality and appeal. Increasingly, the growth of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church absorbed the energies of the movement in religious and cultural activities, the expansion of which required political accommodation rather than resistance towards the status quo. The essentially individualistic and disorganized Rastafarian movement became subject to rapid institutionalization through the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, which captured the movement by filling the organizational void (Stone 1973:155).
Over the years, the movement has experienced certain modifications, making it more attractive to many others. It is also experiencing an ideological shift, in the sense that many advocates of the movement do not feel obliged to adhere to the original philosophy of the movement treating the former Haile Selassie as God. Also, these new advocates are seeking solutions to social problems within the Jamaican context rather than in Africa.

By the late 1960s it appeared clear that the Rastafarian movement had been co-opted by members of the dominant society. This manifested itself in the loss of the force with which the members put forth their political philosophy and the overall acceptance and use of their style of dress, art and philosophy which were initially rejected. With this acceptance, the movement was integrated into the middle class. Not only has it been integrated into the national middle class, but certain elements of the movement have been adopted by some members of the middle class of some advanced capitalist countries as well. In short, the movement seems to have lost its power as a movement of the oppressed.

The Jamaican Class Structure

When one looks at the rigid social structure that Jamaica has inherited, it becomes apparent that this
is how the colonizers intended it to be. In retrospect, the colonizers forced the colonized to despise themselves. According to Memmi (1965:71) this is colonial racism which is built from three major ideological components: (1) the gulf between the culture of the colonist and the colonized; (2) the exploitation of these differences for the benefit of the colonialist and (3) the use of these supposed differences as standards of absolute fact. This created the belief among the blacks that they were inferior and they aspired to what the whites represented - affluence and privilege. There were always conflicts in the colonies and, as Mannoni states, the "colonial problems stem from conflicts within European civilization itself and the racialist reactions of the white man to the black are the products of elements already present in his psyche" (1956:197).

Since the labour force in the island was dominated by African slaves of different linguistic tribes, there was difficulty in communication among them. This difficulty was exploited within the labour force as a very important mechanism of social control used by the colonizers whose purpose in the colony was primarily for profit:

African slaves were put through a process of seasoning whereby they would be transformed into hardy and obedient slaves.
The process of reculturation was promoted by the deliberate mixing of slaves from different tribes while suppressing all cultural symbols and relations, even languages. One result was the development of a pidginized version of the master's English language, which permitted communication among slaves and between the slave and planter classes. Another result was the use of song as a medium for articulating resistance to the oppression and as an outlet for the physical and psychological pain of the slave master's whip.

For the roots of mento, calypso and reggae reach back into slavery where social criticism and satire could only be expressed in song. Slave masters then (as their successor capitalist classes now) were incapable of feeling the message of song, and often never tried to understand (Beckford and Witter 1980:18).

Apparently this suppression automatically alienated the individuals from their original culture and it is alleged that it laid the foundation for the dependent situation which has exhibited itself in Jamaica today. Manley (1974a:21) sees it as the psychology of dependence "which is the most insidious, elusive and intractable of the problems" which Jamaicans have inherited. Much of this dependence and alienation is manifested among present day slum dwellers.

The socio-economic division, though modified from the period of the plantation system, still exists, although at the present time the power of the white and socially white economic elite tends to be more obscure. The members of this elite are descendants of former
British, Jewish, Syrian and Chinese families. They are completely non-black, which is quite significant in a society where close to 90% of the population is black, and where a high concentration of the blacks is securely rivetted to the base of the socio-economic pyramid.

Many have emphasized that there is no colour discrimination in Jamaica, and this leads one to wonder why economic power is exclusively in the hands of the non-black population (Mikes 1967:9). Members of this group occupy the better jobs, their children attend the best schools and they obtain most of the social rewards. When questioned about this the average black Jamaican's response is that blacks do not have this privilege because of their poor economic status. They do not force themselves, either through reluctance in dealing with the issue or lack of analytical skills to examine the sphere of colour and class and their place within this sphere. They tend to accept the situation as given. The general attitude of acceptance tends to reinforce the rigid class structure. Along with this class structure, Jamaica retains many of its colonial values. Some of these values are manifested in social tastes:

With respect to taste, Jamaicans are the world's greatest consumers of foreign goods. Average Jamaicans would go out of their way to obtain foreign things, despite the wide range of tasty Jamaican foods. The visitor to Jamaica looks in
vain for a Jamaican restaurant only to find a Chinese restaurant on nearly every street in Kingston and will have no trouble finding an Indian or even a Korean one. There are Chinese Clubs, German Clubs, American, French, Spanish and English Clubs; but no Jamaican ones. One can find such societies as the Rotary, the Lions, the Junior Chamber of Commerce, the Elks and other imported organizations, but not a Mongoose, an Anancy or a Gutu Club, because these would be Jamaican, and that is bad. It is fashionable to adhere to any religion if it has foreign connections, but a native religion is out of the question (Barrett 1977:175).

These colonial values are reinforced with the presence of visitors on the island due to the expansion of the tourist industry. The presence of expatriate workers in the multinational companies and the return from abroad of Jamaican students also reinforce these values. Added to this is the situation whereby the members of the upper and middle class align themselves to external middle class values while traditional values which are African in origin tend to be within the domain of the masses. These traditional values, which include forms of religion, taste in foods and modes of speech, are eschewed by the middle and upper classes to the extent that the members of these classes attempt to negate these aspects of their culture.

Despite the work of Louise Bennett Coverley and the excellent effort towards making Jamaican dialect respectable, and despite the fact that most Jamaicans know their dialect - English being a second language - few middle class or aspiring
middle class Jamaicans dare to use what is properly theirs in public. Their grammar may be atrocious, but they will insist on the "proper accent", meaning the accent of the BBC news reporter. This they feel is the way one speaks. In other words to copy England is good; to speak Jamaican is bad (Barrett 1977:174-5).

While the middle class seems to expend much of its energy in mimicry, the elite continues to have economic and political control and the majority of the population remains oppressed. Members of this elite are mostly urban dwellers, university educated, usually in British or North American universities. Tracing their formation into groups from the time of slavery, Clarke points out that:

The dry goods trade was in the hands of the Syrian immigrants, most of whom launched themselves in business by peddling, as the coloured people and Jews had done during slavery. Also, that the monopoly of the dry goods business by the Syrians was soon challenged by Bombay merchants who settled in Kingston after 1920. They obtained several shops on King Street (main street) and sold both oriental and western goods. The grocery trade was introduced by the Chinese at the beginning of the 20th century. Groceries were rapidly built throughout the corporate area, though retailing and wholesaling were especially well developed in Central Kingston. By 1920, a China Town was being created between King Street and on the edge of the central business district (CBD) and the Syrians were forming a similar centre slightly to the north in the area adjacent to South Parade (1975:92).
These groups gained access to power and privilege at an early stage in the country's development and over the years have maintained their position: "Unlike the wealthy in many colonial societies, Jamaica's powerful agricultural interests moved into industry, rather than being replaced by a new modern elite" (Mays & Wheaton 1979:85). They further point out that: "Many upper class members are professionals - doctors, lawyers and academics - or large landowners. Most, however, have business interests in such fields as banking, export-import concerns or the exploitation of natural resources. For example, much of Jamaica's agricultural production is done by small and middle scale farmers. Bananas and sugar (rum) however, are controlled by virtual monopolies owned by members of the 21 families" (see Appendix 4). Further, "the Jamaica Producers Association is the island's second major agricultural producer. Appleton Estates, which manufactures some 90% of all local and exported rum, is owned by Wray and Nephew - in turn controlled by the Ashenheim, Henrique and DaCosta family interests" (Mays & Wheaton 1979:85).

Members of the elite are active members of both political parties and use these parties as instruments to protect their own interests. As pointed out earlier, elite members serve as important links between economic
and political power, consequently, bills are passed by government in the interest of the elite and the multinational corporations. According to Mays & Wheaton (1979) members of the economic elite often hold director or management positions within key foreign owned or partially foreign owned companies. This elite maintains a large degree of control over the country's economy through the influential Jamaica Manufacturers Association, Jamaica Chamber of Commerce and the Private Sector Organization of Jamaica. Members of this elite are also well represented on other industrial and regulatory Boards, for example:

The Ashenheims are represented on the State Bank, the Matalons on Urban Development Corporation and more recently the Jamaica Bauxite, the Harts in Jamaica Industrial Development Corporation and Jamaican Investment fund, and the Henriques on the Sugar Industry Rehabilitation Board and Coconut Industry Board. This would suggest that relationships between government and the economic groupings who have been appointed by the State are at the worst, supportive. Thus, one finds that the Jamaica Development Bank has been a source of finance of the corporate economy - $500,000 (U.S.) at 9% to the Caribbean Steel Company to begin operations and J$600,000 to Communications Corporation to set up the island's second daily newspaper in 1973 and J$400,000 to the Gleaner Company Ltd., in the same year. These are only a few of the examples of the network which ties both corporate power and the corporate state. The marriage between political and economic power may be subtle. Hendrickson,
Chairman and largest shareholder in the National Continental Conglomerate and Communications Corporation is also chairman of the island's electric utility, Jamaica Public Service, majority owned by the state. Or one may have an overt and more dynamic relationship as with the Matalon family, members of which have been the Minister of Security, the Chairman of State Development agencies and occupy lesser but still important social cum political offices (Reid 1977:28-29).

The middle class fully supports the elite and by acting as a social buffer tends to avert conflict between the elite and the masses. Although the gap is very wide between the elite and the middle class, the antagonism between them is not as great as between these two groups together and the masses. Given the disparity of wealth between the elite and the masses, there tends to be animosity between them. On the part of the elite, this animosity manifests itself in the treatment of the masses as social outcasts. The animosity is aggravated further by the police who hound the masses constantly, and who have a tendency to be both insolent and brutal. Because of their powerlessness, the masses on the other hand continue to hold the members of the elite in high esteem. Their feelings of powerlessness further tend to worsen the situation as they feel that attacks by the police are out of their control. This has been reported by the young and verified by the old in the slum. The
middle class strives to become like the elite, that is, to have access to power and wealth and to despise the masses. As elsewhere, members of the middle class tend to be professionals, managers, technicians and civil servants. Some are owners of small businesses, enjoying a relatively high standard of living. Most are also employers, to the extent that they employ domestic helpers such as maids and gardeners paying them wages of about J$8-10 per week. "The middle class' influential professionals and business people earned between J$50 and J$100 per week in 1974. Other middle class members including teachers, clergy, lower level union and party bureaucrats earned at least J$30 per week. The middle class contains some 336,000 people, about 16% of the island's population" (Mays & Wheaton 1979:89). "Like the wealthy, the middle class members are generally urban, and educated through high school or beyond. In the smaller towns they hold key positions in the civil service or elected posts" (Mays & Wheaton 1979:89). Unlike the elite group and the working class, this group is representative of Jamaica's racial mix. They are very visible within the closely linked political parties and labour unions.

Because of the value system of the members of the middle and upper classes inherited from their
colonial past, members of these groups continue to show deference to North American values. Much of this is manifested in their modes of consumption, which are by and large conspicuous. The taste for foreign imports among members of these groups is taken to the extent that they despise their own local goods. This is possibly a consequence of the continuous outpouring of foreign values through the media, the educational system, tourism and the easy access to foreign goods on the local market. In his attack on the middle classes in post colonial societies James writes:

I do not know any social class which lives so completely without ideas of any kind. They live entirely on the material plane. In a published address Sir Robert Kirkwood quotes Vida Naipaul who have said of them that they seem to aim at nothing more than being second rate American citizens. It is much more than that. They aim at nothing. Government jobs and the opportunities which association with the government gives, allows them the possibility of accumulating material goods. That is all (1971:194).

Neo-colonial economic relations between foreign countries and Jamaica also reinforce this attitude, and by the same token, contribute to Jamaica's low level of socio-economic advancement. For example, in a country with a dominant agricultural base, 60% of the foodstuff is imported, as the country does not produce enough to feed itself. Emphasis is still placed on export oriented
industries which are, in most cases, foreign controlled.

Changing the attitudes of Jamaicans towards foreign products in the interest of national development might be difficult. For instance, during the research period (1979) the government placed many restrictions on foreign imports. The middle class members were most vocal in their protest against this move. Conversations were dominated by controversies concerning the lack of these goods. Bazaar type shopping, which was once considered demeaning by members of the middle class became socially acceptable to them. To protect their image, they were forced to patronize the street hustlers in the city centre in order to obtain foreign consumer goods. They sometimes became involved in hustling themselves, but at a more dignified level, such as involvement with the trading of contraband goods. The middle class members enjoy a rather tenuous existence for there is always the fear that the masses will use violence against them. This fear is realistic when one considers the wide economic gap that exists between these two groups.

What results from the concentrated power among the elite/middle class alliance is a vastly unequal distribution of wealth. For instance, by the mid 1970s, Jamaica's income inequality remained significant, with the top 5% of income earners receiving 25% of the
island's total income (National Income and Product 1974: 14). The mass of the people continues to earn well below the national minimum wage (J$26.00) or are unemployed, with no hope of finding steady employment. This group constitutes both the rural and urban poor. They are involved in menial activities associated with manufacture, agriculture, commerce and personal services. According to Harris:

the proportion of the employed labour force in each sector receiving a weekly income of less than J$20.00 varies from a high of 94% in agriculture to a low of 8% in mining. The highest concentrations of deprivation (more than 70% of the sectoral labour force receiving less than J$20.00 per week) are in agriculture, commerce (wholesale-retail trade, financial intermediaries etc.) and other services (domestic and personal services, schools, hospitals, hotels, etc.). These are also the sectors which contain the great majority, 63% altogether, of the total labour force. On the scale of concentrated deprivation, the manufacturing sector is not far behind these, with 65% of the labour force in that sector getting less than J$20.00 per week. The lowest concentrations are in mining and public utilities (1977:111).

Labour Displacement Through Industrialization

Prior to the 1950s, domestic work and higgling were economic activities dominated by many of the unskilled females within the society. Higgling for urban women constituted the purchasing and sale of ground
provisions from rural vendors, and the sale of these provisions to urban consumers. For the rural women, it constituted the sale in the city of ground provisions produced by their families in the rural areas. This involved an elaborate distribution network, whereby some of the women would sell their entire stocks to urban higglers or regular customers, or they would remain in the city on market days until their stocks were sold.

With the advent of modernization in the 1950s, these economic activities were eroded. With the introduction of supermarket chains and the setting up of formal distribution networks (e.g. the Agricultural Development Corporation) controlled by industrial capitalists, these higglers found that they were gradually being displaced or forced to compete with the industrial capitalists. The domestics suffered a similar fate, as during this period of industrialization, more household consumer goods such as washing machines and dryers, floor polishers and other household gadgets became accessible to the middle class. This created fewer demands for domestics, especially on a full time basis. This displacement continued gradually for another two and one-half decades, with the productive process not being able to fully absorb them. Many remained officially unemployed and picked up odd jobs here and there. The situation
worsened with the introduction of the Minimum Wages Act, which took effect in 1974. Although the Act was passed to protect workers, the repercussions were tremendous. Many employers of domestics resented the Act on the grounds that they could not afford to pay more wages, and many laid off their household helpers. Small businesses reacted to the Act in a similar manner, also displacing their workers. Many of these workers did not receive any severance pay. The domestics in particular, have never been organized as a viable labour group, hence, there is no economic protection for them when they are laid off or, for reason of age or illness, become non-productive.

The State, on the other hand, has not made any arrangements to have these workers absorbed within another sector of the labour force. Their plight becomes especially obvious in the slum areas, when one observes their struggle for survival. Many of the older workers subsist on poor relief (J$5.00 per week) while others, along with younger workers, are involved with small scale alternative economic activities. Some domestics have explained to me that their state of unemployment is due to the migration of their employers to Miami, New York, Toronto and Vancouver. This spurt of migration occurred after the Prime Minister declared in 1974 that Democratic Socialism was the developmental route which Jamaica would
take. The Prime Minister's reaction to this migration was: "there are five flights per day from Kingston to Miami and those who want to leave the country are free to do so." It is said that the numbers migrating increased rapidly after this. This recent "brain drain" adversely affected the country, hurting especially schools, hospitals and medium sized businesses. Many workers lost their jobs as a result of business closures. Some owners also removed vast quantities of foreign exchange from the country. It is estimated that between 1974 and 1976, over J$200 million in company profits left the country (Manley 1977:3). The reaction of the capitalist class to Democratic Socialism has helped to create higher unemployment levels and a general condition of misery among the mass of the people.

The Jamaican working class, like the working class of other developing nations, is shaped and influenced by the relatively dependent nature of capitalist development. For example, the systematic erosion of sectors of petty commodity production based on small scale farming is a consequence of competition from such foreign capital as supermarket chains. Added to this are the erosion of domestic labour with the introduction of household consumer goods and the concentration of land
under the ownership of foreign companies, mining, tourism and local large landholders. This process has created numerous dispossessed labourers who are forced to enter into petty commodity production and petty trading. Others are forced to migrate abroad or to join the pool of the urban unemployed.

Education and the Perpetuation of Dependence

Education also has played a major role in the process of dependence as it is one of the major institutions that maintains and perpetuates Jamaica's colonial and neo-colonial class system. Constituted within the educational system are values and skills that are grounded within foreign countries such as Britain and the United States. This occurs through the school curricula which are metropolitan based. Through schooling, penetration of the dominant ideology which is foreign in origin takes place, thus maintaining external dependence.

After emancipation in 1838 the majority of Jamaicans remained economically exploited since they had no schooling and were used as cheap labour. Politically, they were oppressed as they had no voting rights and could not participate in the political process. For a century after emancipation, health, education and welfare allocations remained limited. The very few schools and
medical facilities that were available catered to the privileged sector of society. Higher education therefore remained the preserve of the elite. It should be realized that during the period of slavery, educational opportunities were non-existent among the slaves. They were kept at low level skills (such as cane-cutting and sugar-making) which made them more productive and at the same time kept them docile. The slave masters also feared that reading and writing would give the slaves ideas of insurrection. During the post-emancipation period, basic education became compulsory, but this was not upheld as many children worked rather than attended school. As late as the 1940s, in the Caribbean as a whole, one West Indian in three could not read or write, one child in four had not been to school, half the remainder attended only irregularly and most received fewer than four years of schooling (Gordon 1963:81). Also during the 19th and early 20th centuries, the economic relations between Britain and the Caribbean were such that Britain imported raw materials cheaply from the Caribbean and exported manufactured goods to it at a high price. As it was more profitable to use the abundance of cheap labour the growth of a highly industrialized sector was not encouraged. Therefore, the illiteracy rate among the labourers remained high.
The rigid system of social inequality persisted far into the post emancipation period. Although educational opportunities became slightly more flexible the assimilation of what was offered served to further acculturate the blacks to the ideology of the whites. This acculturation was beneficial to the whites as a means of social control. Among the blacks, educational opportunities became more available to the half-castes. This was a continuation of racism based on colour which began with slavery. What limited social mobility the blacks could achieve depended in large measure on the extent to which they could reject black culture and assimilate that of the dominant whites. This set the stage for blacks to aspire continually to a European way of life, and to become in Fanon's terminology black skin, white mask, that is, to adhere to a pseudo-European culture in an Afro-environment. There are problems, as Manley clearly points out:

The consequence of this is seen in a deep confusion in the pattern of Jamaican attitudes towards race and towards Africa. At the slightest provocation, Jamaicans of the deepest hue will hasten to assure you that "you can't trust black man". Others are uneasily convinced that Africa is the home of the Bongo man. Still others will implore you with pathetic sincerity to 'leave all this Africa business alone'. At the opposite end of the spectrum there are those who cannot accept the negativism of shame. Struck by the contradiction between white symbolism in a land of black
skins, they take refuge in an opposite irrationality, declaring that God is black, and that they want to 'go home to Africa'. Between these extremes lies a path of sanity (God, naturally, is multi-hued; and each man must make his land his home) (1974a:147).

The school system, after emancipation, further perpetuated this situation: "In the French Antilles, school inspectors and government functionaries....poured every effort into the programmes that would make the negro a white man. In the end they dropped him, 'you have an indisputable complex of dependence on the white man'" (Fanon 1967:20). While it may be difficult to believe that a people can become so totally deculturized one should remember that for ideological reasons the Africans were subjected to pressures designed to strip them of their original culture. "They were torn from their lands, deprived of their means of production, transported across the ocean, and there, assiduously prevented from forming new family ties which could pass on the remembered culture of the homeland. It was in this cultural vacuum that deculturalization or colonialism held unbroken sway for three centuries (Manley 1974a: 38).

The Jamaican population had become so assimilated in British culture that it could not see itself as anything else. This was obviously a mechanism
contributing significantly to the perpetuation of the racism rooted in slavery. In reference to Africa, and quite applicable to Jamaica, Rodney wrote:

Education in Europe was dominated by the Capitalist class. The same class bias was automatically transferred in Africa, and to make matters worse, the racism and cultural boastfulness harboured by Capitalism were also included in the package of colonial education. Colonial schooling was education for subordination, exploitation, the creation of mental confusion and the development of underdevelopment (1972: 273).

Colonial education meant the imposition of foreign curricula, texts and examinations in local schools. Children learned the history and geography of the metropolitan countries which had colonized them and were ignorant of their own. Throughout the Caribbean, the local dialect or patois was viewed with contempt. Fanon had pointed out that Martinician teachers forbade the use of patois in the schools. Some families also forbade its use and parents ridiculed their children for speaking it. These practises characterized all of the Caribbean islands. To some extent, there are vestiges of this process still operating in Jamaica. Some schools will not permit the use of the local dialect on the school premises, ignoring the fact that this is the dominant language of many children. A small group of lecturers at the Jamaica Campus of the University of the
West Indies, in rebelling against this, make a point of regularly using the dialect. Many Rastafarians also feel strongly that the English language is oppressive to blacks, so they have started to create new words. Some of these words are now in everyday usage. For example, Ital which means total, is the word assigned to foods in their natural forms. I and I is used instead of we. Here, through everyday speech, the individual pays homage to his/her God. Dreadlocks refers to the way in which the Rastafarian hair is worn, bald refers to someone who practises the Rastafarian philosophy but does not wear the hairstyle. Dread has come to mean both good or bad depending on the context. For example, to say that Mary Jane is a dread athlete is a very positive statement while to say that the economic situation in Jamaica dread means that the economic situation is disastrous. Dreader dan dread means the best of everything.

Inequality in education has become institutionalized and is geared to the advantages of the privileged groups. This situation has been perpetuated through the economic exclusion of the poor. According to Williams (1973:160) the educational system also perpetuates racism. Illiteracy is not only an educational problem, but a racial one as well. He points to the 1945 Jamaican census which shows that:
...of every 100 illiterate persons, 86 were negro, 9 mulatto, 4 east indian. Of the total negro population, 28 out of every 100 are illiterate, of the mulattoes, 14 out of every 100, of the East Indians, 49 out of 100, of the British Isles race, 1 out of 100. Of European races, 8 out of 100. The responsibility of the schools for this state of affairs is even more direct. In the age bracket 7 to 9, 41 out of every 100 children are illiterate. One-fifth of the children aged 7 to 14 are not enrolled in school. In the case of children 7 years of age, 44 out of every 100 are not in school; in the case of those of 14, 35 out of every 100 are not in school. With respect to the population that is in the school, the number of negroes and East Indians who reach the upper level of the elementary school is less than the average for the entire island (1973:160).

There is no recent study to compare to Williams' but when one observes the high concentration of blacks and East Indians within the slums, it seems that the situation has not changed to any great extent.

Given such examples, the colonial legacy is obvious and cannot be ignored. In 1962 Jamaica embarked on the road to formal political independence with frightening handicaps. Because most of the leaders of the country have been educated within the colonial system, this attitude is reflected in their policy decisions. Keith talks of "a dual educational system, one limited to terminal primary schooling in its most rudimentary form for the labouring masses and the other, private, geared to the creation and perpetuation of a local elite whose
privileges are 'justified' on the basis of their mastery of book learning and metropolitan culture" (1978:47). Manley, addressing himself to the educational problem, sees the situation in a similar way. He points out that the state of the economy provided two alternatives:

Either one belonged to the great majority who could not escape the world of manual labour; or one belonged to the minority who enjoyed a privileged status through professional training, or as a result of a minor excursion into the lower reaches of a classical education...over and above the lower and middle classes were the landowners whose offspring were assured a prominent place in the economy whether they were educated or not. Since exposure to learning had little to do with the final position in society of this group, it had little influence in the educational system, one way or the other (1974a:118).

As far as the masses of the people were concerned, the education provided was quite basic compared to that received by the middle and upper classes. Differences also existed between the type of education received by the urban and rural masses.

The quality of education within the rural school system was such that the majority of its graduates ended up in menial jobs such as nursemaids, domestics, dockworkers, and gardeners, even though it seemed that the students had no aspirations to become such workers. There was therefore much incongruity between aspirations and job opportunity for these students (Smith 1973:191).
The situation in urban elementary schools was hardly any better. The only difference was that there were more schools, that distances from home to school were not as long, and that teachers were a little better qualified. Most of the secondary schools were in Kingston and the poorer classes had access to these, although this access was extremely limited. The age limit in elementary school was fifteen years, although some children dropped out earlier. Williams (1973:161) sees this as a result of the economic poverty of the parents. He points out that children are sometimes kept away from school on washing days and he sees child labour as one of the fundamental causes of juvenile illiteracy and school absenteeism. Williams does not go into any detail about this economic poverty. For instance, he does not explain why the children remain at home on washdays - the obvious reason being that the children do the washing as parents are usually involved in agricultural production. The situation of children being constantly withdrawn from school to perform in the labour force was also observed in the slums. Their involvement was either indirect, through helping their families, or direct, through street vending or begging. In the final analysis the consequence to most of the children who dropped out of rural and urban elementary schools was unemployment or
under-employment. With the increasing dependence on the higher educational levels demanded by modern capitalism, these workers often became redundant and found themselves permanently unemployed.

Historically, the ideas of education as an important and desirable resource has been held by people from all strata of society. It is therefore a common feeling among the masses that one can only improve economically and socially by having more and better education. "one could argue that this belief is testimony to the effectiveness of the bourgeois ideology manifest in the educational system, i.e. that the message of the school system has convinced people that the solution to their economic and social problems is through more and better schooling which will provide them with better jobs" (Keith 1978:49). What eludes them is the fact "that 'education' is normally the consequence, not the cause of high social positions: but this is not generally recognized. The hopes pinned by the deprived on 'education' for their children are pathetic and unrealistic, but they are a vital support for the present structure of society" (Kuper 1976:74). Kuper goes on to explain that: "Education is thus a functional alternative to 'race' in the ideological justifications of Jamaican social inequality, but it is much better adapted to contemporary conditions."
It presents itself as open to achievement and as a channel for social mobility" (1976:74). This attitude was reflected in the slum areas when informants were asked about the future of their children. A majority of the responses was couched in terms of educational achievements. "me just wan me pickney dem fe finish school and get wuk," (I just want my children to finish school and find jobs) or "me hustle, so that me can sen(d) me pickney dem a school," (I hustle so that I can afford to send my children to school) or "doh tings ruf me (h)ave fe sen(d) me pickney dem a school, cause me nuh wan dem fe (h)ave fe hustle like me." (Although times are rough, I have to send my children to school, because I do not want them to have to hustle like me."

Underlying these responses of great hope is the reality that for various reasons, most of the children are not even attending school. "Whether or not this belief is simple mystification, does not matter in the immediate political context. This ideology has created its own contradiction because it has activated the masses to press for more and better education." (Keith 1978: 51). This may be the case on one level, but the response by the state when such conflicts arise is to create some type of educational reform which appeases the masses but does not create any significant change. For instance,
declaring that education is free yet forcing many students to sit an examination, the contents of which require knowledge of areas which are mainly obtained by their attending fee-paying preparatory schools. Although at the present time, "education for all is a right and not a privilege" is a very common slogan, there is really no movement towards structural changes in this direction. There is a general shortage of schools, particularly in the slum areas, and what schools there are, are still inadequate and ill-equipped. The relationship between social class and education is ever present. Since education under capitalism continues to be a mechanism for controlling the labour force, one therefore finds the perpetuation of exploited labour consistently among the poorly educated.

What this chapter has done is to isolate some of the factors contributing to the development and persistence of the urban slum. Given the dependent nature of the Jamaican economy, a surplus labour pool is inevitable. With this dependent type of social organization the slum appears to be the permanent reservoir for this surplus.

The next chapter will describe the social conditions of this population and show that it has not changed significantly since the early post emancipation
period. The persistence of these social conditions could be attributed to the slum dwellers internalizing the ideology of the dominant class. This is manifested in the way in which the slum dwellers accept their social position. This internalization also acts as a mechanism of social control as slum dwellers seem to live under the illusion that with hard work their social conditions can be improved, if not in their lifetime, then in the lifetime of their children.
Chapter Three

1 In the local dialect, this expresses the hurried manner in which these shacks were built.

2 "Light-skinned" or "red" people refers to Jamaican mulattoes. Most of these mulattoes occupy high social positions. This represents a historical continuity of the colour class correlation which emerged in the latter part of slavery and continued throughout the post emancipation period.
CHAPTER FOUR

SOCIAL REALITY AND ILLUSION IN THE URBAN SLUM

This chapter is being introduced to reiterate the argument implicitly made in Chapters two and three that economic conditions influence ideological, social and political lifestyles. In the case of Jamaica, that economic condition has been conceptualized as dependent or peripheral capitalist. It has been pointed out earlier that such a society reflects a social structure that is a response to the economic imbalances generated by dependent capitalist development and that the continuous growth of slums is a manifestation of this type of development.

By exploring such facets of the slum dwellers' social existence as housing, family structure, education, health care and social relationships, the important role the socio-economic condition plays in the persistence of the slum will become apparent. For instance, the structure of the family within the slum takes a different form from that of most families outside of it. That is,
although monogamy is upheld, it is not always practised. This could be interpreted as an adaptation to the harsh economic circumstances encountered by slum dwellers and that this adaptation, in the long run, contributes to the slum's persistence.

Most of the houses within the slum are dilapidated wooden structures packed closely together, with roofs and fences of corrugated iron. The physical structure of the area brings to mind Holden's observation of Addis Ababa being "the corrugated capital of the world, where, in some parts of the city corrugated iron seems to have taken over every function of construction normally fulfilled by bricks and mortar, timber, cement, slate or tile" (1967:80). What looked like the better houses are now mostly burnt out and empty. These houses are scattered throughout the area, some having been captured¹. Others having been scrapped of roofings, windows, doors and sometimes the sidings. Toilets have been stripped of bowls, kitchens of sinks. This is the aftermath of the vicious gun battle which took place in the 1977 war when opposing political party supporters fought for several months before the 1978 Peace Truce.

There exist burnt out structures of what used to be business places. Many of the businesses that still stand are permanently closed. The few in operation
consist of cabinet making, tailoring, and shoe-making concerns. There are a few cornershops, two bakeries, a few rum bars, a brothel and an abundance of foodstalls, or individual vendors, mostly women with a variety of foodstuff such as oranges, mangoes and limes contained in large baskets. Business is bad in the area as most people are either unemployed or poorly paid. The fact that most people in the slums are officially unemployed differs from the findings of many studies carried out in Latin America. For instance, Roberts points out that for Guatemala, "there is little evidence that the socially marginal, such as the unemployed, or the underemployed, the most recent migrants or broken families, are the majority of residents of even the most marginal settlements (such as squatter settlements)" (1978:150). In Jamaica, the correlation of residence patterns with social class is a historical reality and allows for occupational segregation. Clarke supports this by showing that:

As in 1943, so in 1960, the tenements, parts of East Kingston and almost all West Kingston were low ranking, while areas of higher status were located to the north and east, and especially around Half-Way-Tree. This patterning of social statuses could be traced back to the 1870's, when King's House was established to
the north of Half-Way-Tree, or further to the late 18th century, when Kingston's merchants had begun to purchase residential property on the Liguanea plain. Furthermore, on the micro-scale, overcrowding and disease in West Kingston were reminiscent of conditions in some of the same parts of the city in 1850, while the squatter camps resembled the negro huts of the period of slavery. Despite the high degree of continuity in the spatial arrangement of social statuses since slavery, certain recent changes were noteworthy. Parts of central and east Kingston declined in status between 1943 and 1960 as their new inhabitants moved out to the suburbs. This was accomplished by a considerable expansion of the high status areas in central and northern St. Andrew. As a consequence, social polarization and segregation were even more marked in 1960 than they had been in 1943. A major contributor to increasing polarization in the city was the growth of the population and its concentration in West Kingston (1975:130).

This concentration of population in West Kingston is still maintained, aggravating the housing shortage and resulting in overcrowding. The population density in the area is 56.82 persons per acre with most households (69.10%) occupying one room spaces in tenement yards (Urban Growth and Management 1978:31). Most yards consist of about three to five blocks of buildings, each building having about three to five rooms, with an average of five persons to a room. These rooms are in
most cases eight feet to twelve feet and sparsely furnished. Most of them are lit either by a single bulb hanging from the ceiling or kerosene fuelled lamps. The latter are fairly inexpensive and many slum dwellers make or buy the lamp bases. These bases are made from used food cans and have no shades. Those with the regular glass bases sometimes have no shades, which are quite expensive. There is always a bed or the makings of one and sometimes a table with a few chairs. Many rooms also serve as storage areas. There are a few rooms that are overcrowded with old furniture, boxes and old newspapers. Many yards are without kitchens so there might be a kerosene stove in the room. Some tenants cook in the open yard over a woodfire or a coal stove. This type of cooking and the use of kerosene fuelled lamps present a striking contradiction to the process of modernization which began in Jamaica in the early 1950s. There may be a few pots, cheese tins used as pots and some plastic kitchen wares. Plastic appears to be the poor person's substitute for porcelain. Prior to the 1950s, some local earthenware products were used, but with the increase in petro-chemical products, low quality plastic has become dominant within the slum areas.

Throughout the research period, I found that in
a modified manner the slum dwellers upheld many of the values of the middle and upper classes. Expensive household items were invariably copied by the use of less expensive ones. There was the case, for instance, of a couple with their three children living in two adjoining rooms in a tenement. One room was designated as a drawing room with inexpensive replicas of the typical accoutrements of a middle class lifestyle while all five slept in one bed in the other room. One would expect that the family would have utilized the space in a way more suitable to their domestic needs. In many dwellings there were inexpensive pictures of Jesus Christ, the Virgin Mary or The Last Supper or pictures of political figures such as Bustamante or Shearer, both former prime ministers, Seaga, a member of parliament for the area (now Prime Minister), and Massop, a ghetto political hero. These pictures reflected the ideological orientations of the occupants as all these men represent the stalwarts of the Jamaica Labour Party. In the slum sections controlled by the Peoples' National Party, along with the religious pictures there were those of Norman Manley and Michael Manley, former prime ministers, or Michael Manley and his wife, Beverley Manley, all prominent members of the Peoples' National Party. In addition, in both slum areas, there were pictures of John
F. Kennedy and the Queen of England. I did not notice any pictures of black activists such as Martin Luther King, Malcolm X, Stokely Carmichael or any African leaders. Some pictures were taken from old calendars and pasted on the walls. The interiors of some rooms were wall-papered with aging newspapers.

A few of the houses in the area were furnished with sofas, television sets, refrigerators, dinette sets, "china" cabinets, fans, radios, clocks and stereo component sets. The owners of these things claim that they were bought when furniture was cheap (referring of course to the affluent 60s). They emphatically point out that they could never afford these things now. They explained that most were bought on hire purchase (installment plan) or through the use of Pardna money (the lump sum obtained from a common informal savings network) and the installments have now been paid up. Some of these owners indicated that they had already sold some of their personal belongings and that, given the economic situation, they might have to sell more. The material possessions owned by some of these residents are a clear indication that they are active members of the consumer society. It is significant that many of these goods are foreign made. For some, these possessions have now become investments in the event of an economic squeeze.
Those slum dwellers who are extremely poor, find that the effort to survive forces them to become human scavengers. For instance, they glean discarded bottles from the city streets and exchange these for cash. They utilize discarded tins as cooking pots or for the making of lamps which they either use themselves or sell to other slum or rural dwellers. Some of these same tins are made into kitchen graters, again either for their own use or for sale on the open market. These activities keep them employed and also integrate them into the cash economy. These human scavengers are useful to the society, in the sense that they remove waste while at the same time providing minimal material "comforts" for themselves.

In most of the yards the tenants share stand-pipes and water closets. These are located at strategic points in the yard, making them fairly accessible to all. Of the dwellings, 2.7% are without water supply, 10.6% are without water closets and 94.7% of households share toilet facilities (Urban Growth and Management Study 1978:31). The tenants are responsible for utility bills (this includes water rates). Because of the depressed economic situation in the area, many tenants find that their payments are in arrears. Many have indicated that they have to borrow wherever possible as
they receive threats of legal action from the various utility companies. Often tenement yards, even though they may have the equipment, go for months without water or electricity because the companies disconnect them until the arrears are paid up. In these cases, some tenants resort to kerosene lighting, or obtain electricity illegally from other tenants. Of course, at this point, those who own electric appliances find that these are useless. Water is also obtained illegally from other tenants. On several occasions, I have observed young women on the streets, washing their clothes in plastic or metal containers. They often make use of broken mains. One cannot help but notice how attuned slum residents are to the opportunities that may present themselves from time to time.

The residents seem to have adapted to their situation in the best way they can and point out that there is nothing else that they can do under the circumstances. Many express an extreme fear of the rain as their rooms leak profusely. On a rainy day, containers are scattered at strategic positions, sometimes on the beds. The water is diverted from the beds since many of the residents are concerned about pneumonia should their cramped spaces become dampened. The very fact that the slum residents give the appearance of adapting well to
their situation seems to help in the perpetuation of the slum. Some slum dwellers, aware of their social condition, try to make changes to improve the quality of their lives, but these are minimal. For instance, some informants have indicated that they have always lived within the same slum, but have moved to various tenement yards. The reasons given for these moves include, access to constant running water, that is, not interrupted by lock-offs by the Water Commission or landlords "runnin(g) yu dung fe de likkle rent". Some avoid yards "wid too much woman dem". They point out that when such is the case "too much bickering and bickering (h)appen". Changing from one insufferable situation to another becomes a way of life for slum dwellers and neither the Jamaican state nor the slum community itself seems to seek structural change.

Ganja smoking is a social ritual in the slum area as the participants feel that it allows them inner peace and a sense of community (Barrett 1976:78). It takes place in groups on the streets, backyards or on verandahs. On certain days, the pungent stench emanating from the stale garbage in the area and the odour from the ganja smoke present a sickening fragrance to the uninitiated. A general complaint among the residents is that living conditions in the area are not fit for human beings:
In addition to being health hazards by providing breeding ground for all kinds of pests, including the hordes of flies which plague most sections of the corporate area, the abandoned premises offer refuge for indigents and bands of criminals including rapists who usually lure or force their victims inside to be viciously assaulted. Consequently, women are forced to select routes along streets well populated and come nightfall, the entire West Kingston, with the exception of enclosed communities like Tivoli Gardens, takes on the grim and desolate appearance of a "ghost" town with both male and female inhabitants keeping indoors for fear of marauding criminals or "trigger-happy" police (Kitchen 1979: 10).

The residents state that they also feel rejected by the wider society and feel powerless since no one in authority listens to their problems. Given this background, there still exists a sense of resilience and vibrance among the slum dwellers which could place this Kingston slum into Peter Lloyd's typology of a *slum of hope*. This *hope* is reflected in the hustle and bustle that is felt in the area from as early as six in the morning to about seven at night. This is felt particularly on Spanish Town Road, which is the commercial centre of the slum area. Here, slum dwellers and others from elsewhere on the island sell everything in order to eke out a living. Items include food, both raw and cooked, such as fresh vegetables, fresh fish, ground
provisions, cooked crabs and shrimps, jerked pork and beef, boiled booby eggs or entire meals cooked with local ingredients. There is a wide range of such kitchen equipment as pots, pans, baking tins, drinking glasses, enamelled mugs and plates, utensils, cups and saucers, teapots, aluminium coal fueled stoves and dutch pots.

There are vendors selling pants' lengths, textiles, oil skins and ready-made clothing for men, women and children. There is knitted wear such as tams and belts. The production and sale of these are dominated by men who are seen knitting while awaiting the arrival of potential customers. A possible reason for the domination of this trade by men is the significance of woollen tams to the dress code of the Rastafarian movement, which is also male dominant. It is significant that the knitting of other garments such as sweaters and baby clothing is carried out solely by women.

Some vendors own or rent stalls, some sell from handcarts or baskets while others have wooden boxes hanging from their necks by canvas bands. These box vendors usually carry such items as tins of shoe polish, washing brushes, change purses, pens, pencils, erasers, razor blades, picture frames, threads, pins and needles. These vendors often walk among the crowd shouting the types and prices of the merchandise they carry. They
seduce customers by announcing that they offer great bargains. As insignificant as the transaction of street vendors may appear, most eke out a living from which they support their children and meet other financial requirements of daily living.

Prior to the mid 1960s, there was much nightlife in the area, such as "blues dances" (both private and public) and concerts where today's popular artists were spotted. With the onset of political violence however, most of these activities have subsided. During the night many residents tend to stay in their yards, guarded by their corrugated metal sheet fences. The slum dwellers have indicated that by staying behind their fences, they protect themselves from gunshots during the many shoot-outs that occur. This presents an interesting contrast to the imported iron grills installed in middle and upper class homes to keep the criminal element out of their sections of the city. While the middle and upper class residents are expending large sums of money to protect their homes with iron grills and guard dogs, the poor are struggling to cope with extremely inadequate housing. It is the acceptance of poor living standards that allows the slum dwellers to exist within such poor economic conditions.
Housing in the Urban Slum

Housing generally tends to be expensive and this pressure is felt particularly in the slums. As a result of this, many slum dwellers have difficulty paying their rents and this in turn gives way to a high degree of overcrowding. State policies in housing have helped to perpetuate the situation as they have always catered to the middle income group, almost completely ignoring the low income sector. Low income housing has only been attempted on a few occasions, after disasters such as hurricanes in 1944-1952 when 6,806 units were built and 1952-1957 when 6,806 units were again built (Department of Housing). Unfortunately, these figures are island-wide and do not indicate how many units were built in Kingston. In 1965, a few low income houses were built in the city with assistance from the United States Agency for International Development but this was on a very small scale. In the early 1970s, the government embarked on some low income housing projects only to find that "recent devaluations in the Jamaican dollar have resulted in sharp rises in material costs and the prices at which units can now be delivered, both by the public and private sectors. Estimates now put the price of a pre-devaluation J$10,000 unit in the region of J$15,000 and those costing J$7,500 now cost J$12,000" (Urban
Growth and Management Study 1978:29). With these inflated prices, only middle income individuals can afford the completed units. At this time in Jamaica devaluation was related to the country's balance of payments crisis. The International Monetary Fund agency intervened and devaluation was one of the conditions that had to be met before that lending agency would extend credit.

Faced with this situation, low income and non-income families thus find themselves forced to live in the slum and squatter settlements (shanties) where rentals tend to be much cheaper or where squatting is permitted. Those already living in these areas find that they have difficulty getting out. There are an estimated 600 scattered squatter and slum settlements throughout the city. The slum areas tend to be older and more established settlements and tend to be in the centre of the city or towns, while the shanty towns, like those in many developing countries, tend to be scattered along the periphery of cities and towns or perched on the hillsides overlooking cities. The houses in the slums are more organized, although extremely dilapidated. The population is generally larger and density levels higher, and the residency patterns of a less transient nature. The squatter settlements are smaller, with about 300-400
people tightly packed together. The houses are made from scraps of discarded objects collected from around the area. These include cardboard, sticks, lumber, flattened tin drums and dried coconut leaves. Although most shanties are located on the edge of the city, many are located in little pockets throughout the interior of the city, most times juxtaposed to middle and upper class housing (Norton 1978).

Much of the literature on squatter settlements make the point that most of these settlements are formed by rural migrants who are forced into these types of settlements because of the shortage of housing. This does not seem to be the predominant feature in Kingston. My study found that many people left the overcrowded slum areas and either formed new squatter settlements or moved into already established ones. On interviewing some people in the squatter areas on the outskirts of Kingston, they explained that they were unable to cope with the overcrowding and the violence in the city and had fled for their safety. Such areas where new shanty-towns developed include Hope Flats, Dread Heights, Mona Common and August Town which has two settlements - Vietnam and Angola. Some slum dwellers moved as far as "Sufferers Heights" in Spanish Town, about forty miles out of Kingston. This settlement is perched on a hill and most
of the residents own little plots. There is some electricity and most of the residents have access to piped water. There were a few cases where dwellers were building four and five room structures. Of course, for financial reasons, most got aborted midway. The move to this settlement was mainly political. According to some residents, they were encouraged by politicians to obtain a plot of land in this area. Many of the residents saw this move as "owning a piece of land", a goal for which many Jamaicans, including slum dwellers, strive. The fact remains that slum dwellers, for a myriad of reasons, seem to be always on the move. Engels, in addressing the situation of the working class in 1844, observed movements among slum dwellers that resemble those of today:

The breeding place of disease, the infamous holes and cellars in which the capitalist mode of production confines our workers night after night, are not abolished; they are merely shifted elsewhere! The same economic necessity which produced them in the first place, produces them in the next place also. As long as the capitalist mode of production continues to exist, it is folly to hope for an isolated solution of the housing question or of any other social question affecting the fate of workers. The solution lies in the abolition of the capitalist mode of production and the appropriation of all means of life and labour by the working class itself (1970:332).
Amid discussions of their elimination or improvement, instead of decreasing, the squatter settlements continue to grow. In 1976 for instance, the government began a programme with the assistance of the United States Agency for International Development ($5.6M) to help in the rehabilitation of run-down communities in Kingston. As presented in the government's guideline and reiterated by the Programme Coordinator, the strategy of urban upgrading would result in (a) the provision of adequate standards of housing (b) generation of employment and (c) improvement in the material condition of the people. The approach is new and recognizes that slum clearance displaces people, destroys the existing community and caters only to a limited number of people. It has been pointed out that this new proposal is financially very costly and beyond the resources of the government. It is further pointed out that the new approach is predicated on the assumption that society should build on the physical and human resources which presently exist in low income areas rather than destroying these resources and attempting the futile task of building anew. It has also been pointed out that the concept of upgrading also rests on the assumption that people must be helped to help themselves, and that a central principle of the new approach is, therefore, self reliance.
Theoretically, the programme seemed sound, and although the area selected to start the programme displayed the typical features of the slum, my research area was not touched by this programme which began in central Kingston, a political stronghold of the ruling party. When one recalls the political underpinnings of the huge slum clearance programme that took place in 1966 and the 1968 development of certain sectors of the slum for low income dwellers, this is in some ways understandable. Medium and high rise concrete buildings were constructed, leading to the area's designation as concrete jungle. The residents of each block of buildings are affiliated to one or other of the two major political parties. The most outstanding political areas within the concrete jungle are Tivoli Gardens, Payne Avenue, Rema, Arnette Gardens and Lizard Town, each name representing a block of apartment buildings. My research area is surrounded by the jungle and residents are in constant contact with the jungleites who do not share their political views. This area has been the centre of political violence since the mid 1960s.

Under the new upgrading programme landlords can borrow money for the rehabilitation of their houses. This is negotiated through a local bank at an interest rate of 11%. The stipulation is that the house must be a
tenement and a copy of the land title is the security for the loan. This programme seems to be ideal in terms of social development, but what appears to elude the planners is the fact that many tenements are owned by absentee landlords who have no interest in maintaining their properties, as such maintenance would tend to decrease their profit margins. The tenants, on the other hand, tend to view this programme as a positive move as it seems that the government is looking after their interests.

According to the Programme Coordinator, small scale tenement owners did not bother to take out loans since they were unemployed and could not afford the repayment. Many were not willing to take the risk of improving their houses, pinning their financial hopes solely upon potential tenants. They also feared that rents would have to be increased after upgrading and many people would not be willing to pay high rents in the slum areas. So far, only about ten to twelve houses have been upgraded.

The government has also made proposals towards upgrading squatter settlements, but progress on these proposals is very slow. Squatter settlement upgrading is under the jurisdiction of the Sites and Services Project, which is a joint project with the World Bank. So far
2,489 houses have been constructed but this is said to be only the tip of the iceberg. It has been estimated that some 5,000 homes are needed each year to house the additional 25,000 persons who will require housing within the urban area. Safa, in her study of the urban poor in Puerto Rico, found that the poor preferred to own their own homes, "a house is a symbol of a man's ability to provide for his family, and the assurance that crises such as illness or unemployment will not leave them out on the street" (1974:14). Lloyd refers to a similar situation:

Another major goal of the shanty-town dweller is the ownership of his own house. First and foremost this is a mode of ensuring security - with irregular wage employment or the fluctuating and uncertain income from self employment, eviction for non-payment of rent is an ever present hazard. But the house is also a status symbol - and in communities where income cannot be readily guessed from occupation it becomes a prime sign of success (1979:178).

The same was true of many slum dwellers in Kingston, both males and females, who indicated that they would like to own their own homes, preferably outside the slum area so that their children could grow up in a decent environment. Slum dwellers constantly complain that the slum is deteriorating. They point to the growing violence and the lack of jobs particularly among the
young. They have also indicated that they are more concerned about their children's future than of their own, and that children need the security of a home. The notion of wanting to own one's home in a situation where it seemed impossible, appears to help in the persistence of the slum, as given their social conditions and the high cost of housing outside the slum, it seems that these slum dwellers will never get out. Yet they appear to exist under the illusion of eventually owning private property. Of course, this is also the aspiration of individuals in other classes and many slum dwellers felt very confident that one day in the future they will be able to leave the slums. This hope seems to help them in their daily functioning.

This attitude is in direct contradiction to that of a high ranking official from the Housing Ministry who confided to me that "slum dwellers accept the slum as a way of life. They like it, and for that reason they do not want to leave. They have a chance of planting ganja without anyone bothering them, especially if they are as far away as Wareika Hills." He went on to state that "it is bad to move them from the slums as they could never adjust to the rest of society. They do not even regard stealing as a sin anymore." This example highlights some of the basic misunderstandings between slum
dwellers and those outside. The situation appears even more disastrous when one realizes that most slum dwellers depend on the recommendation of these very officials for a way out of their plight. Given that many of the slum dwellers are long term residents, the desire to live outside the slum area can best be attributed to the increase in violence within the area. During the interviews, about 80% of the residents expressed deep concern about violence. The fact that many residents expressed the desire for an end to the violence and a return to social order can be interpreted as a clear indication that they would probably be willing to remain in the area. There were many pronouncements that the area was peaceful prior to the coming of power of the present government. The slum dwellers argue that the youths are controlled by the politicians through political gangsterism, sometimes involving the use of guns. This is seen as a new phenomenon in the area. I found it very interesting that the older slum dwellers who tended to be close-mouthed were aware of this and talked so openly about it. It is alleged that these youths are paid for their services. Apparently, the youths recognize their precarious position, but point out that in light of the high unemployment rate, they have no alternative. These issues will be discussed in detail in Chapter Five.
In discussing the problems that exist in these areas, officials tend to view them in isolation. There is no dialogue between the slum dwellers and the officials and hence the perpetuation of the misconceptions and the ever present dislocation of slum dwellers. What one finds is that the slum residents devise means to survive within the existing situation. For instance, they become involved in various forms of hustling, making do with a minimal amount of material resources, and participating in economic networks suitable to their socio-economic condition. These survival techniques create patterns which are clearly manifested within the family structure and other social relationships within the slum.

**Family Structure Within the Urban Slum**

Although much has been written on various aspects of Jamaica's social structure (Henriques 1968; Lowenthal 1972; Smith 1962) there is no written work on slum families in Jamaica. This is important because, although all social classes in Jamaican society uphold monogamy in theory, the concept varies in practice. Variation seems at its highest among the slum dwellers and throughout this brief section I will argue that the structure of the family within the slum is a consequence
of survival strategies which in turn aid in the persistence of the slum.

To adequately discuss the slum family, it is necessary to situate such a family within the context of its residential arrangement. This arrangement is called the yard. Historically, the yard was an enclosure which housed slaves. Today, these yards house the poorest in urban Jamaica. The presence of yards in contemporary Jamaica represents a continuity of the spatial segregation that existed during the period of slavery (Bailey 1975, Brodber 1975). Each yard consists of several blocks of buildings with each building consisting of several rooms. Each room tends to house a family.

The family, whether nuclear or extended, is generally conceptualized as an important agent of socialization, but in the case of the Jamaican slum, the family has to include the entire yard where many different families live. There is much interaction between these families and everyone shares in the upbringing of children. Social interaction tends to take place in the open yard where most washing and cooking are done. On entering these yards, one can hear discussions taking place among the women. This typically includes everyday politics or concerns about children. The males, if they are not working outside the slum, tend to congregate
mainly on the streets, but at times they sit around in the yards playing dominoes or cards. Sometimes, amid the hustle and bustle of the yard, a radio blares in the background. Household duties (e.g. cooking) tend to be organized around the different times of the day while different days of the week are allotted to washing and ironing. The women tend to do all the household work, whether they work outside or not. The men seem to do little or nothing pertaining to the household. They may be seen repairing a bicycle or electrical appliances, but dominoes and cards seem to occupy their free time. They also seem to spend more time than the women relaxing in the yards.

Most families consist of one parent and children. This parent is usually the mother. Among these families marriage is rare and does not have the status that it does for families outside the slum. Many couples live together, while in other cases there are visiting unions wherein the participants in these unions live in separate dwellings. Sometimes these unions are of a monogamous nature. There are cases where the men tend to have similar relationships with several women and the women tend to have similar relationships with several men. In most cases, each individual is aware of the others within the network. There tends to be a high
degree of amicability between women who have children for the same man. The children seem to be the reason for this amicability as they are blood relatives, a situation that is generally respected.

Most of the slum dwellers seem to accept their relationships as important linkages and in most cases these relationships result in children. Children are such a standard feature within the slums that couples refer to themselves as baby-mothers and baby-fathers. Males tend to boast about their children. The more they have, the more boastful they become. Barren women are stigmatized and called mules. Couples tend to have children at a very early age. Because a household is usually one room, there are many cases where a household will be comprised of a grandmother, her children and her grandchildren. This situation has the semblance of the extended family, as members tend to remain in their original dwellings for economic reasons. This appears to be an acceptable arrangement, although many mothers pointed out that initially they were upset at their daughters becoming mothers at extremely young ages (i.e. fourteen to seventeen). Sometimes the daughters moved into separate rooms within the same tenement with their mothers or into another tenement close by.

Financial support is tenuous because of high
unemployment among both males and females. The situation is compounded by the fact that the male tends to have many children with different females, each expecting some form of support. Adequate support therefore becomes impossible and many females tend to resort to hustling and dependence on other relatives, such as aunts, uncles, cousins and grandmothers. Dependence on relatives is not unique to the slum, as Lowenthal shows in his discussion on family arrangements among the working class in the Caribbean. He points out that "the need to supplement livelihoods with temporary migrant labour leaves women in charge of households much of the time. Many children are raised solely by women - a condition made memorable in the phrase 'my mother who fathered me'. There are mothers who care for children but lack regular male support, grandmothers who bring up daughters' offspring, legal or common law wives whose husbands are away seasonally or permanently" (1972:111).

The relationships between men and women were quite acceptable to the slum dwellers, although frowned upon by those outside. Neither the men nor the women within the slum showed any overt concern for sanctifying their relationships through the church or state. Some of these relationships could be classified as stable. Men and women tended to live together for a long period of time and many produced children. In some situations,
men and women formed unions and brought children from different linkages into the new relationship. There did not appear to be any form of conflict in these situations. Some women were receiving financial support from the fathers of their children who were sometimes also giving support to other women who had borne them children. Men are expected to support their children and many try to do so although given the irregular patterns of employment within the area, this support is not always frequent. Sometimes child support is obtained from gambling winnings or other illegal activities.

Men therefore, became valued commodities in terms of the real or imagined support they could offer. This view manifested itself in the conversations of women. On several occasions when women were seen fighting in the streets the issue concerned men. Women expressed concern that if they lost their men, it would no doubt affect financial support. Over and over women admonished other women to "leave mi man alone."

In slum argot, some men were called friars, mice or idiot men. From these men women received money, clothes and other material items but ignored them socially. In some cases, they may have children, but not necessarily for these men. In short, the women used access to men for the purpose of financial support. The
relationship between the men and the women could be said to be reciprocal in that the women received support while the men boasted in the community about the number of women they had. Although in general idiot men tend to support women who do not have children, this is not a pattern with other men who only support women who have borne them children. The circumstances tend to be different if the woman has other children but does not get support from her previous baby-father(s) and and she has a child or children for the man with whom she presently lives.

In the slum community, being macho is socially appropriate. In emulating this, men refer to their lifestyle as cowboy life. With the dominance of the macho image, financial support within the slum tends to revolve around children. Men experienced a certain amount of power by having children and more so by being able to support them.

It was rare to find a family with teenage children who themselves had not borne children. Unlike the 10-12 year olds who were involved in small scale hustling, these teenagers were not helping in household support. Teenagers were involved in adult type hustling to support themselves and their children. Sons tended to live on their own, mostly within the community, while
daughters remained with their mothers or moved to rooms within the same tenement yard. In situations where they lived with their mothers any money obtained tended to filter throughout the entire household. There was also close financial and social interaction when the daughters lived within the same tenement. Some pre-teen girls were involved with older men from the community. In slum argot, they were referred to as *veges* (vegetables - meaning they were young and fresh). They were usually between the ages of eleven and thirteen and were partially kept by these men while living at home. This situation tended to ease the financial pressure of the household. They often attended school and were given *lunch money* or an occasional J$10.00 by these men. They flaunted this money around at school and many became pregnant by the time they reached the age of thirteen. They then usually dropped out of school to follow the regular pattern of life in the slum.

Pre-teen boys on the other hand, were quite active as newspaper vendors or as vendors of Kisko, a frozen syrup and water mixture. Some were involved in *robbing and fleeing*. This involved the theft of jewelry such as gold chains and bangles. They would sell these articles and turn over a part of the money to their households. The youngsters explained that they would
never reveal the real source of their income to their parents. They kept a good portion of the money explaining to their parents that the part turned over was what they had begged on the street or obtained legitimately. In interviews, parents claimed that they strongly discouraged stealing and that they would not accept money from their children if it were stolen. Ironically, the same parents often pointed out that "God will always provide." They readily accepted their children's word that the money was obtained by begging.

Teenagers involved in stealing pointed out that they saw nothing wrong in the activity. "Slum people (h)ave fe tief fe survive" (Individuals within the slum have to steal to survive) is a common statement. Some adults on the other hand, agree with the youths and sympathise with them. They reason that since the youths cannot obtain jobs, there is no other alternative. Some of the youths expressed fear of stealing, because of the possibility of being shot or thrown into jail.

There was a certain sense of powerlessness within the slums in that people seemed unable to take responsibility for their own lives. Ultimately they were dependent on those whom they assumed had more power (e.g. the politicians). This was expressed by many slum dwellers in statements such as "wen Claudie was alive im
use to get wuk fe we, now im dead, mi nuh no wey de ola we a go do." (When Claudius Massop was alive, he usually arranged jobs for us. Now that he is dead, we really do not know what all of us will do.) "Doh some a de gal pickney dem pass GCE and JSC, de only job dem get a baby in a (h)an(d)." (Although some of the young girls have passed their General Certificate of Education and their Jamaican School Certificate examinations, the only job available to them is that of having babies.) "Ghetto folks get blame fe ebery ting. Anybody who get kill - a ghetto man do it." (People in the ghetto get blamed for everything. Should anyone get killed, people in the ghetto are blamed for it.) This powerlessness could be attributed to their lack of economic independence and the difficulties encountered when slum dwellers tried to overcome their desperate social conditions. One consequence of this dependence manifests itself in the manner in which public policies are initiated and put into practice. As Michael Manley (1979) reiterated: "The country can only improve when the standard of living improves. The standard of living will improve when families become smaller and that can only happen when the women acquire knowledge about themselves." This dictum was apparently addressed to a middle class audience (the usual target of Jamaican politicians). How are the slum
dwellers who are pre-occupied with bare survival to get involved with "knowledge about themselves"? This takes a certain amount of time and money and, given the situation in the slum, does not seem possible.

Although illiteracy abounds in Kingston's slum, policy makers, in an effort to control the birth rate, try to reach slum dwellers through the written word. There are many posters stating that "you don't have to get pregnant." What does this mean to a slum dweller? A 32 year old woman, living in a single room with eight children, was so unaware of the processes of pregnancy and the economics of rearing children, gave the reason for her continual pregnancies as "mi easy fe get prignant" (sic). This is a common attitude among slum dwellers where one is not seen to have control over one's pregnancies.

The illiteracy rate in these areas remains high, even though there is an attempt at adult literacy education. In terms of education in general, the country retains standards adopted from Britain. This process continues to exclude more and more slum dwellers.

Many of the slum dwellers who expressed an awareness of the birth control campaign saw the methods as evil and "against the will of God." To support this, they tended to quote passages from the Bible which state
that "women should have their lot." Both men and women tended to adhere to this belief. Rastafarian philosophy, which commands a strong influence in the slum areas, argues that "birth control is a plan to kill out black people." Graffiti throughout the slum areas bear witness to this philosophy. There is also a strong belief that these methods create certain ailments. Women go into great details about the physical catastrophes that befell them when they tried to control the sizes of their families. Some cite the onset of stomach ulcers, others note excruciating headaches and yet others, backaches.

According to officials at the Family Planning Clinic in the area, the greatest response to the clinic comes from women 25 years and upwards, most of whom already have five, six or seven children. At 21 many women already have three or more children. Their record shows that they drop out of school early, have no skills, and consequently they lose out educationally and financially. Many clients do not want any more children, but they also do not want birth control methods. If they opt for a certain method, they tend not to keep up with it. The women are strongly influenced by their baby-fathers who do not want them to use any type of birth control method as such methods are seen to interfere with their
feeling of manhood.

Officials claim that because of this attitude, vasectomy is also out of the question. As most women already have children, officials suggest tubal ligation, but this method tends to be rejected because of beliefs associated with it. It is believed that women develop high blood pressure and problems associated with the heart and kidneys. Officials also point out that such views spread more rapidly and to larger numbers through tenement yard interaction. Although one male informant sees his six children as a drawback economically, he complains that his baby-mother gets ill on the methods. He rejects them as either unsafe or not good for the body. For him, having children is inevitable. He rationalizes that ghetto existence is boring, that outside entertainment is expensive, that ghetto residents are forced into home entertainment and that children are the result. Men have an obvious influence over women,

The deferential behaviour exists even where he is not the main earning partner. It is the woman's duty to earn all she can if the male partner does not earn enough to support the unit. Where this happens, the woman still disciplines the children since her mate "usually wants to sleep". Eating behaviour reflects this deference too. The men eat first and the larger portion of the meal. On matters of sex however, he is the authority (Brodber 1975:44).
Indeed this subjugation of females to males pervades all levels of Jamaican society. As Henry and Wilson point out: "Gradually, however, our readings convinced us that Caribbean women, by and large, play a subservient role to men particularly in economic and social areas; that a double standard of sexuality exists; and that women frequently are forced to hide their potential talents and abilities" (1980:32).

In discussions with the slum dwellers, I have tried to elicit from them their feelings about socio-economic conditions and the future of their children. The results show an overwhelming disparity in the way they perceive their own lives as opposed to their children's lives. This is revealed in the case of a 30 year old woman now six months pregnant with her sixth child. She lived in one room in a tenement. She emphasized that she loved children and that is why she had so many, yet in further discussions, she was very concerned about how she was going to take care of them. Neither she nor her baby-father were officially employed. They survived on their hustles. She made and sold paper bags and brought home J$15.00 per week. He sold sky juice (fruit juice) and brought home about J$20.00 per week. One of her daughters wanted to be an airline hostess and her only son wanted to be an airline pilot. She saw these
aspirations as distinct possibilities. Similar aspirations were pervasive among slum dwellers. It was common for the women to believe that their children could reach goals that they themselves could not.

Not only were the women concerned about the goals of their children, but they were forever rationalizing their children's unacceptable deviant behaviour. They showed their concerns through the following statements, "(h)im father is intelligent, so (h)im should a bright at school" (when the child is backward in school). "(H)im father wasn't a tief - so me nuh no how him come tief" (difficulty in understanding why her son is a thief). "(H)im uncle was a tief - so me know seh him would a come out to be a tief" (accepting the fact that her son is a thief). With this explanatory system, behaviour is inextricably tied to genetics and no connection is made to the social environment.

The Structure of Formal Knowledge in the Urban Slum

Many studies of education within Third World slums and shanty towns point to the low level of education reached by the residents and the residents awareness of its importance in the various societies (Ray 1969; Peattie 1968; Lloyd 1979). What most of these studies seem to lack is a clear analysis of the relationship
between education and social class. They tend to
describe the conditions of education, for example, the
overcrowding in schools, the high student/teacher ratio,
and the poorly qualified teachers. What we do not derive
from most of these studies are the reasons why the
situation exists in the first place. In looking at the
Jamaican case, I have made an attempt in Chapter Two to
look at some of these reasons. These will now be
elaborated.

Given Jamaica's colonial background, with
formal education being used to ensure social mobility,
avademic achievement takes precedence over practical
experience. Yet, in the research area there were three
primary schools (Denham Town Primary, St. Anne's Primary
and St. Alban's Primary), two secondary schools (Denham
Town Secondary and St. Anne's Secondary), one comprehen-
sive school (Tivoli Gardens) and one technical school
(St. Andrew Technical) which served the entire West King-
ston area (population 25,194). In terms of educational
quality these schools are sub-standard. People who were
somehow conscious of their situation tried, at consider-
able cost and effort, to send their children to
schools outside the slum area. Lloyd, in referring to
MacEwan's 1974 Argentinian study, shows that "many
parents send their children to these better schools, thus
both denigrating the local schools and also setting
themselves apart from their community, withdrawing from one area of activity which could act as a focus of its interests and cohesion" (1979:178). Such a move also tends to present tremendous obstacles. Since schooling is a state issue, slum children find that along with their inadequate basic educational facilities, they have to compete for spaces in the high schools with children who have had access to better equipped preparatory and primary schools. The outcome is obvious. The state has begun a programme of constructing more secondary schools to accommodate the children who did not make it to the high schools. Some schools in Kingston are also operating two shifts per day, but there are many problems with this in terms of study times and inadequate transportation.

Schooling is expensive in terms of educational equipment, uniforms and lunches, and, in the case of some high schools, fees. The cost is felt more among the slum residents, most of whom do not have steady incomes. The children are constantly withdrawn from school because the parents cannot afford the costs. Therefore the truancy rate among slum children is high. Many become involved in small scale economic activities (hustling) to support their households.

In this whole process, a contradiction exists in that education is strongly emphasized in the slum as a
way of achieving individual success. Yet the socio-economic situation makes this goal impossible. In discussions with slum dwellers, these concerns are never raised as issues that have been logically worked out. There is an urgency to keep the children in school, but there is the same degree of urgency to withdraw them as financial needs become more and more pressing. Throughout my field work, I did not have any discussions wherein slum dwellers correlated unemployment with lack of education. Unemployment is usually analyzed within the framework of party politics and favouritism. There is no campaign in the slums to demand more and better quality education for the children. This lack of coordinated effort may well be due to the very absence of quality education.

Since there are a few schools within the slum, it cannot be argued that the slum dwellers are totally excluded from the process of formal education. However, considering the low-quality of education which these schools provide combined with the derision in which they are held by those outside the slum area, it can be seen that equal educational opportunity is non-existent. Since the slum is an integral part of the Jamaican economy the effect of this exclusion on the slum dwellers becomes significant.
Access to General Knowledge Within the Urban Slum

Poverty seemed to immobilize many of the slum dwellers within the confines of the slum neighbourhood and this affected their access to general information. What was observed among the residents in the slum was the uncritical acceptance of many of the events in their society. Many residents tended to read newspapers and listen to radio stations that expounded the ideology of a particular political party. These newspaper articles and radio items were interpreted in the light of what the politicians had told them. For instance, after flood rains had devastated most of the western sections of the island, and water levels were constantly rising, the general interpretation of this disaster was linked to the presence of Cubans in the island. This interpretation arose from the widespread Jamaican belief that socialism is evil and that since Cubans were socialists they could not help but presage evil events. The Cubans were assigned work in the western section of the island and were brought into Jamaica by the government. There had been much discussion by the Opposition Party concerning the fear that the Cubans were slowly infiltrating the country. It was therefore discussed and strongly believed by many of the people in the slum area that the evil Cubans had interfered with nature and brought on the
floods. The notion of interpreting events within the framework of party politics was common among slum dwellers. Given their poor socio-economic situation they tended to be manipulated by the politicians who used them to their own advantage. This situation will be discussed in detail in Chapter Five. On one occasion, the slum area was interrupted by the sounds of a "shoot-out" and an old woman immediately turned on her transistor radio in an effort to find out what was happening. She was quite unaware of how "news" was constructed. These instances were not isolated, but appeared to be grounded in the structure of the slum.

Physically, the slum appears to be a social and cultural entity separate from the rest of the city. Ideologically, it appears that the objective reality of the slum dwellers is not a reflection of their subjective reality. That is, their hopes and aspirations do not appear to have emerged from the realities of their everyday living conditions. Those who can read do so and those who cannot, listen. For instance, on many occasions groups of people are seen crowded around an individual with *The Daily Gleaner* newspaper who reads aloud certain sections to the crowd. One item, that of Leandro, a political satirist, is very popular. Invariably slum dwellers will ask - "Wa Leandro seh
today" (What does Leandro say today). This is read out. One should realize that both the paper and the slum dwellers are biased towards the Opposition Party. From this one can easily get the notion of how Jamaica's political economy is portrayed and how the slum dwellers interpret this portrayal. The fact that the slum is often viewed as a separate entity tends to obscure its economic contributions and helps to reinforce the myth that the slum constitutes an accumulation of an amorphous mass of people who are merely parasites on the rest of the society.

The knowledge that the realities of poverty seem to persist despite all attempts at elimination leaves us to ponder the whys and wherefores of this persistence. A look at medical care in the slum may throw some light on this.

**Medical Care Within the Urban Slum**

Unlike most slum areas in many other Third World cities, the residents of West Kingston have fairly easy access to medical facilities, although these are not necessarily of the best quality. There is the Kingston Public Hospital which offers free services, along with its Jubilee maternity wing which offers services at a very nominal fee. Although the public hospital offers
free services to its patients and is well supported by the slum dwellers, one should bear in mind that it is a teaching hospital (i.e. a place for the training of doctors, nurses and other hospital related occupations). Most of these trainees originate from the middle and upper classes. Gans' reference to the poor in the United States is applicable here. "The poor support medical innovation as patients in teaching and research hospitals and as guinea pigs in medical experiments, reducing the risk for the more affluent patients who alone can afford these innovations once they are incorporated into medical practice" (1980:149).

There is a chest clinic and the Tivoli Gardens community has a maternity complex and a health centre. Operation Friendship, which is an institution with various community services, also offers medical services. Denham Town itself has its own Health Centre with one part-time doctor, four days a week, one nurse, one clerk, one female attendant, one porter and one cleaner. The small dispensary has a pharmacist. The dentist and his assistant see about 25-30 patients per day. The two community aides and the public health nurse indicate that they are kept fairly busy. Each month, two pre-natal clinics are held, but the officials state that these are not well attended. Pre-natal care could be viewed as a
luxury activity by slum dwellers who say they need all
the time before the baby arrives to carry out hustling
activities. The centre was recently robbed of a huge
amount of drugs and the Health Centre staff speculates
that these were put on the open market. The centre is
opened five days per week and caters to about 80 patients
per day. These centres treat minor cases and make
referrals to the special clinics attached to the General
Hospital. There is another general hospital (UHWI) out­
side of the slum which is also a teaching hospital. It
is located about ten miles from the slum and many slum
dwellers do not hesitate to make the trip by bus. Some
of the residents consider the services at this hospital
to be of better quality than the services available
within the slum and sometimes attend it on their own,
without referrals, although this process entails long
hours in the hospital's waiting rooms. As one informant
expressed the views of many, "Me nuh mine de wait,
because de doctor dem good up de. Me go up de bout five
o'clock in a de morning, get a number from de porter, an
me no si de docta till five o'clock a night, but me nuh
care."

There is also a Daycare Centre with 24 children
attending regularly (40 are registered). The fees are
scaled down to income and averages about J$4.00 per week
per child. The centre has been in operation for 16 years and has 8 staff members. The children are given 3 meals per day. They come in between 7 and 8:45 a.m. and leave at 5 to 5:30 p.m. There is a cook, a caretaker, and three nursing assistants. The only stipulation for accepting children is that their parents work. The officials feel that it would be unfair to accept children whose parents did not work. The concept of work is defined by officials who live outside of the slum. Work, for them, means activity for regular wages. This interpretation is accepted by slum dwellers at a superficial level but in reality their interpretation turns out to be quite different. For instance, hustling is a dominant form of work within the slum but it is not interpreted as such in official terms. Because of this interpretation, many families are excluded from the use of this Daycare Centre. Also, the very fact that the daycare facility is not free excludes many people from its services. There is also a creche which caters to about 42 children. Because of the unstable working patterns of the parents, children attend whenever the parents can pay the J$1.00 per day fee. The main reasons for the under-utilization of these facilities is economic. Also, lack of information concerning the availability of these facilities also contributes to their under-utilization. There is a case
in point wherein a young man was left with his two children (two and three years old). As a hustler, he had to be on the streets most of the time and on these occasions, he locked the children in his room because he was not on good terms with the tenants in his yard. The children had several minor accidents. On being reproached for neglect, the father claimed that he was not aware of the facilities available in the area.

It was also significant that most of the professionals who worked in the slum lived outside of it. This appears to be a common feature in slums in other countries. For instance, although the councillor who plays a central role in the area grew up in the slum, he now lives outside of it and commutes daily to his office. The Member of Parliament who represents the area also lives outside of it and visits the community centre on a frequent basis. Although there are difficulties in measuring qualitative benefits, it can be argued that middle class workers living outside of the slum do benefit from the poor material conditions under which slum dwellers exist. As Gans emphasizes, "what is less often recognized, at least in the conventional wisdom, is that poverty also makes possible the existence or expansion of respectable professions and occupations, for example, penology, criminology, social work and public health"

Some officials in the area argue the importance of social activities to the well being of the community (e.g. involvement with arts and crafts). Throughout the slum one finds these activities in progress, although some are not functioning well because of lack of space and resources. Most are irregularly attended. Many informants claim that they are not aware of these activities. Others, if they are aware, note that they cannot afford the materials that are required should one wish to participate. For instance, they complained that involvement with handicrafts require certain basic materials which were quite expensive. Others stated that they were busy either with children or hustling and could not find the time for anything else.

The whole idea of these social activities brings to mind many questions, the most pressing being the relationship between poverty and the use of leisure time. Most of these activities were developed from a middle class perspective and thus reflect metropolitan values such as painting, art, drama and fashion modeling. Given the socio-economic background of the area, these activities did not seem to have much meaning to the slum dwellers. They appeared superimposed and there was no evidence of a process of appropriation taking place.
It was also observed that the residents tended to participate in social activities that had the potential for financial gains. Thus games of dominoes had high priority. Not only does the game have the potential for financial gains, but it is a game of wits, and sharpening of wits tends to be essential within this type of environment. Therefore, if social activities are going to be implemented, the ideas of what these should be should come from the slum dwellers themselves. These oppressed areas have produced many individuals involved in the arts. Kapo, the oil painter, and numerous vocalists including the late internationally known Reggae Super-Star Bob Marley. This situation is similar to Perlman's description of the favelas in Brazil where she points out that "these supposed 'back-waters' are, in fact, central to the cultural identity of Brazil. Much of the spirit for which Rio is famous - the samba, the colourful slang, the spiritist cults - springs directly from the favelas" (1976:15). One wonders therefore, if these situations should not be given more consideration when examining aspects of social development for the poor.

Contrary to a widely held opinion about the inability of slum dwellers to analyze the condition and prospects of slum life, I found the residents to be quite cognizant of their social environment. Many informants
expressed concern about the growing frustration among the young in the area. They argued that the frustration was a consequence of the fact that people had no jobs and did not see any future possibilities. One informant expressed the feelings of many "whole heap a people a get mad or have pressure" (Many people are getting mad or are hypertensive). "Me never see so much people with 'pressure' before" (I have never before seen so many people with hypertension). This informant sees the situation as destroying young people. Beckford's and Witter's observation supports this notion: "the increase in mental illness among the poor is evidenced by the marked rise in the number of mentally unbalanced persons roaming the streets (cf. Star January 1980) for a report from Bellevue officials on their recent intake of such persons and the heightening crisis of space at that hospital which, with 1,800 beds, is more than three times the size of each of the two city general hospitals - K.P.H. and UHWI" (1980:105). Discussions with psychological counsellors bring these observations to the forefront. They point out that their clientele have increased and that this increase crosses class lines. Although no cause has been convincingly delineated, given the histories articulated by their clients, there is a strong conviction that it is related to the economic "hard times." Many of
the regular ganja smokers in the area have explained that they smoke in order to help them cope with the unbearable situations. One hard core hustler and smoker expressed "we will survive, because we *cocaine* to the situation now."

**Social Relationships in the Urban Slum**

This section argues that the nature of the social organization that develops in this particular slum is directly related to the economic hardships faced by the slum dwellers. The sharing with others of certain scarce material items is common, as are the relationships that are forged through the daily 'scrounging' for basic needs such as food.

The real importance of food does not manifest itself until we begin to deal with the poor - whether on an individual basis or within the context of a given community or country. Within the international sphere, there is an on-going debate that food is sometimes used as a weapon against poor countries (Moore-Lappe et al 1980). On close examination of areas undergoing economic depression, one sees how this is possible. The Kingston slum represented such a situation and I will attempt to look at the relationship of food to other aspects of the lives of the poor and to demonstrate how this is tied in
with the overall economy.

As pointed out earlier, the Jamaican economy has been a dependent one, becoming more and more entrenched within the international system. This is particularly marked by the country's dependence on imports, of which food is no exception. Sixty percent of the country's foodstuff is imported. Over the years, this dependence has been taken for granted, but with the world economic crisis beginning in 1973 the effect on the country's standard of living is being severely felt. During this crisis, the Jamaican dollar was gravely devalued, hence the dollar bought less commodities at a higher cost.

By the late 1970s, it appeared that Jamaicans had developed a mentality which was oriented to a dependence on foreign goods. The country was again forced to make a decision towards substituting its imports with local products. Importing was greatly reduced, but there was really no local substitution. Whereas people could do without certain types of soap or certain parts for cars, the same did not hold true for certain foods. For instance, dependence on dried cod fish, which is imported from Canada and has long been considered the 'food of the poor', rose drastically in price. The same situation held for pigtail and corned beef, which had the same
status as dried cod. Whenever these could be obtained, the price ranges were out of reach of the poor. Because these were already the cheapest foods, it left the poor practically no alternative and they were thus forced into a situation which I have termed the creative food hustle. Not being able to obtain or afford meat, fish or vegetables, the poor turned to chicken backs, labelled chicken chassis by the Prime Minister himself. The poor prepared these in various forms, curried, stewed, fried or made into soup. According to one informant, "Chicken back a de only meat (sic) we in a de ghetto can afford and we (h)ave fe fight in a de market fe get it" (Chicken back is the only meat (sic) we in the ghetto can afford and we have to fight in the market to obtain it.) Callaloo, an all season vegetable, also has become a staple among the poor. Prepared with salted cod it is used for breakfast or dinner. Rice and flour are imported products and at the time of the economic crisis, were in short supply. Ground provisions such as yams, potatoes and cocos (taro) were expensive, and with the large families in the slum areas, informants complained that these provisions were not able to be stretched like flour and rice. Many forms of leaves such as lime, soursop, cerassie and mint were used to make tea. Cornmeal remained inexpensive but it is interesting to note
that prior to the economic crisis, it was considered a
food for dogs or the very poor. It has quickly become,
however, a staple for slum dwellers. Not being able to
afford extra ingredients to add to this dish, it has
remained more or less tasteless. Some residents are well
aware that others in Jamaica are not experiencing the
same hardships. This was especially true of domestic
helpers and gardeners, whose employers were said to be
giving meat to their dogs.

The differing effects of the food shortage on
the various social classes were very obvious. Members of
the middle and upper classes made arrangements with
merchants to obtain food in short supply. The mass of
the people did without. The gap between the rich and the
poor in Jamaica has always been wide, but over the past
six years, with the onset of the oil crisis, the crisis
in foreign exchange and the subsequent effects these have
had on obtaining imported goods, this gap appears to have
widened. This situation has affected the entire society,
but appears to be felt more by the poor, who, with their
small incomes, are forced to pay more for goods and
services.

It has been repeatedly pointed out that in
order to adequately feed the majority of the population,
changes will have to be made in people's attitude toward
local foods, while discouraging a reliance on foreign imports. The slums, or any part of Jamaica for that matter, have not yet experienced a serious food riot. This is partly so because the poor hustle for food or share what is available, thereby adapting to shortages. This adaptation is well exploited by the government, as is evident in their advertisements on the radio stations. The population is advised to think of substitutes for foods that are in short supply. One incessant jingle suggests "turn yu (h)an(d) mek substitute." A few excerpts from my field data show how typical slum dwellers try to adapt.

**Household A**

A twenty-seven year old female lives in one room in a tenement yard with her ten and eight year old daughters. Fifteen other people, including children, live in the yard. She has not worked in a year and she does not get any financial support from her two baby-fathers. She has to run away from her tenement yard when the landlady visits the area because she is in arrears with the rent, which is J$16.00 per month. The landlady has threatened to sue her but the tenant thinks that this is pointless as she has no money. The landlady has told her that she "should work the streets at nights so that
she can pay the rent." She says that she refuses to do this. Apart from factory work, she has tried street vending (she sold ripe bananas, oranges and mangoes). She experienced difficulty "finding money fe buy wa fe sell" so she gave up the trade. She states that she is not interested in doing domestic work as most employers seek live-in maids and she does not want to leave her children. She often receives money from her sister, who is a regular market vendor. She complains that she is constantly struggling to make ends meet in "these hard times" and that she is getting tired of it.

**Household B**

A forty-nine year old childless female lives with her common-law husband in one room in a tenement yard with six other sets of tenants. Four of these sets are single women with fifteen children among them. The other tenants are two single men without children. She usually bought food at the supermarket but says that this is now bought at the local market because it is cheaper. Mainly yams, bananas and flour for dumplings are bought as meat is beyond her financial resources. The family regularly eats "tun cawmeal" (Cornmeal cooked with a little water and stirred with a fork while cooking. If one can afford it, meat is usually added to the
mixture). It was stated that this was the worst time her family had experienced as "tings so (h)ard nowadays" (as things are so hard nowadays). The govern- ment wan we fe go back to primitive days but we nah go back" (the government wants us to return to traditional living but we have no intention of doing so). She indicated that she would like to get a job so that she would not have to depend on her husband's income, especially as his job is not always secure. She does not like the idea of "(h)angin' roun an nah do nutten. Everybody jus a (h)ang roun everyday a look pon one anada dem an dem a go a dem bed (h)ungry" (everyone just hangs around doing nothing, with most going to bed hungry). She feels strongly that the government is to be blamed for the situation in the slum and feels that "we mus vote dem out" (we must make every effort to vote the government out of power).

Household C

A forty-six year old single female has eight children by four different men. All have left without contributing to the support of the children. One child lives in England, one in Canada and two live in other parts of Jamaica. Those living with her are 19, 17, 14 and 10. One granddaughter aged 3 and a two year old great-granddaughter and a twenty-one year old niece also
live with her. She lives in a tenement yard where there are 21 other people, including children. This household occupies two rooms. She has always been a street-vendor but now she has a permanent stall by her gate. She earns about J$15.00 per week. The family eats yams, bananas, dumplings, chicken back and callaloo. For lunch they often eat crackers or biscuits taken from the stock of her stall and they drink water mixed with sugar. She has lived in this particular yard for thirty years. The nineteen year old daughter is unemployed and has a one year old child. She has had to quit school on account of her pregnancy. Her baby-father is also unemployed but whenever he works he gives her a smalls. This could be J$5.00, J$10.00 or J$15.00. The grandmother supports her daughter and her baby. In discussing the difficult economic times, she indicated that "baby shoes cost bout J$35.00 and eberybody wan dem pickney fe look good." (Baby shoes are quite expensive and everyone wants his/her children to be presentable). The nineteen year old daughter spent four months with her sister who is a factory worker in Toronto, Canada. She applied to return to Canada as a permanent resident but was turned down by the Canadian government as it was explained that she did not have the skills that Canada needed. The grandmother, not believing the Canadian government's role, indicated
that the reason for this was that "de govament wan people fe stay a Jamaica and bill it up. Dem wan we fe plant, but we a town people and we nuh know nutten bout plantin'" (The government would like individuals to remain in Jamaica to build it up. They expect us to do the impossible such as becoming farmers in the urban areas). She explained that her daughter, niece and 17 year old son have all tried to find work but to no avail. The niece is a typist-cashier who was trained in the area (the school in which she was trained is now defunct). Her parents are in England, but they cannot sponsor her as she is over 16 years old. She does not get any support from them as the grandmother points out "dem a struggle over de to." The niece's baby-father lives in Canada but does not really support the child. He sends $20.00 every Christmas and Easter. Her 14 year old son attends a prestigious boys' school outside the slum. She indicated that he won a scholarship but she has to buy uniforms, books and pay for transportation. She complains that with the rise in bus fares and school uniforms she is finding it very difficult. She also complains that without outside support and with the high unemployment within her family, she finds it difficult to support everyone.
Household D

A nineteen year old female lives with her one year old baby and her baby-father in one room in a tenement yard. She is unemployed and her baby-father works irregularly. "Me put wey likkle money fe wen im nah wuk" (I put away money for a rainy day). She indicated that he frequently gambles. He usually buys something for the household with his winnings. Once she got a new kerosene two burner table model stove and another time she received a bedspread (chenille). She complains that food is very expensive. She feeds the baby cornmeal porridge and baby food (formula) when she can afford it. They eat mainly rice, callaloo, chicken back, bush tea and milk. Sometimes they eat tun cawmeal. "we use to put salt poke (pork) in a it, but we caan afford it nuh more." She indicated that she would like to find work but it is difficult. She has decided to leave it until the baby is grown.

Household E

A twenty year old female lives in two rooms with her two year old daughter, seven sisters and brother (ages ranging from 8-22), her mother and an aunt. The family does not know the whereabouts of the father. They eat one meal each day - dinner. This usually consists of
yams and callaloo. They used to have "saltfish, saltpork and pigstail, but we nuh buy dem nuh more, dem too expen­sive." She indicated that her situation would be worse if she did not live with her family. Her two year old child is not supported by the father who is not working and has not worked for a long time. During the days she helps around the house while her mother goes out to work at a factory. The younger children attend school within the area. Relatives from the rural area visit regularly and the house usually becomes overcrowded. She indicated that they accommodate them and do not complain as they often receive much needed food from them.

Given Jamaica's history of dependence on imported food, any changes affecting food prices at the international level would undoubtedly affect Jamaica. This is clearly seen in the cases where the informants talk of how imported foods such as codfish, pigstail, salted pork and baby foods (formula) were formerly present in their daily diet. These foods are now completely out of their reach.

Because of the harsh economic reality, praedial larceny is on the increase (as is noted in numerous newspaper reports and complaints by victims). Although land space is limited, some slum dwellers do have access to a
little free space for gardening. They tend to be hesi-
tant in using such space. They complain that imported
seeds are too expensive and, after making a financial
investment, they do not want to undergo the risk of
others stealing their products. In light of the present
situation, this seems a legitimate fear.

The competition for scarce resources sometimes
brought out a certain degree of antagonism between young
and old. Some young people envied the Poor Relief paid
to the elderly, while they themselves had access neither
to jobs nor to hand outs. Some of the more militant even
wished death upon the old. The old, on the other hand,
complained that they had contributed for most of their
lives and that the young should be aware of this and
respect them for it. They also felt neglected. The pen-
sion they received, they pointed out, was not in line
with the high cost of living. This of course forced them
to live in inadequate houses and to adapt to poor eating
habits. Many received free lunches daily from a govern-
ment sponsored programme. For many elderly this was
their only meal. Further, lunches were not served during
the weekends and public holidays. As lunches were served
at the Golden Age Club⁶, this represented a social occa-
sion and the old started gathering at the club as early
as ten o'clock in the morning. Here, they talked about
old "times", their illnesses and current events. The main topics of conversation were usually the shortage of money, and violence in the area in general and against them in particular. Some of them attended the various churches in the area, while others complained that they had no shoes or clothes to wear. Lack of proper clothing for church-going was of concern to slum dwellers as the event was seen in Jamaica as a virtual dress parade. However, the intensity of this parade differed from class to class. Many of the old did not leave the area for social visits because of physical immobility and because funds were limited. I found the situation of the old in the Kingston slum similar to that in Roberts' Guatemala study where, "older people travelled less frequently outside the neighbourhood, relied on neighbours or were dependent on others visiting them; likewise, poverty inhibited external visits because of the expenses of travel, but increased the reliance on neighbours" (1978: 143).

There was much social activity in the streets and the yards. Throughout the area groups of people of all ages gathered to talk. This provided a temporary rearrangement of social space as most people lived in one room which served as bedroom, dining room and kitchen. To add a drawing room as yet another dimension to the use
of this single room would probably be too suffocating for the families so the streets seemed to serve this purpose. People moved from group to group along the narrow slum streets forming different constellations. On such occasions, information about those shot, arrested or wanted by the police were obtained. One woman was responsible for making up the lists of those arrested and those wanted by the police. Assistance was readily given to those who needed it, and bail money was organized for those arrested. This was significant in the sense that very few offenders from the slum tended to be released on their own recognizance.

As many social scientists have noted, there is a sense of community within the sphere of crime. Young pick-pockets explained that they did not commit crimes within the area, "we don't steal from sufferers" (We do not steal from those who are suffering like ourselves). If the police questioned the slum dwellers about known criminals, they pretended ignorance. The common phrase within the slum was "see and don't see, hear and don't hear." There was also a certain commitment to the protection of the residents. For instance, a so-called healer arrived in the area and began operating his "practice." He prescribed a concoction which sent a man reeling in pain to the hospital. Instead of reporting the
incident to the police, as would be expected, the slum dwellers whipped the man thoroughly and drove him out of the area.

There are certain individuals within the slum who are respected and called upon to give assistance - these may include religious leaders or elected politicians. The councillor (alderman) was one such person. People sought him out with their social problems and he intervened on their behalf. During my research period, for instance, a woman with three children was left stranded by her husband. Lacking rent money she and her children finally slept on the streets and in the local market, and finally took up residence in the waiting room of the councillor's office. He was thus forced rather quickly to organize shelter for them. He also tried to help slum dwellers locate jobs. The slum dwellers shared knowledge about potential jobs (e.g. casual workers at a construction site). In many instances, the slum dwellers were doomed to disappointment as many of these jobs were distributed as political patronage and their chances of getting them depended on the party in power. As in slums in other areas of the world, the slum dwellers tended to discuss problems existing within the slum. There was also the added inclination to share what little material resources that were available.
The Concept of Sharing in the Urban Slums

Levi-Strauss argues that "reciprocity is of peculiar human significance in that it helps to bind individuals together on a social level and allows for more impetus to their personal lives" (1980:69-80). This was very apparent in the Kingston slum and appeared to be a consequence of social and economic deprivation. There was always someone in desperate need, and those in a state little removed from the needy person, usually felt the urge to help out. The poor gave money to beggars. It is quite obvious that the slum dwellers tend to be materially deprived, especially in the area of food, yet food sharing is a very common practice. This takes place mainly after the food has been prepared. Sometimes the sharing is immediately reciprocal, that is, some families may share prepared rice with others who have only cooked callaloo. The reciprocity may take an extended form in that an entire meal may be given and the receiver may not reciprocate until a later date. Or, a person may help with childcare and be assured of a daily meal in lieu of wages. Sometimes individuals may take care of children whenever such a need arises and the parents of these children or others may end up doing the same service for them at some other time. In his Guatemala study, Roberts (1978:151) found that many women worked outside the area
and left the children behind. These children, he points out, are left to look after themselves. I did not find this to be the case in the Kingston slum. Informants explained that they always asked someone "to give an eye on the child." There is even the case of the Security Guard who works the night shift and remains home during the day. His home is like some kind of nursery with various children being left with him. He is not paid for this and the residents do not express concern that they do not pay for his services. There is a general feeling among slum dwellers that favours will be returned in due course and not necessarily by the same people to whom these favours were offered.

Helping someone within the community who becomes ill is also a common occurrence and no one expects immediate rewards. As commonly expressed by the slum dwellers "Today fe mi, tumarrah fe yu" (each one has his/her season). For instance, a young man operates a small makeshift shop. It occupies a central position within the slum and people use it to leave and pick up messages. These messages are communicated orally. There is a marked absence of telephones within the area and he freely performs this messenger service for the community. Ganja traders give an occasional J$1.00 or J$2.00 to unemployed youths within the area. Because they buy
their products in the rural areas, they sometimes bring back food which they cook and distribute among the youths. They explain that they understand what being unemployed is all about.

Many in the slum talk favourably of Claudie Massop, a modern-day Robin Hood. He was a one time gangster - turned peace initiator who distributed shoes, clothes and money. As he had wide contacts, he also helped the unemployed obtain jobs. It is alleged that he presented a threat to politicians and on his death (he was mercilessly executed by an arm of the state), he was elevated to the status of ghetto hero. Many slum dwellers display his picture in a prominent place.

Many people in the slum smoke either cigarettes or ganja and these commodities are widely shared. People do not hesitate to break these cigarettes in two in order to share. People lend money without asking for interest when the loan is returned. Should individuals receive a kind of windfall, especially through gambling, there is a tacit expectation that these individuals should share a part of the winnings. It is customary, particularly among the men, to treat their gambling colleagues to a round, usually of white rum, at the local bar.

As the poor find it difficult to accumulate enough money to buy their food in bulk, they are
constantly shopping for the odd item that may be needed. Asking others to buy these items is very common and fits into the general reciprocity network. The women in the area also feel that it is their obligation to braid the hair of little girls left in the care of men. Men, they argue, are not expected to know how to perform this task. Some of the youths, just by virtue of their age, are recruited by the older residents to clean up the area. Cleaning up of the area has become the responsibility of the residents as the government agency, Department of City Cleansing, has neglected its responsibility. I was told by officials of that department that the workers were afraid to go into the slum area because of the violence. The slum dwellers claim that the neglect of the area is political and has to do with party constituency boundaries.

Individuals would also ask others to watch or sometimes sell items from their foodstalls. Contrary to popular belief, there appeared to be a great deal of trust among the slum dwellers. This is attested by the willingness to share and to leave items and children freely in the care of others. The residents also appeared to be fairly close-knit, much to the chagrin of the police officials who complained that they could not get their work done because of the "closed mouthedness" of
these slum dwellers. They pointed out that "even the children are part of this."

The poor within the slums are left to bear the brunt of their own survival. Further to this, they obviously propped up the high standard of living of other classes just by making do with poor living standards and working (when they could) for below minimum wages. Also, they seemed so pre-occupied with survival that they tended not to revolt against their poor material conditions. Reciprocity is yet another technique for adapting to their poor socio-economic situation. The next chapter will examine hustling, another mechanism for economic survival.
FOOTNOTES

Chapter Four

1 In the late 1950s and early 1960s, the police hounded Rastafarians. In their reports the police talked of capturing them. When the Rastafarians began taking over lands, the word captured was used to describe the process. Today, the word refers to houses and land which have been taken over and occupied without permission and without paying rental.

2 Area in St. Andrew hills said to be a haven for Rastafarians where ganja is grown and smoked freely.

3 The slum dwellers use the term for. This is significant in the sense that what is being expressed is an underlying ideology which recognizes that men want children and their status depends on their having them.

4 It is a euphemistic term for saying that the men are tired.

5 On September 26, 1979 the Kingston Public Hospital, including the Jubilee section (maternity wing) was ordered closed by the Acting Minister of Health, Ruddy Lawson. It is the main hospital for Kingston's slum dwellers. The reason given for the closure was the unsanitary conditions that prevailed. Patients reported to media personnel that huge amounts of garbage piled up in the hospital compound. During the research period, labour disputes were also rampant in Jamaica and the health service was no exception. The main reasons given were a call for higher wages and better working conditions.

The hospitals re-opened shortly. Hospital staff, including doctors, nurses and orderlies banded together and solicited politicians and private companies for money to buy paint. A total clean-up was organized and carried out voluntarily by the staff members.

6 This is not really a club in the traditional sense, it is an old dilapidated building, and its only function today is the serving of these free lunches.
CHAPTER FIVE

HUSTLING IN THE URBAN SLUM: THE ECONOMICS OF SURVIVAL

This chapter deals with the economic activities of the slum and the role these activities play within the urban economy. Because of its geographic location, the slum appears to be socially and economically separate from the rest of the urban economy. Close examination of the economic activities within the slum, however, clearly shows that most of these activities are survival techniques devised by the slum dwellers and many are structurally linked to the overall urban economy. I shall examine some of these techniques in an attempt to demonstrate that, in their very effort to survive, slum dwellers make important economic contributions to the urban economy.

Throughout this chapter, detailed descriptions of some of these survival techniques show the types of contribution the slum makes to the urban economy. For instance, the economic activities of the slum, when examined as a whole, appear to represent an informal
distribution system that is an extension of the formal one. This informal system appears to support the unemployed and the marginally employed, but underlying this support benefits tend to accrue to the capitalist sector of the economy. This latter sector is characterized by extensive foreign ownership and control of industry in the form of advanced technology and the accumulation of huge profits, most of which flow abroad to parent companies. As Manley (1974a:104) points out, "the 'commanding heights' of the post colonial Jamaican economy were, and are, almost exclusively in foreign hands. The entire bauxite and alumina industry is under exclusively foreign ownership. More than one half of the sugar industry, significant elements in the public utilities, the banking system, the insurance business and a substantial proportion of the burgeoning tourist industry are similarly situated".¹

The capitalist sector tends to utilize the slum as a reservoir of cheap casual labour and as a means of providing cheap transportation and personal services. The existence of the slum appears to keep wages down in the capitalist sector and to reduce the need for this latter sector to provide adequate social benefits for its workers. In addition, by absorbing labour out of economic necessity, the slum sector seemingly takes on a social security role. The slum also contributes to the
urban economy through the active economic participation of its members as consumers.

Jamaica's unemployment rate is steadily rising and now stands officially at 26%, namely 247,000 persons of a workforce of 949,000. The unemployment rate for Kingston is estimated at 51% (The Labour Force 1978). For the West Kingston area, with a population of 25,194, the unemployment rate is roughly estimated at 65-70% by the local officials. It is further estimated that about 75-80% of the youths (ages 17-25) in these areas are officially unemployed.²

It is difficult to establish a workable figure of the unemployed as most people do not work for a wage in the conventional sense. They do any type of odd job that might become available both inside or outside of the slum. Also, the age at which one enters the work force varies significantly as child labour is a reality in this setting. This reality of course, depends on how soon individuals can obtain work after officially leaving school or after dropping out, as members of this group generally find it difficult to obtain adequate employment. The high rate of unemployment, increasing population, the inability of the state and the private sector to productively absorb the surplus labour and the absence of any state social welfare have led the
unemployed to resort to hustling as a survival technique.

Hustling is essentially the art of eking out an existence by the application of one's wits. It represents a mixture of legal and illegal economic activities such as petty commodity production and petty trading (including the illegal sale of ganja), begging, stealing, gambling and confidence tricking. It is a form of economic support for the unemployed and the marginally employed. One reason for this is the fact that jobs are scarce and the slum dwellers are not financially supported by the state. In slum areas in other parts of the world, such as the United States, where most slum dwellers get some form of social welfare, hustling represents a supplement to income (Perkins 1975, Valentine 1978).

Most of the people within the Kingston slum refer to themselves as hustlers. For instance, when one informant was asked what she did for a living, she replied - "Madam, I hustle for a living." This was a common response, although some of these very informants considered themselves to be "unemployed." A great deal of prodding was necessary to encourage informants to be more specific about their everyday economic activities. Instead of asking informants whether or not they were employed, the question was phrased as "What do you do for a living?."
Unemployment and underemployment have been present as social problems ever since the emancipation of the slaves in 1838, for the society had made no provisions for ex-plantation labourers. With the big thrust towards developing an industrial base in the 1950s and 1960s the situation of the unemployed became even more acute. Bauxite, for instance, was discovered on the island in the 1940s and this attracted foreign investors who were interested in mining the ore. With their arrival, Jamaica's construction and transportation industries began to grow rapidly. Foreign companies involved in mining, tourism, manufacturing, finance, transportation and communications were encouraged to invest in the island in order to develop the country's productive base. Foreign investment was seen as a way of alleviating the high level of unemployment and the problems associated with it.

The link between the foreign investors and Jamaica's economy has been the local economic elite. In the area of industrial development, this elite gained the support of the state which "made a commitment entrusting the task to the private sector, limiting the role of the public sector to the provision of infrastructure and the development of a climate favourable to enterprise and in which risk taking would be less
hazardous" (Jefferson 1972:129). The elite is used to finance purchases of old firms or to start new ventures. The fifties and sixties saw the development of a major industrial sector in Kingston which manufactured shoes, textiles, clothing, leather products, cement, edible oils and fats, cornmeal, tobacco products, beverages, ice, furniture and fixtures, chemicals and chemical products, soaps and paints. Most of the raw materials for these products were and continue to be imported. In most cases, the foreign companies maintained large shares of interest in the various enterprises. This period was dubbed "industrialization by invitation" as investors were granted, and made use of, such incentives as tax exemptions for a certain period and access to infrastructural facilities (e.g. inexpensive land, industrial plants, roads, ports and the rail system). Of course, the companies had access to an abundance of cheap labour. It was hoped that the new industries would absorb most of the abundant labour power. This did not materialize since the entrepreneurs appeared to be more interested in quick profits than in the development of the country.
Effects of Industrialization on the Labour Force

Most of the industries were capital rather than labour intensive. For example, Sterling Drug International established a pharmaceutical plant in the mid 1960s, which employed between 10 and 15 people. An ITT standard electric plant opened in 1964 employed 16 people to assemble telecommunications equipment (Mays and Wheaton 1979:51). Locally owned firms often imported high technological equipment from industrialized countries rather than developing production methods which would utilize the island's abundant labour. The bauxite industry was an example of this. According to Keith (1978:12) the $300 million the bauxite companies invested in Jamaica between 1950 and 1970 created only about 6,000 new permanent jobs, and in 1976 employment in the industry stood at less than 7,000 people or only 0.6% of the labour force.

There is a tendency for the wages in these sectors of the economy to be much higher than the national minimum which in 1979 was J$26.50 per week (The Labour Force 1979). The few workers employed in the industrial sector belong to what is termed the "labour aristocracy" since they make roughly four times that of the national minimum. As an example, Stone (1977:137)
points out that "direct income earned from bauxite has developed a small group of high wage earners who have joined the ranks of the middle income spenders with a very high propensity to consume imported products." Most of these workers reside in Kingston and their consumption pattern is manifested in their place of residence and their overall high standard of living.

Similar situations occur in the major manufacturing sector of Kingston. One important finding is that despite the close proximity of the slum to this major manufacturing sector, the unemployment rate of the former remains high. A personnel officer of one of the major factories explained to me that the minimum wage in that factory is J$105.00 per week. The fringe benefits are good and the workers are unionized. Yet, the company records show that only 10% of the 1,220 employees are from the immediate slum, despite the fact that 65% of its employees are production workers such as artisans, packers, operators, electricians, carpenters and plumbers. In other words, these skills can be found within the slum but are not being adequately utilized.

Informants complain of discrimination by these big industries. They claim discrimination on the basis of their residence and see themselves as having to live with the stigma associated with slums. The stigma, they
indicate, implies that the people from these areas are illiterate, lazy, prone to violence and possess no skills. The stigma also portrays them as dutty labourites, and employers and employees do not want them in their workplace. One informant applied for the position of bus conductress in the major public transit company situated in the area and was turned down by the personnel officer. The reason given, she reported, was that because of the constant violence in the area, there was no certainty that she would attend to her required duties.

Because of the competition for jobs in the general economy, education is also used as a screening process for even the most menial types of job. Much emphasis is being placed on the Academic Certificate which most residents in the slum do not possess. The Academic Certificate entails a pass in three subjects in the General Certificate of Education (GCE) gained on completion of high school. According to my survey, most residents in the slum have never attended high school and a very high percentage of them dropped out at the lower levels of elementary school (see Appendix 5). Given the present structure of the education system in Jamaica, these slum dwellers' children will probably experience the same fate. Situations such as these aid in the
dislocation of the workers in the slum. Glasgow, discussing the daily struggles of the youths attempting to find work in Watts' ghetto, points out that:

This struggle eventually becomes highly impersonal. The teacher, the rent collector, the police are seen as symbols of exclusion and limitation, not as positive social agents. The persons causing the condition of oppression are invisible, and thus the ghetto youths come up against cold institutions and procedures, computers programmed to reject those whose 'social profiles' are characterized by having left school early and often by police records. The impersonal rejection is further exemplified by the functionally irrelevant and culturally discriminatory examinations of employing agencies. The search for jobs, then turns into a perpetual encounter with a world of institutional tricks, games and deceit (1981:82).

Most of the informants in the Kingston slum have expressed the hopelessness of searching for work. They explain that it is situations like these that force them into activities such as hustling.

There is a general tendency to view these hustlers negatively, that is, as non-contributors or at best marginal contributors to the urban economy. This is reinforced by the state's designation of these hustlers in the census as unemployed. Furthermore, many of the economic activities carried out in this sector are not recognized by the state. This could be due to the
difficulties of assessing them, the illegal nature of these activities, the pervading suspicion of this sector towards questions from the state, or the fleeting nature of these economic activities. Or, more importantly, the inappropriate economic theories used by the state officials in assessing economic behaviour.\textsuperscript{6}

The Formal and Informal Sectors

Recently, social scientists have begun to investigate the role of these economic activities within the urban economy (Hart, 1973; Bienefeld, 1975; McGee 1974). It is with this in mind that I will attempt to demonstrate that the individuals within the hustling-slum sector, in their very effort to survive, represent an integral and necessary part of the economy.

Implied in this recent literature is the notion that the urban economy is divided into a formal and an informal sector. Unlike the dualistic models that gained currency in the 1950s, these two sectors are not isolated, but interdependent. The formal is represented by the capitalist sector where most of the major industries, government offices and institutions are located. It tends to be technologically more advanced and workers' conditions are more regulated by state laws. It consists of individuals with steady jobs, such
as those occupied by the skilled and professional categories, and they tend to be better paid. Included in this sector are some low wage earners whose jobs are fairly secure such as office helpers, cleaners, plant potters at the local Botanical Gardens, domestic helpers, ward maids and porters in hospitals.

In most cases, the informal sector includes the slum areas and represents the petty capitalist sector where work is unsteady and insecure. There is a lack of large scale industry within this immediate sector. What one finds is a proliferation of petty commodity producers and petty traders. This sector provides cheap goods and services - for example, domestic service, gardening, sheet metal wares and clay goods - to formal sector residents. Having these cheap goods and services available, formal sector residents are allowed to survive on the small wages obtained from both the state and the private sector. Cheap casual work is also available to industry in the form of messengers, watchmen and push-cart carriers. It is obvious that the selling of slum dwellers' cheap labour to these industries allows the latter to make some profit. As the state chooses to ignore the fact that these activities exist, there is no official record of them. In their effort to survive on very little income, informal sector residents use
discarded objects such as old tins for pots, pans or drinking vessels. This adjustment to their sparse economic situation allows the perpetuation of these conditions.

In studying the poor, one is expected to arrive at some sort of a poverty datum level (PDL), namely the economic level at which a household is expected to survive. But, as we are aware, there are difficulties because this level cannot be determined on a strictly monetary basis. However, the president of the Jamaica Consumers' League estimated in an interview in 1979 that about 70% of the urban population manages to make J$26 to J$50 per week and that a family of four would be expected to spend about J$15 to J$20 per week on food. Furthermore, because of the precarious economic activities with which the residents of the slum are involved, it was difficult to arrive at accurate incomes since most people in the sector spent cash as soon as it was obtained. As one informant explained, "se we get it - a so we spen(d) it." (We spend the money as soon as we obtain it).

Most of the people in the slum sector are self-employed in occupations such as tailors, dressmakers, mechanics, sheet-metal workers and plumbers. They are now experiencing a crisis in business due to the high rate of unemployment and the constant outbreak of
political violence (when the shops are forced to close due to the shooting and general commotion). Many of the businesses that still stand after the looting and arson are permanently closed. The few in operation consist of small grocery shops, cabinet makers, tailors and shoemakers. There are a few corner shops and a few rum bars and a brothel. One finds an abundance of small food stalls because individuals do not need much formal education in order to operate them. What is required for such enterprises is a certain amount of initial capital. For instance, consider the case of the 25-year old man whose parents died in a car accident when he was 15. This person began hustling by cleaning cars, selling toothbrushes, combs and brushes, shoe laces, shoe polish and mirrors in a hand-tray in the local market. He said that five years ago he got tired of this hard life and built a makeshift shop in front of his yard where he sells cakes, bread and cold beverages. This man, who has two children (ages four and six), clears J$20 per week. His baby-mother makes and sells woolen caps on the streets close to the market. She clears about J$15 per week. This tenuous lifestyle is fairly typical of most of those living in the slum sector. From interviews and observations, one can deduce that most live a life with a history of layoffs and setbacks. They seem to shift from
one form of hustling to another in order to barely survive.

People seem to change jobs in the hope of bettering their material conditions. It is apparent that they do not realize that their situation is structurally determined and that such shifts are a mere form of horizontal mobility. This lack of consciousness about the reality of the situation is beneficial to the urban economy as long as these informal sector dwellers do not realize that their changes in hustling patterns are related to market forces controlled by the formal sector. It is within the formal sector that decisions are made as to whether or not certain types of industries will be created. The hustle sector is dependent on goods from the formal sector. If through state policies these goods become scarce or flood the market, the hustle sector is adversely affected. For example, when the state declared a restriction on the importation of consumer goods, the small scale hustlers were virtually displaced by the large scale hustlers who were able to afford involvement with the costly foreign blackmarket.

Many individuals complain that business is bad in the area since most people are self-employed and operate on irregular incomes. As one tailor remarked "when people not working, I don't get any work either."
There are cases where dressmakers who would normally buy material and make a stock of clothes for sale have slowed down this process and are now asking their customers to bring their own materials. They complain that the clothes are stockpiling in their homes with no one able to afford to buy them. Another couple who made clothes and sold them at the local market complained that those who can afford to buy clothes nowadays prefer foreign-made clothes. As Jefferson indicates:

Consumer resistance can also be a factor retarding the expansion of secondary industry. There may be distrust and disbelief in the quality of domestic as compared to foreign products. This has certainly been a factor in Jamaica during the post-war period. Sometimes the grievances have been real - at other times, they have been based on nothing more than the belief, usually existing in colonial or newly independent countries, that foreign goods are inherently superior. Grievances regarding quality tend to be magnified when the locally produced commodity is substantially more expensive than the imported product - whether this arises from small scale production or undue exploitation of a capital market by the local manufacturers (1972:128).

A part of this attitude appears to stem from the preference for foreign consumer goods that manifested itself during the 1950s with the introduction of modernization.
Most of those 65 and over are dependent on Poor Relief, which amounts to J$5 per week and is their only source of income. Their children who may live in the area sometimes help out by preparing meals for their parents. This is an added task as many of these children are themselves not doing very well financially. Others have relatives abroad who occasionally send them remittances. There are still others whose children have neglected them. Many of them are bitter, saying that they did everything for their children, who now ignore them in their old age. This complaint stems from the traditional ideology that children are expected to look after their elderly parents. One could argue that this ideology allowed people to accept low wages, while pinning hopes on their children for future social security. They worked hard at menial jobs and sent their children to school with the belief that the more educated their children were, the greater security they themselves would have. Yet, ironically, higher education tends to alienate the children from their uneducated families. One informant tearfully explained that "Me scrub people dem dutty clothes all me life jus fe dem and look how dem treat me now." (All my life I scrubbed the dirty clothes of others just to see them through and now I am ignored.) She was referring to her two grown sons who became
well-educated, migrated to New York and now completely ignore her. Their father left home while they were quite young and the mother brought them up on her own by various types of hustling.

Neglect by educated children is quite common. It has further ramifications for Jamaica in that many highly trained people migrate after completion of their training. Some social scientists (Henderson 1971, 1972, 1973; Buchannan 1975; Hawkins 1976) have noted the gains of the "brain drain" to advanced western countries, arguing that countries of origin have expended huge amounts of capital training these people, with the benefits, in the long run, accruing to advanced countries.

The Reproduction of Children - The Struggle for Survival

Many women depended on financial support from their baby-fathers, support which was never regular since most of these baby-fathers were hustlers with insecure incomes. As one informant remarked, "Me can't count on him money" (I cannot rely on his money). In many cases, the man has fathered many other children whose mothers also expect support. Support tended to be more secure when the father lived with his baby-mother. Although a woman may have children for several men, she
may live with each of these men at different stages—a sort of serial monandry. The most frequent explanation given by the women in these relationships is that they expect financial support from their baby-fathers. Some women pointed out that if the baby-father does not prove himself after a couple of years by supporting his child or children, they move on to someone else who promises more hope. Sometimes, they noted, what looked hopeful turned out to be otherwise. Other women observed that men were anxious to have children immediately. They were not regarded as women if they could not produce a child. Womanhood was therefore appropriately displayed by producing children. Women complied with the male's wishes because having children was the only way they could expect some form of financial support.

This underlying ideology produces more and more children but with the unemployment rate on the increase, less children are being supported by their fathers. This situation tends to force the children into various forms of hustling at a very early age. There is the case of Miss A from household 88:

She is 36 years old and was born in the area. She worked as a domestic for about six years after leaving elementary school at age fourteen. She has six children for three different men. Their ages are 17, 15,
14, 11, 7 and 5. She has no steady support from the first two fathers. Support comes mainly through the children asking their fathers for specific things. Or, if these fathers encounter the children on the street, they might give them J$5 or so. She lives with the father of her last two children. He earns about J$30 per week and gives her J$10 per week as "house-money." He pays the rent of J$1.20 per month (they live in a government tenement) and she does not know what he does with the rest of his money. He makes aluminium pots and sells them in the market. Sales of these pots are very irregular. She begs for food, clothes and money from people around the area. Her seventeen year old daughter is six months pregnant and unemployed. She claims to be looking for an office job. Her baby-father to be is also unemployed. The fifteen year old boy carried loads in a push-cart in the market and makes about J$15 per week. The 14, 11, 7 and 5 year olds attend school very irregularly. The 14 and 11 year olds beg ten cent pieces at various street corners inside and outside of the slum. They spend a lot of time away from school as they do not have the "proper" clothes, nor the money for lunch. Miss A has tried to get a domestic job but without "any luck." She washes clothes for some young men in the area and makes about J$8 per week. Her sister
is a higgler and lives in the area and occasionally supplies her with yams, bananas and plantains. Sometimes their meal consists of rice and callaloo. Many evenings they consume bread and *bush-tea*. Miss A pointed out that she would like her children to get "good" jobs and cannot understand why her 17 year old daughter, who finished elementary school, cannot get a job. They live in a room and a half in a tenement yard. She used to be a member of two *pardnas* when she worked as a domestic but can now only afford one. She pays J$1.00 per week and *draws* J$15.00 every fifteen weeks. The money is mainly used to pay for food bought on credit from the local shop. She begs clothes for the children and sometimes receives clothes from the Catholic church in the area. Although "de people dem nice", she does not like living in the area because of the hardships entailed. She feels that she would be better off with a job - "something fe do fe bring in likkle more regular money." (A job that results in a regular wage.) She is also very concerned about the violence in the area.

This case is fairly typical of the situation within the slum. People's hopes and aspirations do not appear to bear any relationship to their structural conditions. That is, their ideology is not a result of their existential experiences. For instance, the
dominant ideology is that things can get better with a job, another job or a better job, seemingly defining their marginal existence merely in terms of the money they can earn.

It is not unusual for a woman to have five children with five different men. My survey revealed that one man had 16 children with eight different women. Men appear to want children to reinforce the common notions of masculinity, whereas women seem to want them in order to gain financial support from the men. Because the two viewpoints are not necessarily inconsistent, children are the inevitable result. Children appear to be ignored by their fathers soon after birth. One 32-year-old informant who has three children three different men and has not worked in three years, states "de pickney dem father give money wen dem jus born, but like a cuss a luck, dem always lose dem job likkle afta. By de time dem get nex job dem fine odda woman dem."

(Newly born children are usually supported by their fathers. Maybe it can be attributed to bad luck that their fathers tend to lose their jobs soon after. To make matters worse, by the time they obtain other jobs, they also tend to form new relationships with other women.) Among slum dwellers, there is a strong dependence on fate, hence the tendency to blame their
circumstances on luck. Luck manifests itself in various aspects of their lives. For instance, the possibility of a steady job is so unusual in this setting, that many slum dwellers refer to persons holding such jobs as being lucky. They constantly console themselves with the words of a Jamaican proverb, "puss an dawg no ab de same luck." (Luck differs among people.) This deterministic outlook on social life carries over into personal relationships. One informant's baby-father left her shortly after their sixteen year old daughter became pregnant and the expectant's baby-father lost his job as a nightwatchman in the interim. The mother, in relating the situation to me, summarized it as, "bad luck wuss dan obeah" which literally means, bad luck is worst than witchcraft. To interpret bad luck in this manner in an area where witchcraft is often viewed as extremely disastrous, gives a clear indication of how such individuals feel about their misfortunes. Some of my informants have indicated that "if bad luck follow me all de time, den me look fe (h)elp." (A series of misfortune is a signal to the individual to seek spiritual help.) Help is often sought from one of the faith healers. Help may come in the form of a bath where the client is bathed in oils and herbs. This is viewed as a purification of the body in order to rid oneself of evil spirits, and
many are warned not to have a regular bath for about ten days so that the oils can seep into the pores. Some informants joked about the strong scent of the oils, claiming that they often found it embarrassing as everyone would be aware that they had consulted a faith healer. Consulting a faith healer when one is experiencing "bad luck" is not unique to the slum, though it appears that slum dwellers seek help more frequently than non-slum dwellers. This probably stems from the fact that witchcraft represents such a significant part of their lives. Embarrassment seems to arise because many are ridiculed by the rest of Jamaican society for believing in the Devil rather than in God. They are referred to as pagans. One healer informed me that should she receive a case in which witchcraft is suspected, she subtly tells the client that "dis is not a doctor problem." (This is not a case in which to use Western medicine.) She claims that the client will know what she means by this response and will make the necessary arrangements to seek further help from someone versed in the art of Obeah.

Members of the middle and upper classes have difficulty in understanding why the women from the slum continue to produce many children when they seem unable to support them. It is commonly accepted by these groups
that the women are promiscuous, particularly as they have children for several men. In my experience, there was never a case in which the woman lived with one man and had a child for another man during that period. On the other hand, it was quite acceptable for men to father children with different women at the same time.

Baby-fathers explained that if their past baby-mother were living with another man, they did not worry about supporting their child as they knew that the man, if he is a man, would look after the children of his baby-mother if the real father could not afford to do so. Many baby-fathers said that they were willing to look after the children of other men. Some indicated that if they were aware that the fathers were capable of looking after their children and were not doing so, they would definitely not support those children. Those men who could afford to do so, sent money to their baby-mothers for child support on a regular basis. It was found that even though monetary support was not always regular, many mothers encouraged their children to ask their fathers for material things such as shoes, clothes and books. Sometimes this was done strategically. For example, realizing that their baby-fathers were in a bar drinking and/or gambling with friends, some mothers would send their children to approach their fathers. Embarrassed
that their friends might consider them incapable of supporting their children, many of the fathers would either give money or make promises to the children. Some fathers, embarrassed at not having the money, would insult the children and send them away, but this situation was more rare.

Such a network of relationships appeared to alleviate some of the economic problems faced by many families in the slum. This was particularly so because the opportunities available to men, in terms of hustling, appeared to be greater in general.

Most of the literature pertaining to poor black families in the United States and the Caribbean, implies that these families are headed by females and that there is something pathological about this arrangement since it goes against the norms of standard European families. Some social scientists have described the social arrangements in these families as matriarchal, but I find this an inappropriate concept. The tendency to equate female-headedness with matriarchy is due to the fact that "headedness" is interpreted by most Western social scientists as a household structural arrangement that involves the presence of a dominant adult, usually a male. Because the female has a strong presence in the household does not necessarily make such households female-headed. In
the case of the Jamaican slum the females are economically dependent on the males, mainly through child support. What appears to have eluded many of these social scientists is the underlying economic structure that keeps these families as a cooperative unit. For instance, Valentine (1978:124) in her Blackston study, did not find female-headed households a very common feature. She states:

For reasons related to welfare eligibility, such households are often over-reported to welfare workers and other official collectors of statistics. Work, welfare and hustling must be combined in order to secure a minimum level of income for poor black families. Welfare is not available legally to mothers and children who have an employed or employable male in the household. Therefore men in Blackston avoid being reported to the Welfare Department and are often "missing" when outsiders compile official records, take surveys, or complete censuses. Women and children help to hide the men, who are often working, hustling and functioning as husbands and fathers. Men of all ages go unreported, but young adult males who are hustling, avoiding the draft or anxious to avoid official scrutiny for a multitude of reasons make up an especially large proportion of the "missing" men reported by the census analysts, the urban league, and other interested in Black community statistics.

In the case of the Kingston slum, the situation of missing fathers manifested itself in a different way since social assistance is not a reality among most of the members of this section of the population. Fathers
appeared *missing* because of their residential patterns. It was common for men to have fathered children while living somewhere else, sometimes with their primary families or with other women and their children. Yet these men tended to contribute financially to the household in which their children lived. There were a few cases of *missing* fathers who worked as migrant labourers in Florida. The mothers indicated that support through remittances was fairly regular. Important decisions concerning the household took into consideration the fathers' ideas.

There were cases of *real* fatherlessness, in which mothers stated that they had not seen or had support from their *baby-fathers* since the birth of their children. Fatherlessness has also manifested itself in the slum as a consequence of the high incidence of political violence; many young fathers are shot and killed by the police or by opposing political gangs. A 25-year-old woman with seven children for seven different men, had four of her *baby-fathers* killed by the police. The problem is exacerbated since one man shot by the police may be the father of several children with different women. The problem surfaces when these women turn up at the Poor Relief Office, seeking emergency assistance for their children. As one Poor Relief
Officer explained, "sometimes three women come into the office at the same time claiming assistance for their children on behalf of the same man. The best we can do is give assistance to the woman who brings in the death certificate."

As stated by one informant, there are a reputed one hundred and twenty children in the area under the age of six who are fatherless. Many women in the area have vocalized this as a problem in terms of financial support and are very worried about the economic future of their children. They complain that the children are forced to go out and work too early. The Chief of Police for the area estimated that there are about another three hundred men from the area in the prisons for sentences varying up to ten years. The main charges are illegal possession of firearms, robbery with aggravation and grab and flee which includes purse snatching and items of jewelry. This leaves the women who are very dependent on these men in a financially precarious position. Many have resorted to various forms of hustling. If they have already been hustling, they increase their activities. Those who are unsuccessful in doing this tend to resort to begging, stealing, or prostitution. For instance, one informant indicated that after being laid off her factory job for over two years she began selling small items such as
soaps, hairpins, hairbrushes, ribbons, shoe laces and shoe polish. To keep this going she began borrowing money which she could not repay. Realizing her failure she began begging, first friends, then strangers. Not being able to cover her financial commitments she resorted to what she termed "go wid de man dem fe money." Prostitution among slum dwellers appeared to be a last resort and involved not only single women but young mothers as well. Such informal economic arrangements appear to relieve the state of any responsibility for this segment of the population in terms of the provision of welfare payments.

The Role of the Informal Sector Wage Earner in the Formal Sector

A few people from the slum are officially employed in the formal sector as labourers. This includes casual work such as gardening, carpentry, domestic work and hospital service occupations. The wages for these workers are extremely low, for example, J$15 per week for domestics. Some informants resort to scuffling, robbing from the workplace. The rationale is similar to that for white collar crimes, that is, it is justified because of the low wages. The essential difference is that the items end up in homes as a
supplement to household budgets or are sold or given away. Hospitals and private homes are the main targets, and food the main commodity stolen. Some ward maids explained that they have direct access to food and they take it because there is always a surplus. The situation reached such a peak in one major urban hospital that security guards were put on special alert for scufflers. Some domestics also explained that they take food from their employers' homes because their pay is small and the quantities they take are small and thus not easily missed. They point out that some employers are nice and give them food and even clothing. This serves as a way of distributing food and clothes which are expensive commodities in the slum areas. Here again we find the slum dwellers utilizing stolen or unwanted items to satisfy basic material needs. The nice label could aid in buffering any conflict that might arise over the payment of low wages. It could be seen as a way of stabilizing cheap labour since employers tend not to encourage rapid worker turnovers because it decreases productivity. In essence, the worker could probably confront the employer regarding the low wages, but this whole process is masked in niceties.

The contribution of the slum dweller is again significant in that he or she sells his/her labour
cheaply to the formal sector, both private and public. Cheap domestic labour permits middle class housewives the time to sell their labour within the capitalist sector. It also tends to free them from these domestic chores, thus upholding their comfortable lifestyles. Many of them work as office clerks, saleswomen, accountants and bank tellers.\(^8\)

In the classic capitalist sense, the worker is paid a subsistence wage. Many members of the slum are not regular wage earners, but they maintain a presence that is beneficial to the capitalist sector by being a constant reminder to the regular wage earners that, should they lose their jobs, others are only too ready to take them. This fear is commonly expressed by many slum wage earners in the statement, "mi caan afford fe lose mi wuk, too much vulture dem out de" (I have to protect my job since so many unemployed people are waiting to take it.) This feeling also appears to prevail with wage earners outside of the slum since many of them seem very well aware of the high rate of unemployment among the urban people. It also should not elude us that the hustle-slum sector of the economy is crucial to the capitalist class in that it provides a constant supply of cheap labour which can be retained and dispensed with at any time suitable to the employers as a form of social control.
Lack of Social Consciousness as a Form of Social Control

Some residents in the slum who have reached the age of 65 and are unemployed receive Poor Relief benefits in the form of J$20 per month from the Kingston and St. Andrew Corporation (see Appendix 6). The able bodied among them hustle for extra cash. This includes washing cars, gardening, laundering and/or ironing clothes for people in the formal sector. The income derived from such services is minimal but it aids in sustaining the casual worker. It also appears to give the informal sector workers the feeling of self worth. This feeling was manifested in their strong desire to do any kind of work, expressed in the statement "any job is better than no job at all." From interviews, it appeared that many people expended a great deal of energy in trying to find work or complaining about the lack of it. This process could act as a mechanism of social control in that the slum dwellers did not seem to regard their situation as one that was socially produced. Although there was much blame placed on the government, the people did not organize themselves to confront what they perceived to be the problem (i.e. lack of adequate jobs). What I found among the slum dwellers was a high degree of competitiveness and individualism. For example, one informant who made and sold paper bags commented that other women
in her yard also made the same type of bags and stated "me fine de competition stiff, mi jus a fe (h)urry fe mek de bag dem fe carry dem fus dung a de market before de odda woman dem." (Finding the competition stiff, I have to hurry to make the bags and make sure to be the first to take them to the market, long before the other women.) This same type of competitiveness was manifested among petty traders of other products, such as fruits, biscuits and cigarettes.

A few slum dwellers were employed as Special Employment workers at a rate of J$24 per week and as Supervisors at J$34. This programme was instituted by the Prime Minister in 1972 as a means of alleviating the problem of high unemployment. A prerequisite for obtaining one of these jobs was membership in a political party. Both major parties had been allotted a certain number of these jobs. There was a high degree of political favouritism involved and these will be discussed in detail in Chapter Five. The programme has been strongly criticized by the public as non-productive and blatant waste of tax-payers' money. However, in delving below the surface, it becomes clear that these job holders tend to serve the interest of the politicians who are very closely linked with the economic elite (many of them originated from this class and are still active
within it). Again, this entire programme can be seen as a method of social control. In the slum, the programme has been organized in such a way that an individual could hold one of these jobs for six months or so. One effect of this is that people were either working in the programme or expected to work in it. In this way, there seemed to be a feeling that something was being done for them or that something would be done for them eventually. Many people expressed how helpful the programme had been in terms of the income it provided and some expressed the wish that more jobs of this type should always be available. This programme represented the *proverbial* government jobs of the slum.

**The Blackmarket Economy and Dependence on Foreign Consumer Goods**

Some people in the slum received small financial remittances from relatives abroad. It appeared that most of this money did not get to the local banks but sold on the "blackmarket" at twice or thrice its value. During the research period, "blackmarket" in money was a thriving business for hustlers since the government had placed certain restrictions on foreign currency. Clothes sometimes were received from relatives abroad and these too were sold at phenomenal prices in
order to obtain ready cash. Informants stated that these clothes were sold mainly outside the slum areas and that the cash from these sales, along with cash obtained from the blackmarket in money, was invariably spent on food and rent. Some informants claim that sometimes, rather than selling foreign items directly to formal sector consumers, they sell them to vendors (many of whom are from the informal sector) who trade in foreign goods, that is, they travel abroad to get their products. This type of trade is part of what I have termed the international hustle which sprang out of the foreign exchange crisis. This crisis created shortages of many consumer goods to which the Jamaican people had grown accustomed. This trade is conducted directly in front of stores for middle class shoppers in middle class shopping malls. The local term for this business is Bend-down Plaza. This term is apt. Lacking shoe fitters and stools, customers have to bend down to fit their shoes. Because the trade is illegal, informants state that they must make huge pay-offs to customs officers. Many others without such contacts find that they have to pay fines of up to J$5,000 to the state or risk the confiscation of their goods. This was verified in an interview with the chief government official in charge of fees and confiscations. Here again, one finds the informal sector
hustlers contributing to the formal sector through the customs officers. In the case of the Jamaican economy, we find that such networks also help to perpetuate the dependence on foreign imports, a dependence beneficial to foreign capitalists, especially those involved in the import trade.

The Role of Absentee Landlords in Perpetuating Slum Conditions

Some people in the area work as rental agents, that is, they collect rents on behalf of absentee landlords who live in the formal sector. According to these agents, the landlords, who are afraid to go into the area, will pay them a minimal fee to do so. Even though the agents may have to return to the tenants a number of times to obtain the rent, the landlords do not recognize this as part of labour time. These agents are not treated as employees; they are paid fees rather than wages, much to the financial benefit of the landlords; nor do the landlords take into account the risk factor in a violence torn area. Here we find the rental agent being exploited because of his/her circumstances.

Others in the area are able to survive mainly because they have refused to pay rents. This is an aspect of capturing which means finding empty lots or
empty houses and taking them over. In this sector, refusal to pay rent after being a tenant for a while is more common than outright capturing. Many of the younger people are involved in the capturing process and their motto is "no work - no rent." Capturers appear to be similar to the paracaidistas of Mexico, the favelados of Brazil and the rancheros and conqueros of Venezuela. Throughout, the notion remains the same, people descending on empty land. Resorting to capturing is a way of coping with the situation of high unemployment because rent is a necessary financial obligation that takes a good share of a family's extremely precarious income. Many of the pickpockets in the slum live in captured shelters. The state tends to ignore the issue of the housing shortage and since the poor have devised some sort of shelter, the state is not pressured to house the poor.

Housing the poor has never been a profitable enterprise and with encouragement from the industrial capitalists who control the construction industry, the Jamaican state has always catered to middle income housing. There have been cases where housing projects have started out as low income, but end up as middle income because, after completion, the costs of down-payments and mortgages are too high for the low income
earner. In an interview with an official of the Ministry of Housing, it was pointed out that the housing minister realized that the low income earners were not being catered to. However it was argued that the government needed economic input from prospective home-owners and for many of the poor this was difficult since small scale hustling and scuffling formed the basis of their income. For instance, with the Sites and Services programme partially financed by the World Bank, the required weekly income of prospective buyers was J$20-J$30 per week. After construction, the minimum required income rose to J$50.

The Ganja Trade

Ganja (marijuana) trading is an illegal economic activity carried out in the slum. It brings in the most lucrative income and the small scale traders live in constant fear of the legalization of the product. They argue that such a move would throw small hustlers out of an income. They see the trade as a viable alternative to unemployment and with the demise of the trade stealing would be the only alternative. One of their most immediate fears concerning legalization is the fact that ganja trading has become a big business and has entered the international sphere, bringing in an
estimated J$244 million per year. Because of its illegality, the government does not get any revenue from the ganja trade. At the present time, most of the profits go to foreign buyers through the local big scale hustlers from the formal sector who act as brokers in a network which involves peasants as producers and urban small scale hustlers from the slum areas as distributors. According to Barrett:

The cultivation of ganja requires a rich, well cultivated soil. The seeds are sown in nurseries and transplanted when the seedlings are from seven to twelve inches tall. They are then manured with expensive fertilizers and carefully attended for a while. The plant is then cut, stripped of its leaves and its flowers, and dried. This is then placed in a box or bags for sale in large or small quantities. The gardens are located in inaccessible mountains, mostly "crown lands" and known only to those who cultivate the fields. The sizes of some of the gardens would suggest that the average Jamaican cultivator is only a middle man, hired by someone who can afford the seeds and the fertilizers and remains in the background, away from the dangers of raids. This is not to say that many local Jamaicans do not engage in cultivating the herb; for many of the hill peasants this is their only way of making a living. The larger portions of cultivated gardens are financed by some big operators and to a lesser degree by the local hillites (1977:135).

Because of the risks involved, some distributors complain that they could end up with a court case, a fine or sentence and a criminal record. As
indicated earlier, most small scale hustlers see this trade as a viable economic alternative but explain that they feel trapped by the legal system.

This international trade in ganja also perpetuates external dependence because it is illegal and allows for control by foreign capitalists. According to informants, these "foreigners" own their own planes and operate from landing strips throughout the island. During my stay in Jamaica (1978-1979), it was reported at different times in the newspapers and over the radio stations that four Cessna aircrafts had crashed. Each aircraft was reported to have enormous amounts of ganja and, in each case, the aircraft was registered in the United States, with the pilot carrying United States identification cards.

This trade is allowed to continue since everyone involved in the network makes some profit. The local big scale hustlers represent the main connecting link to the international traders and tend to make more profit than the local distributors and producers. This is reflected in their expensive houses and cars and their numerous vacations abroad. As Barrett further implies:

The demands are so great that the risks involved are outweighed by the profits to be gained. One field of ganja successfully reaped is enough to make a poor man relatively wealthy. The cultivation of the herb is so
wide-spread that it will be another two years before the police will have a chance to raid this area again (the one he visited). In that time, several poor peasants and some big operators can safely buy homes on the hills overlooking the blue waters of the Caribbean (1977:135).\footnote{9}

Ganja is not only used for smoking. A wider market exists which includes those who use the product as a form of tea or tonic for medicinal purposes. A strong belief of many informants is that ganja is a good cure for gas (indigestion), arthritis and various other ailments. In the treatment of asthma, for example, young ganja suckers are picked and placed in a bottle. White rum is poured into the bottle which is corked and buried underground for six months. As indicated by informants, if the asthmatic takes one teaspoon of the content every morning for six months, "that's a sure cure." Another form of tonic is to pour white rum or port wine onto the dried ganja leaves. Taken regularly, it is believed to build up energy in the individual. As a tea, it should also be taken on special occasions. As far as I am aware, this usage has not been challenged or discouraged. Hence, there is always a demand for the product.

The Rastafarians also use ganja in their religious rituals. They smoke it in a chillum pipe which is passed around among a group of people. This aids in meditation. As membership in the movement is increasing,
one can also expect an increase in the demand for the product. This will be much to the advantage of those in control of this commodity.

Petty traders in the slums obtain their supplies from local distributors. On many occasions one observes these petty traders rolling rounds, joints, or spliffs and regular customers dropping by to make their purchases. The ages of customers range from 14-50 and both males and females are included. Distributors travel to the countryside to buy ganja from the growers. Their main complaint is that big time local entertainers are involved in the ganja trade. Because the price is high on the international market, the price on the local market is pushed up. They claim that growers are now asking J$60-J$65 per pound, an increase of J$10. They state that they can ill afford this, because at J50¢ per round, they can hardly make a profit.

Because of the illegality of the ganja trade, many petty traders operate from their homes. There is the case of the 50-year-old informant who claimed that he had been thrown into jail 27 times on charges such as breaking and entering, assault, ganja trading, robbery and murder, but had never been convicted. He is a ganja distributor and also operates a "shop" from his home where he sells beer, cigarettes and ganja. Like other
distributors, he obtains his supplies from outside the slum. He also gives a dance at his home once a month during which he sells his products. In addition, his house is used for gambling on a regular basis. He claims to be a big time gambler and boasts of his association with the gamblers in the formal sector. Given this, it is not difficult to see the myriad ways in which the slum dwellers contribute to the urban economy, although this contribution tends to be shrouded by the notion that the economic activities of the slum dwellers are solely for their own aggrandizement.

The Urban-Rural Connection - Myth or Reality?

In some post colonial societies, many among the poor supplement their income with homegrown food or are involved with various networks whereby the urban poor obtain food from relatives in the rural areas (Meillassoux 1972:103). Homegrown food was not a reality in the slum sector, the major problem being a lack of space, for the area suffers from chronic over-crowdedness - 56 persons per acre (Urban Growth and Management Study 1978:31). A very small percentage of the residents grew callaloo, an all season vegetable. A few people had perennial plants in their yards such as ackee (a vegetable) and lime trees, the yields of which were
consumed both by the owners and others in the neighbourhood. Not only were the limes used for a lime drink (referred to as lemonade), which was basically the substitute for milk in the slum, but the leaves were used as tea by some of the residents who indicated that they could not afford other types of beverages such as imported teas, ovaltine, milo, or chocolate.

Most of the foodstuff consumed in the slum was bought either directly from the formal sector or indirectly from the petty traders or small shops in the area. Some local foods, such as yams, bananas, potatoes, fruits and vegetables, are produced in the rural areas and are distributed through the local market by rural higglers. Most of these higglers are women, and some are wives of farmers who bring the farm products to market. Others may be non-farming individuals who buy their products from farmers within their communities and take these to market on specific market days. Higglers, on their arrival at the urban markets, either sell all their stock directly to urban higglers on a wholesale basis or on a retail basis (over a two-day period, Friday and Saturday) to urban consumers and petty traders, most of the latter being residents of the slum. (See Katzin 1973:3-25 for an informative account of the life of a country higgler.)
Over the market period, many important social and economic exchanges occur. The network whereby the urban poor obtain food from relatives in the rural areas did not appear to be a very dominant feature in the slum sector since many of the residents were either born in the urban area or lived there for a long period of time and thus lost their rural connection. For the few involved in this rural-urban network, assistance consisted of food such as yams, bananas, coconuts and potatoes. Only on very rare occasions did food gifts consist of meat or vegetables, which were usually received when the rural relatives visited. These visits lasted two to five days, depending on the availability of time, finances and room space. Informants stated that when they visited their rural relatives, they informed relatives and friends in the urban area who in turn had relatives and friends in the rural areas and they were given gifts to distribute. Gifts included such items as shirts, skirts, pieces of dress materials, pant lengths, ties, socks, blouses, shoes, cakes, sweets, bottles of syrup, handkerchiefs, ribbons and laces. Some informants stated that they took messages or letters to rural residents from their urban counterparts.
The most common excuse of the residents in the slum for not visiting their rural kin on a more regular basis was the cost of transportation. During the time I did fieldwork, the transportation cost had increased twice (this was related to the rise in gas prices). Those who could somehow find the fare for the trip complained that they had no money to buy gifts for their relatives. One informant expressed a common feeling that "a can't go down to see the old people empty-handed." (It is an embarrassment to visit one's parents without taking gifts.)

Other types of networks have been devised by those who cannot afford visits. For example, many slum dwellers stated that they would go down to the bus depot (West Street) and awaited the trucks and buses that arrived from the rural areas on specific days. Here they sometimes received packages or messages from their friends and relatives in the rural areas. On departure days, if they had packages or messages to send to their relatives, they would go down to the depot and give these to friends and relatives to pass on. Katzin found similar arrangements in another area of the city:

A few miles farther on, the driver pulled up for a short stop at Papine Corner. No passengers boarded or left the truck, but it was immediately surrounded by friends or relatives of the
passengers who had come to receive or deliver messages or packages. Miss A's eldest daughter, who was attending secondary school in Kingston and boarding at Papine, met her mother, chatted with her and received a basket of produce. Miss A regularly paid a part of her daughter's boarding charge with food (1973:15).

Sometimes these exchanges took place at the local market (Coronation) where the slum residents would meet their rural kin who were higglers in the market. On numerous visits to this market, I observed that the interactions were not always straightforward buying and selling but were mixed with a certain amount of social activity as relatives hugged, kissed and passed on messages. Economic exchanges consisted mainly of food from the rural higglers, with the urban dwellers giving gifts of clothing or other haberdashery articles. Sometimes the exchange of pardna money took place. At times, the rural higglers not only brought in pardna money for themselves, but for other rural residents as well. Through all this, much hustling occurs as petty traders ply their wares in loud voices and pickpockets and con-artists mingle among the crowds.

At the end of the marketing period, the rural higglers returned home loaded with gifts for themselves and other relatives and friends. It was also customary on the return trip for the higglers to buy groceries and
other household articles and items that people have asked them to purchase:

Then Miss A and Mamie took leave of their friends and left the market for the first time since their arrival the evening before. They carried their baskets to a Chinese-owned grocery store on Heywood Street near the truck stop, where they put them down. Mamie was left to guard them while Miss A went to the counter to buy her groceries for the week. The stores, sidewalks and lanes were thronged with country people buying and waiting for trucks. Miss A bought sugar, flour, rice, cornmeal, salt, mackerel, salt codfish, condensed milk, Ovaltine, coconut oil, bread, butter and cheese. She also purchased groceries for neighbours. Since school was in session she bought supplies for the school kitchen as a favour to the head teacher (Katzin 1973:21).

Most of these networks can be seen as techniques for survival. The poor rural higgler sells his/her products to obtain cash in order to buy cash items such as shoes, clothes, or to pay land tax. This is done through the exchange of rural and urban goods.

The network also extends to the merchants who cater to the slum dwellers and poor rural residents. Most of the profits made from the rural products are used to buy groceries and other household articles from formal sector merchants who operate in slum areas. Some of these higglers are given money by their rural neighbours.
in order to buy some of these consumer products. This network becomes most beneficial to the merchants in the sense that rural higglers pay the transportation cost to get to the market. By taking back consumer goods to the rural area, they indirectly act as distributors for these merchants. Overhead costs for the merchants are incurred in one place, the city, but they do not have to concern themselves with constructing rural outlets since the rural higglers facilitate this process. The rural higglers therefore serve as advertisers and buyers for the merchants. These networks tend to persist as they also satisfy the needs of the poor.

Although this is an elaborate network, not all slum dwellers are part of it. As Meillassoux (1973:105) points out, for the permanent residents who have lost their rural connections, the functions of satisfying basic economic needs tend to be fulfilled by urban mutual aid associations.

The Partners Network

Many residents were involved in various mutual aid associations: for instance, many contributed to the church burial fund. In an interview with the deacon of the United Holy Church (Revivalist), she stated that members paid dues of J25¢ per week. There was also a
financial monthly offering of whatever amount individuals could afford and regular fund raising functions such as dinners and film shows. This money was also put aside for special funds, such as family emergencies.

One of the consequences of the violent political climate in the area was the frequent shooting deaths of young male slum dwellers. According to my main informant, a special fund had been organized by some concerned citizens to help the families in these situations. All workers in the area involved in the Special Employment Programme (a government sponsored project controlled by local politicians) were required to contribute J$1 per week to this fund. Another form of mutual aid was the Partners (pardna) network in which a significantly high proportion of the residents (about 80%) were involved. It is seen as a form of compulsory savings and operates on an informal basis. It takes the place of regular banks, which were visibly absent from the immediate area. A similar kind of network has been found in Asia, West Africa, other Caribbean islands and the South of the United States. Geertz describes the network as follows:
The basic principle upon which the rotating credit association is founded is everywhere the same; a lump sum fund composed of fixed contributions from each member of the association is distributed, at fixed intervals and as a whole, to each member of the association in turn. Thus, if there are 10 members of the association, if the association meets weekly and if the weekly contribution from each member is one dollar, then each week over a ten week period, a different member will receive ten dollars (i.e. counting his own contribution). If interest payments are calculated by one mechanism or another, as part of the system, the numerical simplicity is destroyed, but the essential principle of rotating access to a continually reconstituted capital fund remains intact. Whether the fund is in kind or in cash; whether the order the members receive the fund is fixed by lot, by agreement or by bidding; whether the time period over which the society runs is many years or a few weeks; whether the sums involved are minute or rather large; whether the members are few or many and whether the association is composed of urban traders or rural peasants, or men or women, the general structure of the institution is constant (1962:241-263).

Throughout Jamaica, it is not an association as such, but a network, since members do not necessarily meet collectively to give their contributions. In each network, there are a number of throwers and a banker. The throwers are the contributing members and the banker
is responsible for the management of the network - that is, for collecting each hand (amount of money the thrower is required to pay each time) and passing the lump sum (the draw) in turns to the various members. Each thrower is allowed a turn at getting a lump sum (draw) once in a series. A series consists of the total amount of throwers. For instance, if the network operates on a weekly basis and fifteen throwers are involved, then the series lasts fifteen weeks. Some of these networks last for years with more or less the same membership. In such cases, at the end of the series the last person to obtain a draw becomes the first person to do so in the second series and the process keeps reversing itself. Within such stable networks, should one person decide to drop out, he or she usually introduces a new member to take his or her place. The banker, who is usually a woman, must be a trustworthy person and have a permanent address so that he or she can be found at all times (Katzin 1958: 436-440). Members feel a strong obligation to stay within the network because failure to do so could lead to loss of credibility within the community. For instance, on one occasion, about ten women were gathered in the street cursing loudly and close to blows. The gist of the argument was that one woman did not have her pardna money and this was complicating matters for the network.
The woman was very nonchalant about the whole affair and said that she did not have the money and that they could do whatever they pleased. A crowd began gathering, with various people putting in a few words here and there for or against the woman. According to one woman "everytime she is in a pardna, she pull off the same stunt, we should kick her out of all pardna roun' here." The crowd picked up on this and decided to blacklist the offender from all such networks. Situations such as these are avoided since most individuals are extremely dependent on the community for social and economic support. This is evidenced by the lengths to which people will go in an effort to obtain their pardna even if this means borrowing, begging or sometimes stealing.

Some throwers are responsible for more than one contribution within the same network. One reason being that some members can afford to pay a higher contribution but, rather than raising the amount of the basic contribution and possibly excluding others, they tend to make more than one contribution. Each contribution is called a hand. Three hands within the same network is usually the maximum for one thrower. Some throwers are simultaneously involved with other pardna networks within the area. For instance, one informant stated that she throws three hands of J50 each per week in three
different *pardna* networks within the area. She obtains her *draws* at three different times. This type of financial organization is fairly common and tends to allow money to spread over a longer period within the household. This is significant since incomes from odd jobs tend to be irregular.

Many of the residents are involved in networks which operate on a daily basis rather than on a weekly one. Some residents *throw* hands as little as J20¢ per day. This correlates with the hustling pattern around which the sector is organized. The amounts thrown on daily bases are usually small and many informants state that these draws are spent mostly on food.

Each *thrower* has fixed goals for his or her *draw*. Petty traders tend to use their draws to replenish their stocks with items bought in the formal sector. This is also a common feature among women who trade in the markets of the Guinea Coast countries. "They also sponsor all sorts of social activities - excursions, picnics, evenings of singing and drumming, initiation ceremonies, and the decoration of former members' graves" (Clifford and Ross 1971:45). Other goals relate to the purchase of household or personal items, children's clothing, books and shoes. As most of the goals are related to consumer purchases and oriented to the formal
sector, the contribution of the slum sector to the formal sector becomes apparent. Because of the nature of these goals, they are continually striven for, keeping the process fairly constant.

**Petty Commodity Producers and Traders Versus the State**

Added to the difficulties of obtaining capital to replenish their stocks, petty traders are forced to contribute to the state through the purchasing of licences to operate in or near the marketplace. On numerous occasions, the state apparatus has tried to rid the streets of these petty traders, but these traders have always persisted (McGee 1979:45-65). In Kingston, there appears to be a constant conflict between the traders and the state concerning licences to trade on the streets. In response these petty traders have formed the Jamaica Association of Higglers (J.A.H.). In an interview, the President stated that the association came into being after she had heard the Minister of Commerce announce over the radio that "he was going to get even with the higglers." A few days afterwards the Prime Minister said that he was going to take over Heywood Street, where higglers abound. One explanation for these statements could be that the government felt that, due to the scarcity of certain basic commodities, higglers were
overcharging consumers. The higglers argued that they were being reasonable and felt that they needed an association in order to protect themselves. The Opposition Party supported their move and today they have a membership of 1,000. Each week they meet and contribute J$1 per week towards a special fund which is kept in a commercial bank in the formal sector. The petty traders are also planning to become unionized in one of the country's two major trade unions. Here again, dues will be collected.

So far, the major reason for hustling in the slum appears to be lack of formal economic opportunities. Competition for scarce resources thus becomes accelerated. The capitalist ideology, a dominant feature in the society, does not exclude the residents of the slum sector who demonstrate this by their attitudes towards the economic activities in which they are engaged. Because this sector emphasizes individual achievement there is a proliferation of street traders selling such small items as fruit, cigarettes, matches, sweets, biscuits, ganja concealed in cigarette packets, combs and any other small items that carry an exchange value. Since so many individuals are involved in petty trading, often selling the same types of products, the competition appears fierce and tends to keep down the
prices of various articles. The persistence of this situation demonstrates the plight of the slum dwellers.

Many vendors do business at or near their gates where they set up little stalls. Throughout the area one observes several food stalls, containing bananas, coconuts, potatoes, cho-chos, pumpkins and other foods. These stalls usually appear to be left unattended. At the approach of a potential customer, however, someone appears from a nearby yard to offer assistance. These stalls are commonly run by women who state that they prefer to operate from of near their gates as they can stay indoors and get some housework done rather than sitting idly outside just waiting for customers to come by. Many other vendors find it more profitable to sell their wares in or around the local market since the area attracts consumers from nearly all parts of the city. Most of these petty traders buy their products from rural higglers or from merchants around the market area.

Some slum dwellers are petty producers. They are mostly men who work as sheet metal workers, tailors, shoe-makers and carpenters. Some women are involved in dressmaking and paper bag making. These petty producers all buy their products from formal sector merchants. They make products that are usually essential and
affordable to the poor in the slum sector\textsuperscript{13}, although some low-paid workers in the formal sector also seek out these products. For example, the sheet metal workers make products such as washing pans, bath pans and some kitchen utensils. Many of the sheet metal workers complain that they find trading difficult because their material is difficult to transport and they do not receive transportation services from the merchants. There is the case of the sheet metal worker who, although he operates from his yard, complains that he is at a disadvantage because he had to leave the immediate area to get material. He also has no means of rapid transport and has to hire a push cart, which is quite slow, so he wastes a great deal of time that he says could go into production. As they all buy their products from formal sector manufacturers, they present a ready market for these manufacturers while at the same time relying on these manufacturers for their own survival.

Similar situations of dependence were witnessed in the form of a sort of \textit{ou‐work} system disguised as petty commodity production. For example, within the immediate slum area there is a small garment outlet consisting of one large room, that was started with money raised from the 1978 Peace Concert.\textsuperscript{14} It employs seventeen women from the area who hand embroider patterns
onto factory-made blouses. According to these women, it takes two to three hours to do one blouse and they are paid on a piece work basis. Some of the patterns are painted on, and two of the women are also painters. Painting takes approximately the same amount of time as embroidering and the painters are also paid on a piece work basis. They also make canvas handbags and linen diapers with materials either supplied from a large textile mill or bought from a Woolworth's store, both located in the formal sector. The finished products are sent to a large garment factory in the formal sector and distributed at exorbitant prices. The wages of the women vary from J$9 to J$20 per week. Roberts (1978:116) sees this situation as common in underdeveloped countries. He points out that the self-employed worker or small family enterprise is often dependent on merchants or large scale enterprises that provide the capital or the materials. These large scale operators sell the product in their own shops or use it to complement their own production (e.g. a shoe factory may commission outworkers to trim shoe leather).

There is also a small chicken farm with about three hundred chickens. Four young men from the slum operate the farm but people from the community sometimes help at no charge since it is seen as a community
project. They also help to slaughter the chickens, which are sold to a large livestock company in the formal sector. They are now in the process of building a bigger coup with the help of volunteer workers drawn from the community.

Here we see a large scale enterprise from the formal sector utilizing a sort of "out-work" method in the sense that many members of the community are involved in the production process without being paid. This is allowed to happen because the chicken farm was also started under the auspices of the Peace Concert, which basically meant that everyone should become involved with the development of the community. The young men are also planning to start a pig farm based on the same method as the chicken farm. They will be using lands owned by one of the councillors of the area. The people in the community were quite enthusiastic about these projects and talked about them as progressive steps. But as Allison McEwan-Scott indicates, petty commodity production "is actually promoted by dominant forms of capital which have a preference for obtaining surplus value directly through the creation of factory based wage labour (1979:123). Roberts (1978:114) argues similar cases for Latin America. McEwan-Scott further points out that the petty producers are the risk takers. They are
"often the ones who bear the cost of innovation, adapting production to new circumstances quickly and ingeniously, with capitalist production only entering the field when the possibilities of mass demand have been opened up" (1979:124). An example of this is the sky-juice, a cold beverage of sheared ice and fruit syrup the trading of which began with petty producers and traders. Part of this trade has been transformed into *Kisko* trading. *Kisko*, a similar but better packaged product, is now produced in the formal sector with distribution carried out solely by petty traders, most of whom are young children from the slum sector. The two trades are now in competition with each other.

**Hustlers as Important Contributors to the Informal Distribution System**

Hustlers tend to create jobs for themselves and sometimes for others - such as the higgler who hires the handcart pusher to take his/her load from the truck into the market. This labour creation appears to be of great significance as it helps in the absorption of labour in a labour surplus economy. Hustlers also tend to make use of discarded materials, mostly obtained from the formal sector. For example, tires discarded by car owners in the formal sector, are sold in bulk to entrepreneurs in
the slum area who rebuild them into strips to make hand-cart brakes. A new cart is sold for J$75 or rented at J$2.50 per day by a few enterprising hustlers who own a fleet of these carts. Cartmen, whether they own or rent, use carts mainly for transporting food from market trucks to stalls in the market. The charge is J$3 per load. For a small fee, these carts are also used as 'moving vans' to transport small household items such as chairs, tables and stools. Some carts are portable stores used to transport foodstuff which are sold directly from the carts. What one has to realize here is that hustlers are assisting in services which, if undertaken by the state, could prove to be quite costly.

Vendors selling empty bottles also find these carts useful. One informant, for instance, leaves home at six o'clock each morning, pushes his cart eight miles outside the city, buys bottles along the way and resells them to the bottling companies in the formal sector. The recycling of bottles cuts the purchasing costs that would go into new bottles (expense to the bottling companies) and also assists in the sanitation process within the city. Done in such a casual way, the bottling companies are not responsible to the labourers in terms of regular wages or fringe benefits. This informant also uses his cart to deliver packages for various business establish-
ments. Instead of receiving a steady wage from these establishments, he gets a *small* (tip) for each delivery. On the whole, he makes from J$7 to J$12 per week. He has been in business for fifteen years. The dray, with two old car wheels at the back and pulled by a donkey, is not very prevalent in the city, but it is a means of cheap goods transportation. It is often owner operated. There are the *robots*, which are cars, minibuses and vans used as illicit means of public transportation. Most of these are operator owned, although some owners may hire them out at a percentage of intake. Most hustlers from the slum are *sidemen* (conductors) on these robots and earn a small fee. Many cannot afford the cost of being owner operators, although a number of them aspire to this position. Hustlers also operate at bus depots where, for a small fee, they obtain passengers for various bus drivers.

Some hustlers make essential goods such as bath pans and graters by hand and many of these are sold cheaply to people both inside and outside of the slums. If the production of these goods were organized within factories, profits to the factory owners would be minimal.

There is the case of the wood carver who collects scraps of wood from cabinet makers in the area,
who buy the wood from outside the slum. He sells them in other parts of the city, particularly in the tourist areas since tourists tend to have expendable capital and purchase more readily. Hustlers such as these not only create jobs for themselves but, because foreign tourists are attracted to their handicrafts and eventually make purchases, also bring in some measure of foreign exchange. They are also involved in work that others would find non-profitable.

Paper bag making is a common type of hustling. Its usage is similar to that of the plastic bags used in produce markets in North America. The local bags are produced by individuals or by a family network, mainly involving women and children, with the children playing a full role in both production and distribution. According to McGee,

... the existence of a large petty production and distribution sector characterized predominantly by family employment is important from the point of view of the bureaucracies of the Third World states because they cut down the need for social welfare investment. This means more capital can be invested in areas which often directly benefit the capitalist sector (1979:55).

Although family employment in this sector of Kingston is not as predominant as in other Third World cities, the production process is similar and the need for social welfare investment is obscured.
Sugar bags and cement bags are bought in bulk from various companies in the formal sector and the petty producers make these into smaller bags. Some hustlers scrounge around and use their wits to obtain other bag materials. One hustler who volunteered her services to the church to help with the distribution of charitable food, said she collected the empty bags, free of charge, for her own bag making production. The process is very competitive since each bag sells for only J10¢. A high level of productivity and good timing with the marketing hours are therefore essential for survival in this business.

Notwithstanding the individual effort for survival in the slum sector, it is the general belief of formal sector residents that those in the slum are unwilling to work and that this is responsible for the high crime rate. It can be argued that there is a correlation between the high crime rates and unemployment because some slum sector residents appear to have given up the official search for work and have resorted to such illegal activities as stealing and gambling. Some hustlers have expressed a willingness to work officially but say that opportunities do not exist. They see themselves as being socially and politically victimized. As stated by one informant: "Yu jus go out looking fe wuk
and wen yu tell dem wey yu live, dats the end a dat."

However, living within a cash economy where economic opportunities are scarce encourages alternative ways of obtaining money. Stealing is common. It is concentrated mainly among the young, although there are a few older people involved. Some 65 years old and over, dependent on Poor Relief benefits, find them inadequate for their needs. Consequently, there is a tendency for older people to steal food from the market for personal use. This is such a prevalent situation that just like conventional business concerns, many regular higglers include loss by theft in their pricing mechanisms.

Other hustlers steal fruits such as mangoes, guineps and plums from the nearby cemetery and from neighbours. Most take these products to the market or sell them on the streets and use the earnings to buy cash goods. This is a very competitive form of hustling and many hustlers pick the fruits before they are properly ripened just to ensure a supply of the goods.

The 14-18 year old male youths indulge in a grab and flee style of robbery. This involves grabbing items such as gold and silver chains and bangles, mainly from middle income groups, and running off. They do this because of the urgent need for cash in their households. The youths explain that there are jewellers in the formal
sector who buy these stolen items at very low prices. Some of the youths explain that they sometimes try to sell the stolen articles themselves in the formal sector in the hope of getting a better deal, but they recognize the danger. The longer they keep the hot items, the greater the risk of getting caught. In the whole process, benefit accrues to the jewellers in the formal sector who use the youths as go-betweens. It is entirely possible that the jewellers are making double and possibly triple the purchase price on these items.

Young women in this age group are also involved in stealing but they tend to specialize in shop lifting from department stores. They mainly steal children's clothes and sell them in the slum sector, using the returns on these to buy food and personal items from the formal sector. Some steal textiles for making dresses which they then sell. These female shop lifters dress fairly well, operate on regular working hours, change spots between uptown and downtown and operate mostly in teams. In operation here is a redistributive system involving food, clothing and other personal items. Money, which is the mediating force within this system, is ultimately spent within the formal sector.

Older men in the 20-35 age group argue that
pick-pocketing is more lucrative for them than the grab and flee style of robbery. It also takes a certain amount of skill. They point out that one has to dress and look like uptown people to avoid being suspected even before the crime is committed. They prefer to carry out their business uptown because uptowners carry around more money. They work at their trade regularly from Monday to Saturday, starting around 10 a.m. and ending around 7 p.m. Some work in the downtown areas, others mix pick-pocketing with food stealing or gambling. Some take breaks from pick-pocketing to get into petty trading and producing, such as the making and selling of sky-juice, other fruit juices, or ganja trading. Some of these pick-pockets operate along the beaches on Sundays where many middle income Jamaicans and others congregate for most of the day. The money earned is used mostly for the payment of rents. One should be reminded at this point that the situation of the absentee landlord means that most of these landlords live in the formal sector so again the money accrues within this sector.

Begging is another common form of hustling which is carried out by the young and the old, the fit and the handicapped. The reasons given for begging range from personal misfortunes to criticisms of the state. Typical begging techniques are requests such as buy me a
lunch or the performance of such symbolic activities as wiping the windshields of cars for ten cents. Youths from the slum involved in this activity stand at traffic lights with the tools of their trade - pieces of dirty rags. Most of these youths come from homes where their earnings represent a significant contribution to the household. Although child labour is illegal, there is a technical problem here because the state neglects to recognize hustling as a form of employment. The very fact that the children create their own jobs takes the pressure off the state to find jobs or to give social welfare to unemployed adults.

Experienced beggars tend to roam around the city, although they have specific spots where they feel assured of earning some money. Ruiz-Perez (1979) found this to be the case among beggars in San Cristobal de Las Casas in Mexico. Handicapped beggars tend to stay in specific spots because of difficulty with mobility. Beggars manage to eke out an existence within the slum sector where many of the residents are very sympathetic towards them. Some say that they encounter hostility outside the slum where they are often sworn at or told to go and look for work. Again, begging is sometimes mixed with other forms of hustling such as stealing or petty
trading. Some people also beg to make up their contributions, especially when they run into difficulties at a crucial point within the network.

Gambling, which is strongly tied to the notion of luck, is another activity that is prevalent in the slum sector and allows for some measure of income redistribution. Stone sees gambling as "a parasitic form of capitalist exploitation that involves no productive activity and operates on the periphery of the main sectors of organized economic life" (1977:58). For some of the residents, gambling becomes not only a daily routine but an addiction. Men, women and sometimes children are involved and, although most forms of gambling are illegal, there is a certain degree of openness. Set up at various street corners are gambling tables of crown and anchor, dominoes and bingo. This represents small scale gambling, the winnings of which go mainly towards buying food for the household. The hustlers are the owners of the tables, and the ones who control the games and the money. In most cases, these owners are involved in more sophisticated forms of gambling carried out in the formal sector. Once again, we see that the money is made in the slum and spent in the formal sector.

Other forms of gambling such as the racing
pools (the state obtains revenue from this) and Peaka-
peow and drop-pan (see Appendix 7) are controlled by
groups of people in the formal sector. Dreams, which are
an important part of Jamaican culture, play an important
part in these gambling activities with each gambler's
dreams, or aspects of dreams, translating into a
particular number. For example, to dream of a funeral
ceremony translates into number seven. The reason for
seven is not really known but that number is held to be
lucky. If that number is played, the dreamer is
satisfied with the translation. If, on the other hand,
the number is not played, the dreamer makes a rationali-
zation. For instance, it could be that he/she did not
select the important aspect of the dream for
translation. Since dreams tend to vary in content, one
finds that individuals will often consult neighbours or
friends to get some advice. These consultations are
usually in the mornings and suggestions are made
concerning what various aspects of the dreams might
represent. Some people will put bets on the dreams of
others along or without the dreamer. Some dreams are
considered to be omens. In this respect, many dreams are
interpreted in opposites, for instance to dream of death
signifies a birth in the family while a wedding signifies
a funeral. To dream of silver signifies a financial
failure, while copper means a success. It is quite an experience to watch the serious facial expressions of the people involved in these interpretations. The process symbolizes a way of life. A group of wealthy Jamaican-Chinese monopolizes *Peaka-peow* and *drop-pan* (Stone 1977: 60). For *Peaka-peow* the numbers are in Chinese characters. Regular gamblers believe that the "Chinaman" is scared of the "Dreamer" and the "Fool." The rationale behind this is that the "Dreamer" is often too sure of himself/herself and the "Fool" never loses because he/she does not think logically anyway. Looking from the outside, one can see that the "Dreamer" is self deceived – that is, since the "Dreamer" places bets with an agent of the "Chinaman", the "Chinaman" never really knows or probably never cares whether the placer of the bets is a fool, a dreamer or a gambler. So what we see here is that the rationale for winning is located within the mind of the gambler.

**Afro-Jamaican Religious Traditions: Survival Through Ritual**

African religion is alive in Jamaica and one finds it everywhere. It influences the individual's conscious and unconscious acts. Sorcery is a practice parasitic to many religious practices, and the aspects of
Obeah presented to me by my informants are but one small stratagem in Afro-Jamaican religious practices which has its own functions. The slaves brought the craft with them from Ghana and practised it in Jamaica. Over time, the word has been transformed into Obeah, but the process has apparently remained the same. Barrett describes Obeah in Jamaica as:

... part of the whole belief complex of the folk religion. It is associated with quarrels, jealousy, tension, frustration and the malaise of uncertainty brought about by the political, economic and social interaction of people who live in a small scale society without adequate scientific techniques and lacking such things as proper medical services (1976:76).

He argues further that although witchcraft occurs within developed countries as a consequence of political and economic upheavals, it tends to be a "temporary indulgence" while in Jamaica it is "an ever present fact." Its dominance within the slum supports Barrett's viewpoint. It is common knowledge that in the slum, the art of Obeah continually competes with Western medicine. Its support base continues to grow.

The harsh economic reality experienced by slum dwellers is often interpreted as a curse and the individual consults an Obeah specialist if he/she feels strongly about a particular aspect of a curse. Curses are usually perceived as being placed on an individual by
others. The rationale for such an action varies immensely, the most common being a perception of jealousy or envy on the part of others. The curse can manifest itself in many ways. For instance, in the slum, when petty traders and producers discover that their trade has become unsuccessful, it tends to be immediately interpreted as the work of others who have consulted a spirit medium (Obeah specialist) and placed a curse on them. The art of Obeah, is carried out by Obeah-men and Obeah-women who are said to be closely in touch with the spirit world. They are specialists in harming others through "psychic powers, the evil eye, threatening words, the curse; or the use of magical objects such as eggs, the phial, powders, lizard's tail, and alligator's teeth" (Barrett 1976:73). They claim to be capable of knowing which spirits are operating on whom. They also claim that they have the capacity to tell who has employed the spirits and the damage these spirits are capable of doing. They believe that they can counter these spirits. The Obeah specialist is thus the provider as well as the taker-away of the curse, although there are cases where some Obeah specialists only place the curse and folk healers remove it through the use of herbs and certain rituals. These specialists are paid to perform both tasks. They also give prescriptions, sold in the
formal sector drugstores, for the *cure* of curses. Most of these prescriptions call for the mixture of various herbs which is carried out by the local druggist who understands the language of folk medicine. Some of the clients are persuaded to buy items such as *special* rings and necklaces to be worn as protection against the evil spirits. They can pay up to J$100 for these protective devices. It should be pointed out that many believers will go to any length practicable to obtain money to buy these talismans.

The slum dwellers who believe in the occult tend to be so obsessed with the notion of spirits that just about everything in their daily lifes is related to them. For instance, there is the case of an informant who developed an ulcer on his leg, which was wrapped with a dirty rag. He explained that he had been to several doctors but received no help. He visited an *Obeah-man* who told him that someone had *obeahed* him because the person envied him for his business, a very small shop. He paid one cent for his initial visit and J$3 for each dressing. His ulcer was dressed twice per week for four months. He had a concoction in a small bottle labelled "High John-the-Conqueror" which was prescribed for him by the *Obeah-man*. He claimed to have a vague idea of the person responsible for his condition. Others who have
consulted Obeah specialists have also indicated that they were told who the culprits were. The descriptions have always seemed vague and could apply to just about anyone. Many of the informants expressed their faith in the Obeah specialists and felt that they were envied because they were making progress in the community and people in the community do not like to see others prosper.

This strong belief in the occult pits the residents of the slum against each other and inhibits any possibility of them recognizing their situation as socially produced. This is understandable in view of the large groups of blacks, especially those outside of the main stream economy, who have very little influence over their destiny and continue to rely on a quasi-African religious framework (Inter-culture - 1983) for meaning in their lives. One could suggest that this prevents a more organized form of political protest. Belief in the occult also acts as a mechanism of survival as it provides hope to individuals. This hope is sustained through the notion that there is someone out there, the Obeah specialist, who will explain and remedy the troubling condition.

An economic aspect also underlies the ritual process of Obeah. Individuals are not usually cured on
the initial visit, creating a kind of dependence on the specialist who dispenses prescriptions and charges a fee for each visit. The druggists in the formal sector are also an integral part of this process as they make a point of knowing the language of folk medicine, which for the most part is translated into that of patent medicine. Having this knowledge, the druggist is assisted in the type of merchandise he/she carries. Since most drug stores are privately owned, the individual druggist is in a position to monitor profits.

What I have attempted to demonstrate in this chapter is that given the structural setting of the slum (e.g. the migration of population from the rural areas and from other parts of Kingston, natural population growth and the inability of the city to absorb new labour), a surplus of labour is inevitable. Since this surplus labour offers the formal sector cheap personal services, cheap goods and transportation, it is unlikely that attempts will be made to eliminate it. It also benefits the private sector and the state since it cuts down on overheads of employers as well as welfare costs.

The problem is double-edged for members of the slum sector because they have to survive and in their effort to do so, they find themselves making important contributions to the urban economy, an economy that con-
sistently ignores their needs. Many examples of these survival techniques have been given in an endeavour to demonstrate the contribution of slum dwellers to the economic growth of the formal sector. It has been argued that although the slum sector is dependent on the formal sector in terms of productive materials, the formal sector is also dependent on the slum.

Since from time to time the growth of the formal sector requires adequate supplies of cheap labour, it tends to develop at the expense of the slum sector. The slum is dependent on the formal sector but, like Davies (1979:89), I see the relationship between the two sectors as asymmetrically symbiotic. The slum is dependent on the formal sector for its social, economic and political existence. The formal sector, on the other hand, tends to thrive economically on this dependence. It also has the capacity to inhibit the slum from developing. Decision making and dominance of the productive forces tend to reside in the formal sector, thus allowing it to easily exploit the cheap labour from the slum. Given the subordinate dependence of the slum, the relationship between the two sectors is clearly asymmetrical.
FOOTNOTES

Chapter Five

1 In 1976, the Jamaican government, through an agreement with the major bauxite companies, took control of 51% of the bauxite mining operations. See Hu Gentles "Jamaica and the bauxite companies: what the agreements mean" (1978)

2 In government terms, "officially unemployed" refers to persons not working for wages or salaries. For the purposes of this study, anyone who does something for a living whether he or she receives a wage or not is considered as employed. It is interesting to note that slum dwellers have internalized the official notion of "unemployed"

3 Except for some people over the age of 65 or temporary relief for younger people in cases of emergencies, such as the death of a financially supporting relative

4 This is a derogatory term used for members of the Jamaica Labour Party. This party started out as a workers' party and even though it has transformed to cut across class lines, the old stigma against workers remains

5 The education system in Jamaica reflects the class bias in the society. Up until 1972 most high school students had to pay school fees which systematically excluded most children of working class background. The post 1972 reform of "free education for all" is still consistent with the class distinctions and this is embedded within the selection process. As one informant summed up the situation, "the only free education in Jamaica today is in poverty and hunger"

6 Jamaica still uses economic models appropriate to the advanced capitalist countries in analyzing its economic situation. One therefore finds in existence historical biases as to which economic activities are included in national estimates

7 The author was not specific with the location of this slum but described it as a "named" district of a large northern city in the United States
FOOTNOTES (Continued)

8 Though these activities do not produce surplus value (profit) they do aid in the realization of wealth in the sphere of circulation (i.e. the buying and selling of commodities).

9 On many occasions huge houses have been pointed out to me by local residents with the comment "that is ganja money" implying that these houses were obtained through the profits from ganja trading.

10 West Street is the major connecting transportation link to other parts of the country. Here, hustlers, especially con artists, abound. Many are attracted to the perceived naivete of the rural people. Here too the movement of people is so fast that hustles are made very quickly. There are also legal hustles, where a hustler gets passengers for certain drivers and is paid J50¢ for each passenger obtained. These hustlers are mostly men and they carry out their trade by wooing passengers to the comforts of the trucks, buses or vans.

11 This is the largest of Jamaica's 87 state owned markets. It is the centre of the internal food distribution system and the one place where all types of trade from all parts of the island may be found. Surrounding the market are many wholesale stores carrying mainly household articles, clothes, food and shoes, many of which are imported. There are also a few drug stores. These stores are operated by merchants mainly of Chinese, Syrian and Jewish descent. They all reside in the residential areas of the formal sector of the city. Thronging the streets are various wooden stalls carrying the same types of goods that can be found in the wholesale stores, but these are sold on a retail basis. All the operators of these stalls are black and most live in the surrounding slums. As these petty traders buy their goods from the wholesale stores and retail them to the consumers, they represent a steady market for the wholesalers.

12 A "gate" is the common entrance to the tenement yard with each yard having a number of individual "family" units.
The availability of these inexpensive products is important as it allows the poor to survive on their small hustles. It would also appear that access to these goods inhibits conflicts between the sectors.

Concert organized to unite the two urban slums that were violently divided by party politics.

The grater is included as an essential household item since it is used for grating coconut, a product used extensively in the Jamaican diet.

See Orlando Patterson's *The Children of Sisyphus*, (1964), for a vivid description of drugstores that carry such prescriptions.
CHAPTER SIX

POLITICAL TRIBALISM AND VIOLENCE IN THE URBAN SLUM

Strong affiliation to one or other of the two major political parties and subsequent political violence are distinctive to the Kingston slums. It is commonly conceptualized as political tribalism\(^1\) and I shall treat it as a consequence of the reality of structural unemployment, a common feature of dependent capitalist societies.

Political Polarization as Social Control

Grounded within the urge to survive among the Kingston slum dwellers, is a tendency to depend on local politicians socially, economically and politically. What appears to develop from this relationship is a more extensive configuration of economic hustling in the form of political patronage. Although political patronage tends to be pervasive in dependent capitalist states it certainly is not unique to them. In his book *Plunkitt of Tammany Hall* (1963) William Riordon graphically describes
the system of political graft in New York City. The main character, George Plunkitt (1842-1924) was a ward boss of the 15th Assembly District and one of the most powerful men of Tammany Hall. These ward bosses came from poverty stricken backgrounds.

It explains their drive, their tenacity, their willingness to work around the clock, and their fierce desire for a share of riches and respect. Politics was a way out of the slums. In this way Tammany was equal to the Catholic Church's hierarchy as an engine of social mobility for gifted, ambitious Irish-Americans who lacked the capital, the educational advantages, and the connections of the sons of established families (Riordan 1963:xvi).

The difference within dependent capitalist states is that political patronage tends to be central to mere survival and therefore deserves special attention. It tends to be an exchange of political support for material rewards, such as jobs, loans and intervention with the police (Leys 1971:119).

In the case of Kingston's slums, political support is exchanged or expected to be exchanged for basic material rewards, such as jobs, small financial gifts for everyday survival, clothing and food. Food distribution is the most common of these rewards and one political party has earned the name salt fish and flour party. Apparently, this party has undergone some
changes for today they are referred to as the *tracksuit* party. It is alleged that they distribute tracksuits to those faithful to the party. Since the other main party is in power, it controls jobs and it is these which become items of patronage. Loyalty to the party thus appears to be of paramount importance to the slum dwellers as party politics appears to be inextricably linked with earning a living. This loyalty also tends to be exploited by the politicians whose main aim is to obtain or retain political power. With the politicians exploiting the slum dwellers' struggle to survive, one finds a strong tendency towards party polarization.

Party polarization is a feature of Jamaican society as a whole and one suspects that it has its origins with the emergence of contemporary Jamaican politics which began around 1938, when labour confrontations swept through the island (Stone 1973, Manley 1975, Post 1971, Brown 1979). At that time politics appeared to have polarized around two charismatic leaders. One led the Jamaica Labour Party (JLP) which was concerned with workers' rights and was conservative in outlook. The other led the People's National Party (PNP) which tended to attract professional workers of the middle class and articulated an adherence to Fabian Socialism. Over the years alliances have shifted back and forth cutting across class lines and at times concentrating in
specific geo-political areas. Today, certain slums are dominated by one or other of these political parties. For instance, the majority of the people in the Denham Town slum strongly support the Jamaica Labour Party. I was informed that during the 1976 elections only one person voted for the contending party. It was jokingly rumoured that the individual was unable to read the names on the voters' card. The majority in Trench Town, the adjoining slum, strongly supports the People's National Party. Members of the two political parties are in constant conflict which results in riots and overall tension. There is very little freedom of movement between individuals of the two slums as they fear being labelled traitors. As indicated by one informant "Buzzie was from over ya, but (h)im join de odda party and dem use (h)im fe point we out to dem. A so plenty a fe we people dem get kill." (Buzzy belonged to our party but he has now gone over to the other party which is using him to inform on us. It is through this process that many of our party supporters get killed.) During my field work, I visited slums of both political orientations and on several occasions was enveloped by fear as to how my role as a researcher would be perceived. Would I too be seen as a traitor or spy? The voyeuristic nature of the social sciences does suggest spying. But
should I be accused of such, would I be willing to accept it? These were some of the questions I pondered as I submerged myself into the politics of the slum.

One possible consequence of this concentration of party supporters in specific areas appears to be political party rivalry and violence. The degree of political patronage appears to differ according to class membership:

As could reasonably be expected, the patronage seekers make up a significantly large percentage of the less affluent strata, particularly the lower white collar workers but the level is unusually high among the small businessmen class who are extremely dependent on contracts and concessions from the state. As has been found in other measures of political behaviour, there is a sharp difference between the lower and working classes in their dependence on state patronage. The impoverishment of the lower class forces it to constantly seek out political patronage for survival (Stone 1973:80).

The politicians appear to manipulate this dependence. This is manifested in the promises of jobs to the unemployed and a programme of better schooling, housing and health care. Belief by the slum dwellers in these promises tends to gain political support for the politicians, a support which seems necessary for their career stability. A case in point is related to
housing. In 1966, major parts of the slum were bulldozed and although some new housing was created, it certainly was not enough to absorb the slum population that had been cleared. This bulldozing opened the way for squatter settlements which appeared to be the best solution for many individuals who had lost their homes. So far, there has been no systematic information about the social impact of this massive slum clearance, but verbal response to its outcome displays some political overtones. Many informants of differing political persuasion have claimed that houses were handed out to individuals actively affiliated to the political party that had initiated the slum clearance. Some have pointed out that politicians built "little empires of control" in the process of housing the slum dwellers. Others have pointed out that the distribution of houses represented a fair deal, wherein the concept of first come, first served was used. Although these allegations could not be verified, it was observed that these so-called empires of control tended to have a concentration of people belonging to one party or another and there also appeared to be a strong allegiance within these empires to party leaders. This allegiance manifested itself in the tendency of individuals to expend a great deal of energy fighting political battles. These battles appeared to be
in the interest of politicians and in the long run are counter-productive in terms of any type of amelioration of the poor material conditions in which the slum dwellers exist.

A more recent case displaying the manipulation of the unemployed of the slum is related to the misuse of the special employment programme. This programme began in 1972 when

...the aggregate unemployment rate in Jamaica stood at 23.6 per cent of the labour force, having declined steadily from 13 per cent in 1962. While it had been traditional to implement Special Works Programmes throughout Jamaica, especially prior to major holidays, the Government recognized that ad hoc seasonal works programmes were unlikely to make an impact on the unemployment problem either in terms of numbers of persons affected, man days of employment created, or contributions to national output. The Special Employment Programme has therefore been devised in response to this need" (Ministry Paper 38, see Appendix 8).

The jobs within this programme involve trimming the sidewalk trees, sweeping and removing silt. The common complaint among average Jamaicans is that these jobs are non-productive and represent a waste of taxpayers' money. In an interview (May 30, 1979) the Mayor of Kingston informed me that "the aim was to get the unemployed into the programme, and in the meantime train them in various skills for work in the big
companies. The big companies do not cooperate with the government so we are forced to keep people on the programme who should have moved on to more permanent employment, thus allowing others to participate". This could be interpreted as the official ideology of the programme since in reality the situation differs significantly. As the director of the programme in the Kingston and St. Andrew Corporation indicated to me in an interview, the amount of work given out in a particular area depends on the density of the population. On the surface, this seems to be a reasonable proposal. Yet, as I was later to learn, party politics tend to emerge during the selection process and a prerequisite for becoming a worker in the programme was that one should be a full-fledged member of one of the two major political parties. Members of the ruling party stood at an advantage as this party controlled 70% of these jobs while the opposition party, dominant in this slum, controlled 30%. This was verified by the local councillor in the Denham Town slum. Possibly because of the nature of this selection process (i.e. its link with the political parties), these jobs quickly became enmeshed within the political patronage network.

Many informants within the slum have expressed the feeling that affiliation to a political party is
absolutely necessary if one expects to be considered for any jobs that arise. They outwardly express this affiliation by regular attendance at party branch meetings. Their presence is also felt at party functions and public demonstrations. Examples of this were the island-wide road blocks organized to protest the high gas prices, and the demonstration against the incumbent Cuban Ambassador, both orchestrated by the Opposition Party. Equally represented at these demonstrations are party supporters from the other major party, members of which stage counter attacks. The reverse is the case when demonstrations are organized by the party in power.

In discussions with informants it becomes apparent that they dislike the manner in which the system of patronage operates but feel a sense of hopelessness as there does not appear to be an alternative. One informant expressed the sentiment of many "Under dis ya government, we roun ya so get victimize. Labourite dem wuk only part-time because a all de ism dem. Jamaica a Jamaica and we no wan(t) communism, socialism, capitalism because all we get a fabatism." (We in this area are victimized by the present government because of our party affiliation. There is a persistent element of favour- itism underlying the political rhetoric.) Another informant indicated that he would like his two year old
boy to get the best in life, "but de way how de ghetto organize wen it come to politics me nuh no. Too much victimization roun' ya and it keep people dung." (I am concerned about the political organization of the ghetto. There is too much victimization which oppresses people.) Political patronage tends to be perpetuated as the economic system seems unable to satisfy the basic needs of this section of the population in terms of jobs, proper housing, health care and education. One manifestation of the scarcity of resources is a very fierce competition among slum dwellers. This also appears to intensify party rivalry. A hierachical system of distribution tends to develop with high priority given to very active party members. As Charles points out,

...the objective is to maintain political support and the logic is firstly that unless political supporters are adequately provided for, their support will be withdrawn and secondly that supporters of the opposing political party, out of sheer hunger and desperation, will come to realize that only by joining the ranks of the party in power can they have a chance of deriving much needed benefits (1977:19).

**Political Dependence, Victimization and Violence**

Some informants showed their awareness of the existence of a party hierarchy among the ranks of the membership by pointing out that there is a tendency for
the few jobs that materialize to be given to very active party members. "If wuk come up, me nah no (h)ope fe get any because de politician dem use fabatism fe issue out de wuk dem. Dat a de situation fe long time now."

(Should a job opportunity arise, I do not stand a chance in obtaining it as historically the politicians have been involved with favouritism in job distribution.) They claim that through the party network, these members are the first to hear about these jobs, and ultimately receive them. Thus, because of this tight network, party supporters who prefer not to be active within the party find themselves excluded from making use of possible job opportunities. Non-active participation in the party is indeed a reality within the slum and is in many cases a conscious decision on the part of slum dwellers. The reason might be religious for, as one informant, expressing the sentiment of many Rastafarian members, points out: "we not involve in politics. Our philosophy is fraternity, that is, brotherly love at all times. Politics in Jamaica mean killing our brothers, so it is definitely against the Rastafarian principle to get involved." Other slum dwellers have expressed conflict avoidance as a reason for non-active participation. They point out that they do not want to be recognized as active party members since there is a certain level of
violence associated with involvement in party politics, particularly within the slum areas.

Charles analyzes this situation as the anatomy of political victimization and argues that there is an inter-relationship between political violence and political victimization (1977:20). Political victimization is of long standing in Jamaica and is practised by both political parties. It is more effectively carried out by the party in power as it has access to scarce resources. It appears that each party in power tries to out-victimize its predecessor. This was quite evident within the West Kingston slum and the residents appeared cognizant of it. For instance, the stories detailing how many politically active individuals lost their jobs when the new government took office in 1972 were unending. One subcontractor in the building trade lost his job when the new government took office. Apparently he was not surprised "because yu only get fe me kine a wuk tru politics." (Because my type of work can only be obtained through involvement with politics.) Others also expressed the fear of even making application for employment at certain places because of the alleged discrimination that may result due to their party affiliation. This discrimination is sometimes manifested in physical attacks on the applicants. Six youths related
the case of having been told by a party official of the availability of work at a construction site. They showed up at the site only to be the target of gunfire from the police as well as supporters of the other major party who shouted at them "no wuk fe labour man dem, labour man dem mus go tief". (We would rather let members of the labour party steal then give them jobs.) They claimed that they had to run for their lives. They also emphasized that this was not an isolated case and that such incidents are part of the campaign of victimization being staged by the party in power. The concept of victimization appeared easy to grasp by the slum dwellers as the party that was dominant in the area formed the country's official opposition, and as pointed out before, the party in power, having access to scarce resources, tended to display more power in the distribution of material rewards. The slum dwellers, through their overall outlook and everyday conversations, expressed their resentment of this victimization.

The political tone of this West Kingston slum was predominantly anti-state. This was expressed by graffiti such as *Down with Ali Baba and the 40 thieves* (referring to the Prime Minister and his Cabinet members), *the poor can't take no more, resign now* (expressing their frustrations with the party in power).
I.M.F. = Is Manley's Fault (referring to the International Monetary Fund, a financial lending agency which has been blamed by the Opposition and the Workers' parties for worsening Jamaica's economic situation). In the slum dominated by the People's National Party, graffiti called for Socialism now (this party had declared a Socialist path for Jamaica in 1974). Seaga is a C.I.A. Agent referred to the leader of the Opposition, whose name is sometimes spelt CIAga. Of course, there were also graffiti outside of the slum areas, many of these admonishing both political parties. There was one in particular, possibly referring to the political violence that Kingston was experiencing, which read, class struggle, not tribal war.

Although these graffiti tended to indicate some level of consciousness of the politico-economic situation, it did not appear to be clearly articulated among the slum dwellers. It is difficult to determine whether the graffiti was the work of slum dwellers or outside political agitators, as some of the graffiti were mere scrawls with some letters reversed or the use of incorrect syntax, which could very well reflect the style of the slum dwellers. The fact that slum dwellers read or listen to someone else's reading of Leandro (a popular Jamaican political satirist), constantly talk about the
International Monetary Fund (IMF) in terms of the economic ills it bring to Jamaica, the Prime Minister's frequent trips abroad and other political issues, leaves one to ponder the origins of the graffiti. On the other hand, the slum dwellers constantly blame Jamaica's social and economic ills on the party in power, which at this point in time happened to be the People's National Party. Dr. George Beckford, an economist attached to the University of the West Indies, has pointed out that the situation would be the same if any other party were in power as the economic crisis is related to the crisis of the international capitalist system of which Jamaica is a part. He further stated that any event that affects the centre will consequently affect the periphery, and that this is what Jamaica is experiencing.

Although Jamaica is often described as an extremely politicized society, analyses such as the above often become obscured by the efforts of the local party politicians whose main objectives are to stay in office or to attempt to get into office. They accomplish this by superimposing party politics on the already poor material conditions of the slum dwellers to the extent that slum dwellers tend to view their entire existence as being strongly influenced by politics. Stone sees this process in historical, psycho-sociological and political
terms and points out that:

...there remains in the political culture of Jamaican people, a deep rooted lack of self confidence within the mass of the people that is a legacy of slavery and the class and racial oppression of the plantation society. This lack of self confidence within the mass of the people produces an excessive dependence on paternalistic and seemingly strong leaders, who project and articulate the grievances of the masses and pose as champions of their cause (1973:111).

There is therefore reason to believe that the dependence of the slum dwellers on the political party, especially for employment, is to a considerable extent a substitute for this loss of confidence in themselves.

Prior to the 1960s the socio-economic situation in Kingston's slums appeared to be a reflection of what has often been described as modernization without industrialization - that is, the introduction of modern technology without the expansion of industries that could absorb the many unemployed. In the case of Kingston, the numbers of unemployed appeared to be constantly on the increase. Also, excessively long periods of unemployment tended to render these slum dwellers unemployable:

There are large numbers of persons for whom poverty and deprivation are acute, who are ignorant and unskilled and who have so long been unemployed
that they have become unemployable. This group is caught in an abyss of hopelessness and is embittered by rejection. They have learnt that so long as settled society is not disturbed or inconvenienced, it is usually callous and indifferent to suffering. Violence and lawlessness serve to bring them and their problems to public notice, even if the reaction is sharp and repressive. To those who feel that society is against them, hostility and reprisals can sometimes be more endurable than indifference and disregard (Cumper 1966:5).

It was amidst such a background of extreme poverty, high unemployment and the added low status of slum dwellers that religious cults such as the Pocomania and Rastafarian cults originated and still flourish. These cults offered refuge as they represented a sort of microcosmology – the construction of a physical or spiritual universe in which individuals can reside peacefully (Fernandez 1969:5).

It can be hypothesized that these cults were and continue to be necessary as slum dwellers become aware that, given Jamaica's socio-political structure, there is not much they can do that would significantly change their oppressed condition. As Cumper (1966:5) suggests, this group is "embittered by rejection" and have come to realize that remaining quietly in their oppression only helps to sustain it. Some members have
therefore been forced to resort to violence in an attempt to bring their problems to the forefront in the hope that the wider society may recognize their plight and possibly take action to alleviate it.

Violent crime began to increase in Kingston during the 1960s and appeared to be concentrated among the 15-25 year old group within the slums. According to Kuper, "it was popularly believed that the rise in violent crime reflected the hostility, indiscipline and racialism of the urban dispossessed, and that it represented not only a threat to individual security, but in some ways a threat to the state itself" (1976:133). It seemed also that these youths were experiencing the brunt of the high unemployment rate as many were leaving school and industry was not expanding. Many organized themselves into street corner gangs which appeared to consume most of their time. In these gangs macho characteristics closely related to feelings of self worth were projected through a show of criminal rivalry or were manifested in the kinds of names given various gangs. For instance, Lacey (1977:32-33) lists the principal gangs as Prince Henry's gang the Max gang, the Blue Mafia, the Dunkirk gang, the Phoenix gang, the Vikings and the Roughest and the Toughest. These gangs were perceived as a criminal element by those outside the slum
and since their ideology expressed the need for significant structural change, they could be thought of as a counter-culture. They were styled as rude-boys, rudies, street boys and bad boys and were feared by many individuals outside the slum. According to Hebdige,

The rude boy lived for the luminous moment, playing dominoes as though his life depended on the outcome - a big city hustler with nothing to do, and all the time rock-steady, ska and reggae gave him the means with which to move effortlessly - without even thinking. Cool - that distant and indefinable quality, became almost abstract, almost metaphysical, intimating a stylish kind of stoicism - survival and something more (1972: 145).

There were constant conflicts between the rude boys and the police, who at times were believed to be moved to harrass them merely because of their physical appearance. It seemed that their easy-going mannerisms marked them as lazy and unwilling to work. Laziness tends to be perceived as extremely objectionable in Jamaica. Not surprisingly, it is a society emulating its colonizer by adopting the Protestant ethic. In so doing, the Jamaican state appears to have failed to address the inherent contradictions between the Protestant ethic and its own social structure.
Social Protest Through the Music of the Oppressed

By the late 1950s and early 1960's the slum dwellers began to realize that they would probably never benefit from Jamaica's modernization process. Violence, as a way of venting their frustrations, seemed to intensify. The promulgation of social protest through music emerged in the form of the rhythms of rock-steady, ska and reggae. The dilemma of the slum dweller is symbolized through a type of music which is imbued with all the wrath, anxieties, outrage and hope of slum existence. The following are excerpts from a few of these songs:

**Revolution**

...Revolution, reveals the truth,
Revolution
It takes a revolution to make a solution
Too much confusion, so much frustration
I don't want to live in the park
Can't trust no shadows after dark
So my friend I wish that you could see
Like a bird in the tree, the prisoners must be free

Never make a politician grant you a favour
They will always want to control you forever
So if a fire make it burn (bun)
And if a blood make it run
Rasta there upon top, can't you see,
So you can't predict the flop
We got lightning, thunder, brimstone and fire
Lightning, thunder, brimstone and fire.

Bob Marley, 1979
Rivers of Babylon

...By the rivers of Babylon
Where he sat down
And there he wept
When he remembered Zion
But the wicked carried us away to captivity
Require from us a song
How can we sing King Alfa song
In a strange land.

Jimmy Cliff, 1972

Sitting in Limbo

...Sitting here in limbo
But I know it won't be long
Sitting here in limbo
Like a bird without a song
Well we are putting up resistance
But I know
That my faith will lead me on
Sitting here in limbo
Waiting for the dice to roll
Sitting here in limbo
Got some time to search my soul
Well they are putting up resistance
But I know
That my faith will lead me on.

Jimmy Cliff, 1972

So Jah Seh

...And down here in the ghetto
And down here we suffer
I and I a hang on in there
And I and I, I now leggo
I and I a hang on in there
And I and I, I now leggo
For so Jah seh.

Bob Marley, 1979
Them belly full but we hungry

...Them belly full but we hungry
A hungry mob is a angry mob
A rain a fall but the dirt it tough
A pot a cook but the food no 'nough
You are going to dance to Jah music

Cost of living gets so high
Rich and poor they start to cry
Now the weak must get strong
They say oh, what a tribulation.

Bob Marley, 1979

The lyrics outline the poor material conditions of the slum residents as they call for changes in their social, political and economic situation. They also show an awareness of how politics can dictate the lives of the poor "Never make a politician grant you a favour. They will always want to control you forever." Control of slum dwellers' lives by politicians is a reality in the slum. Many slum dwellers believe that they have no alternative but to be obliged to these politicians who control the powerful patronage system. Dependence on the patronage system is predicated on the fact of high unemployment. Cliff reminisces on the history of slavery, of Jamaicans being brought into captivity. He is referring to the alienation resulting from slavery. A consequence of groups of people who have been forceably removed from their homeland being required to be happy and content within their new social milieu. To Cliff it
seems unrealistic to expect people to be able to transfer their cultural beliefs and values to an alien society. Other songs portray this important historical event. In many of his songs Marley envisions revolution as a possible solution. "Revolution reveals the truth" he points out. Hope is also expressed in the call to Jah (God) to relieve slum dwellers of their suffering. "Well we are putting up resistance - but I know that my faith will lead me on." There is an interesting mix between religion and politics. In the Kingston slum, both signify hope.

Although the lyrics suggest that the people are suffering severely, there is a strong sense that they have no control over their social conditions. This is expressed in the words "sitting here in limbo, waiting for the dice to roll." Thus a game of chance is symbolic of slum life. The state appears to have felt somewhat threatened by this counter-culture. A few songs were banned from the radio stations, the reason given being that they had the potential to stir people towards revolution. It has been alleged that Bob Marley, fearing that the government would create a fuss, changed the title of his famous song "I Shot the Police" to "I Shot the Sheriff." The fact that there are no sheriffs in Jamaica gave the illusion of transference to North
Americans of the aggression felt towards the Jamaican police force. Some songs were also banned as being too sexually explicit. What is overlooked in this rather puritanical censorship is that open discussion of sex is an intrinsic part of the slum experience, and it is this that the singers were describing. On the whole, the songs are political messages revolving around the social conditions of the slums, but the government has refused to deal with these messages in any constructive way. Like the Rastafarian and other social movements the entite ideology of these lyricists became co-opted. Their music, which was initially rejected as slum music, also became widely accepted and integrated both nationally and internationally. The existential experience of slum dwellers has become commercialized. The songs blare out on sound systems on the streets in the slums and working class areas and at private parties in the middle class areas. It is alleged that over the past decade record sales abroad have skyrocketed.

In the early 1970s Perry Henzell produced the Jamaican film classic The Harder They Come, which is a portrayal of life in the West Kingston slum. In the film, lyrics are effectively used to express the struggles, frustration and hopes of the slum dwellers. Like the music of the slum, the film also has been
co-opted. Today it is revered in North America as a cult film. Instead of understanding the message of oppression which is the central theme of the film, North Americans have chosen to romanticize the struggles of slum living. They readily identify with the violence, crime and marijuana smoking, not recognizing that by not offering alternatives such as employment opportunities, Jamaica forces this lifestyle on the slum dwellers. The situation is similar to Marcuse's description of the takeover of black music by whites. "What had been part of the permanence of life, now becomes a concert, a festival, a disc in the making" (1972:115).

Notwithstanding the co-optation, it can be argued that the urban poor produced a new identity for Jamaicans. Jamaicans began developing a black pride. Africa is now viewed in positive terms. One wonders how far this process of change will go. During my field work, I attended the Caribbean Arts Festival in Havana, Cuba. Although Jamaica was vocal about its new areas in the arts, neither the works of Rastafarians nor other artists from the slum were represented. It was also through the talents of the slum dwellers that the profitable record industry was created (although financial benefits accrued to those who owned the industry). Among the youths, the goal of making it as a
singer symbolized escape from slum life. Singers were selected from the hundreds of unemployed youths who made single records, and were paid a small sum of money for each. The singer had no legal contract should the song become successful. This exploitative situation was easily maintained as the idea of making a hit song became an acceptable ideology among the youths, who exerted a great deal of energy going from one recording outlet to another in an effort to try out their voices. Although the situation still continues, some youths have become more sophisticated and are demanding copyrights protection through legal contracts.

From Gang Wars to Political Tribal Wars

Apparently, gang rivalry and violence still prevailed during the late 1960s and early 1970s and this represented a potential for revolution among these gang members. This potential could be associated with the frustration of socio-economic deprivations which often manifest themselves in violence. Stone has shown that the Chinese riot of 1965 began with a single shooting incident involving a Chinese grocer which sparked off three days of random looting, assault and attacks on Chinese commercial concerns. The Rodney Riot of 1968 was a result of the deportation from Jamaica of Dr.
Walter Rodney, a politically militant historian attached to the University of the West Indies. Again, this led to violence in the streets and attacks on commercial concerns. The street vendor riot of 1971 was the result of an attempt to remove illegal vendors from the streets. This led also to violence and much vandalism of commercial establishments (1975:145). A common factor in these incidents is the attack on commercial establishments. This indicates that there is an underlying antagonism between the urban poor and the established property owners.

My data indicate that slum dwellers today have transferred the antagonism which stems from their social conditions to politicians of opposing parties. It is therefore not surprising that political gang wars have become a common feature of the slum:

There is the development, which has grown sharply in recent years, of the political gang, an arm of party organizations designed to terrorize adherents of other parties and keep the picture confused—creating a climate which makes political manipulation easy. A crucial factor in this type of violence is the resentment of those who meet recurring discrimination both in housing and employment opportunities and who readily express it in violence (Cumper 1966:5).
Between 1966 and 1967, "many were armed to provide the 'soldiers' for a battle between the P.N.P. and the J.L.P. in Western Kingston. After this short introduction to politics within the system, some of these gangs reverted to ordinary criminal activities, others turned to more revolutionary politics (1977:32).

Those who turned to revolutionary politics had the support of politicians who, it is said, continued to recruit them from the various street gangs. Today, these recruits are commonly referred to as Ranking, implying that they are of high rank within the strong arm of the political party structure. According to informants, many young men in the slum make every effort to attract the attention of powerful politicians in order to be recruited. To be recruited appears to be a substitute for employment or access to other scarce resources.

These ranking individuals act as a sort of intermediary between other slum dwellers and the politicians. They tend to be responsible for certain political tasks such as organized violence. According to informants, this can include the elimination of potential voters by the burning of houses or by physical beatings. It is alleged that many residents, scared by these acts or the threat of them, flee the slum. As Charles points out: "Because this type of violence has to be sophisti-
catedly planned and executed with precision, the perpetrators are specially recruited and in many instances, specially trained. Either they are hired directly at an attractive fee or some other means are found for remunerating them" (1977:20). It is alleged that two rival groups have received patronage from both political parties.

Living in an economically depressed community such as West Kingston, members of the ranking group appear conspicuous. They are well dressed and usually own cars or motorcycles which are rarities within the slums. Most live in the better accommodations in the slum, usually the high-rise apartments. These high-rises are modern concrete structures, similar to public housing in the United States. Their distribution is based on politics. Physically they border on Denham Town and Trench Town, but politically the population is within the constituency of Trench Town. Because the residents support another party, they have constant conflicts with their representatives. They refer to their legal constituency as the war zone and no man's land. This dilemma was the result of gerrymandering. Since ideologically they are a part of the Denham Town slum, and have access to its scarce resources, they appear to be more comfortable there.
The apartments of the ranking men in these high rises are often well furnished, including television sets, record players, records, usually of foreign origin, and radios. At times, huge amounts of ganja are displayed and consumed. They have boastfully explained to me that because of their ranking status they are paid from the special employment budget but they are certainly not expected to sweep the streets. When they have real jobs it is on a contract basis, mainly in the building industry. They then subcontract these jobs at a bare minimum wage to other slum dwellers, who are desperately in need of work. Sometimes, the ranking holds more than one contract simultaneously. The ranking men are extremely useful during election campaigns as they help with the organization of certain groups and it is alleged that they are quite instrumental in bringing party supporters out onto the street concerning certain political issues.

Their macho appearance gains them respect in the slum and the young children seemingly emulate them. There is also a tendency among women within the slums to idolize them. Some of the women who have children for these ranking men often brag to others about the good financial support they receive. At the same time they brag about their men, many complain that the police
victimize them through *gun butting* in an effort to force them to divulge information concerning the activities of the men. They claim that their rooms are constantly searched and ransacked. Although they are better off financially than most within the slum, consequences such as police harassment seem to outweigh the benefits. The women also complain that although the police might not always abuse them physically, they torment them by committing heinous crimes in their presence. Some relate stories of policemen demonstrating their marksmanship in order to show what they are capable of doing to their *ranking* men. A typical example is the shooting of chickens by these policemen. This is a symbolic act, as these chickens are a source of food support in much the same way the men are a source of economic support. Actions such as these could also be interpreted as the venting of frustrations by the police force. Quoting a critic on violence in Jamaica, Lowenthal writes that "an overworked, underpaid and basically illiterate police force shares the same anarchic vision of life as the criminals it hunts down" (1972:103).

*Ranking* is a feature of the two major political parties and the *ranking* roles within these parties are basically the same. The political role of *ranking* men is common knowledge to most Jamaicans and it is manifested
in popular folk songs and slum graffiti. Given the scarcity of jobs within the slum, ranking appears to be a viable economic alternative for the youths. For Stone (1975:153) the relationship between ranking men and party has nothing to do with party interest, but is based solely on the sale of services. What results is a division of the urban poor into antagonistic groups who struggle for control over territorial and political entities.

These politically motivated warring factions are more pronounced within the slums where they erupt intermittently into what is commonly referred to as tribal wars. The term "tribal" is probably derived from the fact that party members have a strong allegiance to a party chief. For instance, in the West Kingston slum, the line of political demarcation is expressed by a single street, Greenwich Street, which informants indicate represents the battleground for these tribal wars.

The 1960s were marked by a progressive change of weaponry in these tribal wars. Early street gang members used rachet knives, then moved on to hand-guns and molotov cocktails. The decade of the 1970s saw a further shift to an almost exclusive use of guns, including submachine guns. "1976 saw the violence in
Jamaica escalate to new levels, including for the first time commando raids by platoon sized gangs armed with automatic weapons" (1979:74). From media reports and personal interviews, one could assume that the two political parties had developed their own military-like stockpiles. It would appear that the more intense the party politics, the more sophisticated the weaponry. Given that Jamaica does not produce arms, there has been much speculation among the populace as to the origins of the guns. Two possible explanations have been suggested by Kuper (1976:133). One is that American interests repaid suppliers of marijuana with guns. The other is that some urban politicians armed their followers. Although he points out that he is not very convinced by either explanation, he offers none of his own. If it is indeed the case that these guns are imported, this situation could present yet another instance wherein the continued struggle for survival by slum dwellers tends to be exploited by those outside of the slum. In addition, it would seem that the competition for more sophisticated weaponry only perpetuates the situation.

Democratic Socialism: The Search for a Solution

In 1972, with the coming to power of the People's National Party and its socialist platform, there
was a significant increase in party consolidation. One could attribute this to the significant shift in political ideology, as before, both parties seemed to have converged towards a liberal-conservative stance. "For the first time in Jamaican party politics, an ideological distinction could be made between the two contending parties. The period 1974-1976 marks a watershed in the history of Jamaican politics. For socialism became legitimized in the political process for the first time; and this put the class question on the agenda of what up to then, was nothing more than the politics of tweedle-dum and tweedle-dee" (1980:87).

The new government articulated a commitment to social reform in remedying the persistent underdevelopment which manifested itself in marked social and economic inequality. It was with this ideology that the P.N.P. gained much of its support. It seemed that for the first time the Jamaican people, especially the urban masses, seriously believed the promises of a political party. To the people it offered drastic social reforms. To the privileged, it offered the elimination of crime and the protection of private property. This was a significant promise as the middle classes tended to view the urban poor as the "threatening masses" (Mau 1968). The existence of gangs further instilled fear among many
urban residents causing self-imposed restrictions of movement, especially during late evening hours. This was further reinforced by the institution of curfews in the slum areas in particular and of states of emergency on the island in general. During my fieldwork, I experienced a few such curfews.

What was more encouraging was that social programmes in employment, housing and education were introduced. The mass of the Jamaican population appeared to support the government's stand. They seemed ready for social change as they were experiencing such severe social pressures as escalating slum violence, and they tenaciously stood behind the new government's slogan *better must come*.

By 1974 it became clear to the government that the mass of the people stood behind its ideology. At this point, the government reiterated its position that it was actively taking the country along a socialist path in the interest of the majority of the population. A campaign began to mobilize Jamaica's poor behind the ideology of Democratic Socialism. This mobilization took the form of public political meetings in villages, towns and cities. An agency for public information (API) was set into motion. It distributed literature and had access to the newspapers, radio and television networks.
Throughout the island various youth groups were organized to spread the ideology. This ideology constituted a rejection of capitalism. It allowed for private property, access to equal opportunity, and social justice as the right of all Jamaicans. Most importantly, it allowed for the co-existence of the private and public sectors with the private sector acting in the interest of national development. The government was expected to control the infrastructural arrangements of the economy and had the right to appropriate any major industry in the interest of all Jamaicans (see Appendix 9).

It is reputed that the members of Jamaica's local elite, in fear of losing their privileged positions, became concerned with the principles of Democratic Socialism. This elite, which is extremely distant from the mass of the people, also campaigned against political independence in 1962 (Bell & Oxaal 1964).

There are those within the general population who have adopted the ideology of the local elite to the extent that they too talk of a threat (perceived or real) of a communistic Jamaica. Their reaction often manifests itself in migration. For example:

The exodus in the 1970's of persons from the skilled intermediate groups ... in the wake of changes which threatened to deprive them of their
culturally dominant position in the society, pales beside the mass migration of those economically marginal Jamaicans who had left the country in the nineteen-fifties and sixties in search of 'a better economic life'. The call to patriotism and identification of what is believed to be a Jamaican cultural ethos and national unity is not heeded by those who harbour fears about an uncertain political future (Nettleford 1979: 12)

Since this exodus constituted human resources and capital, the gain to the metropolitan countries (particularly the United States and Canada) at the expense of Jamaica is obvious. The government intervened by putting controls on currency leaving the country. That is, each person leaving on vacation was allowed to take out $50 (U.S.). No person leaving on a permanent basis was allowed to take out any currency. This proved ineffective, and a struggle developed involving the people versus the state, wherein many individuals attempted to send money out of the country illegally.

Although Jamaica had declared an anti-capitalist position, the nature of its economy does not seem to allow the government to take a stand in terms of the direction it hopes to follow in the future. The country is still dependent on lending agencies such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the Inter-American Development Bank (IADB) and the World Bank -
institutions which require borrowing nations to take stringent austerity measures to qualify for aid (Payer 1974; Hayter 1974).

Jamaica, in embarking on the road to Democratic Socialism and the subsequent social reforms which this new ideology engendered, found that access to foreign exchange was of great importance with respect to financing social programmes. Due to its dependent position in relation to the international capitalist system, Jamaica experienced a long standing situation wherein its foreign debt was constantly higher than its export earnings. As Beckford and Witter emphasize, "faced with consistent import price increases (including oil) and declining export earnings, Third World countries accumulated huge trade deficits. And in varying degrees they fell into balance of payments difficulties. This forced them to borrow from the International banks and the I.M.F." (1980:89).

During the 1970s, as it became more dependent on the International Monetary Fund, Jamaica found itself entangled in the world-wide economic crisis (Beckford & Witter 1980). The poor were hardest hit as gas prices, for instance, began increasing at a rapid rate. The poor, though not necessarily automobile owners, felt the economic crunch through higher public transportation
costs. Farmers and higglers who depended on trucks and buses to get their produce to city outlets were also especially hard hit (see Chapter Five). There was a strong radical force in Jamaica that opposed further loans and aid from the developed world, especially the I.M.F. Most of the criticisms of the I.M.F. centred on its harsh economic measures, to the extent that the name of this lending agency quickly became a pejorative household word. As pointed out earlier, graffiti reflected a part of the people's feelings about the economic crisis the country was experiencing and the I.M.F. did not escape this. The ruling People's National Party was split between its radical and conservative members as to whether the country should continue to accept I.M.F. loans. The government, apparently feeling that it had no choice, finally succumbed and accepted further loans from the Fund.

In submitting to restrictions placed on the society by the I.M.F., the government also initiated a limit on some imports and tried to encourage the use of domestic products. This move brought to light the existing heavy dependence on foreign consumer goods. One would expect that these imported consumer goods consisted of large items and would only affect the middle and upper income groups. However, this did not appear to be the
case as many of these were everyday products, basic foods such as rice, flour, canned fish, salted cod, meat and other commodities used by the poor. Although some of these items are produced locally, they often contain significant amounts of imported materials. Not having the foreign exchange to import these goods and materials, and not being fully able to produce them locally, the government found itself having to cope with a shortage of these items. It is alleged that shopkeepers began hoarding, thus creating more scarcity and higher prices. Of course, this situation gravely affected the poor, many of whom were unemployed.

Ideological Warfare as an Obstacle to Social Change

Many politicians used the food crisis (which arose from the limits of imports) to their political advantage. Rather than analyzing the problem within an international framework and highlighting the fact that 60% of the island's foodstuff was imported, opposition politicians laid the blame on the Jamaican government. This blame was tied to the fact that the government had introduced Democratic Socialism, which was vehemently attacked by the privileged classes. During this period, ideological warfare was heightened. Apparently the poor were led to believe that should democratic socialism be
adopted in Jamaica, such a system would deny them even the small material rewards which they sometimes managed to obtain. Many informants expressed this sentiment vocally. The irony of the situation was that they appeared to have been so overwhelmed with this ideology that they did not recognize that they had never made any significant material gains. For Freire "this does not necessarily mean that the oppressed are unaware that they are downtrodden, but their perception of themselves is impaired by their submersion in the reality of oppression. At this level, their perception of themselves as opposites of the oppressor does not yet signify engagement in a struggle to overcome the contradiction; the one pole aspires not to liberation, but to identification with its opposite pole" (1974:30). There was also a tendency for slum dwellers to enter into long discussions about their personal freedom, comparing it, of course, with the perceived lack of freedom in Cuba. The term 'perceive' seems appropriate here, because not only have many of the residents not been to Cuba, but for one reason or another they seem to have been cut off from various aspects of the media that would have given them information on Cuba. For instance, my data show that those who do read tend to read the "Daily Gleaner" and the "Star" which are allegedly controlled by individuals
who strongly support the anti-Cuban Opposition Party. They also tended to listen exclusively to the radio station that was sympathetic to that party. A few informants who owned television sets complained that the programmes were sheer propaganda since most of the programmes were government controlled. When asked if the drama group in the area would be taking part in the Caribbean Festival of the Arts to be held in Cuba and supported by the Jamaican government, the general response was that such a move would be impossible because the local politicians would definitely not permit it.

The notion that they as individuals could take some sort of responsibility for certain aspects of their lives did not seem apparent. Most felt that things would change for the better as soon as the party they supported assumed power. Thus many were willing to literally fight for their political party and the 1976 election campaign set the stage for this.

1976 was a year of confrontations in Jamaican politics. Forces inside and outside the island, opposed to the PNP government's policies, launched a huge effort to undermine its power. Some of the anti-government activity was open and vocal, continuing the same conservative opposition that started with the PNP's earliest reforms. But there was also a murky, undercover side to the anti-PNP campaign - including massive political violence, an international economic boycott of the island, and
sometimes hysterical anti-Jamaican propaganda in the international press. Jamaicans have identified this process as destabilization, the systematic effort to politically and economically undermine a government (Mays & Wheaton 1979:74).

Violent struggle between supporters of the two parties continued relentlessly. This violence manifested itself mainly within the slums and the major participants were rival party youth gangs. The government declared a state of emergency on the entire island on June 15, 1976 (see Appendix 10). This allowed the government extraordinary police powers and persons could be detained without charges (see Appendix 11). This action created further hostilities between the two major parties, as it was seen to be instituted merely for political gains (Mays & Wheaton 1979; Charles 1977). Despite the state of emergency, the political violence continued, the election was held five months earlier than constitutionally necessary and the government was returned to power with a landslide victory. The election results were, of course, interpreted by many as a "mandate for Democratic Socialism."

This interpretation seemed to apply to some slum dwellers, many of whom felt a desire for peace:
After the general elections, youths of Rema and Tivoli tried to get together as they felt that the warring factions were not helping them. It is alleged that the Rema youths were accused of becoming socialists and of planning to join forces with Concrete Jungle. Attacks were mounted against youths who most strongly supported the peace move by forces from another area. The leader of a Rema youth gang (a supporter of the peace movement) was shot while he walked down Spanish Town Road and had to be hospitalized. And gunmen are reported to have driven through Rema with gun barking (The Star 1977:2).

One informant has described similar situations to me. He stated that in the beginning of the Manley regime in 1972, many of the people in the slum felt that Manley was offering some reasonable programmes. Individuals began to subscribe to the idea of Democratic Socialism, but they were harassed and ridiculed as turn-coats or traitors. Many had to leave the slum.

Political violence continued and by February the violence within the slums came to a head. Informants claimed that political gangs supporting the ruling party invaded their area in an effort to take over their houses. According to informants and media reports, these gangsters were assisted by police officers. Guns were used and some residents were injured. The reports indicated that this war was a political one, and
informants claimed that houses that displayed pictures of the leaders of the party that dominated the area suffered severe damage. They claimed that these pictures were viciously smashed. Many also claimed that trucks loaded with furniture waited by the periphery of the slum in order to move new tenants in. These potential tenants were reputed to be members of the opposing political party. As Hearne writes, "It was when the occupation of abandoned homes, the destruction and theft of belongings, the abuse of people were all getting underway that the soldiers and the Harmon Barracks police arrived and cordoned off the area" (1977:8). This was verified by informants who claimed that "In the w(h)ole eviction de police nuh help, a de army save wi" (Throughout the eviction process it was the soldiers and not the police who helped.) Many described the situation as being worse than the 1938 labour riots. "People jus keep runnin(g) from the police." "Old people tap de pickney dem and tell dem fe evic(t) de tenant dem." (People kept running away from the police. Adults stopped children and ordered them to evict tenants.) People were questioned by the police as to where they had obtained money to buy television sets and radios. One young man's door was kicked down and he was asked where he got money to buy a bed. From this information it appears that there is an
underlying assumption by those outside the slum that slum dwellers cannot and should not be able to afford certain consumer items. Some slum dwellers felt that "Michael (Manley) outa control because h(im) tek orders from (h)im minister dem, instead a give order." (The Manley regime is failing because he is not firm enough. He allows himself to be ordered about by his ministers.) They also felt that the security forces strongly supported the ruling party and this gave the party more power. Some informants, in boosting their party loyalties, commented that "jeep load a police start firing shot but we fight back and stan(d) up fe wi rights." (Although a group of policemen began shooting, we stood up for our rights and fought back.) Many strongly claimed that the area belonged to them and strangers were definitely not going to walk in and take it over just because of politics. With this strong sense of political party loyalty it was relatively easy for politicians to manipulate the situation. For instance, Ambursley sees the eviction as the Manley regime continuing the tradition of political patronage and victimization. He points out that, "An example of PNP victimization emerged in the Rema Commission of Enquiry Report, set up to enquire into the eviction of JLP supporters from the housing development project in Rema in Kingston. The report not only
substantiated complaints of intimidation of JLP supporters, but also pointed out that the Minister of Housing, Anthony Spaulding, was assisted by hired gunmen in re-organizing the community" (1981:84).

The Minister of Housing has claimed consistently that the initial operation was a legal eviction, as residents were in arrears with their rents. The residents argue that some people were legitimately in arrears due to long periods of unemployment. Others claimed that the Housing Ministry had somehow forced them into arrears by the setting up of political barriers, that is, the placing of rent payment offices in so-called "enemy territories." Many residents, in fear of their lives, said that they refused to co-operate.

Within this patronage network, a certain level of disillusionment has manifested itself. For instance, in expressing the view of many, one informant said "mi very upset now, because mi go in a de battlefield in 1977 and mi throw stone during the violence fe save mi community. Fe dis, mi should at least get one a de crash programme job dem." (After getting involved in the political battle to save my community, I am both upset and disappointed that I did not get one of the special jobs.) The unemployment situation in the area had reached such a critical stage that the very idea of
saving the community became enmeshed with party politics. This situation tends to give a fair indication of the lengths to which slum residents will go in order to secure a job.

Underlying the there appeared to be a strong desire for peace, especially among the young. The youths complained that organizing for peace proved very difficult as police interference, harassment and brutality within the area became quite rampant. As one older informant put the situation, "the police dem always afia the bwoy dem, eben if dem nah do nutten. It depen(d) pon (h)ow dem feel, if dem feel fe search dem, dem search dem. If dem feel fe shoot dem, dem shoot dem. If dem feel fe gun butt dem, dem gun butt dem." (The police constantly harass the youths by searching, beating and shooting at them, sometimes the youths are innocent when these occur.) As one youth further explains: "dere is a constant struggle between wi and de police dem. Dem come in and terrorize we because dem see wi sittin(g) and standin(g) aroun(d). But we nuh (h)ave nutten fe do, because we caan fin(d) wuk." (There is a constant struggle between the police and us. They terrorize us for sitting around idly even though it is not our fault that we cannot find employment.) The police, on the other hand, explain that they tend to be
hostile toward the youths because they are idle and do not make any effort to obtain jobs. This situation brings to light an apparent structural problem which seems to have eluded both the youths and the police and tends to be a feature of capitalist economies, that is, that the presence of a number of unemployed within the society can serve a very useful political purpose. As Gans, in addressing the case of the United States, explains:

An economy based on the ideology of laissez faire requires a deprived population that is allegedly unwilling to work or that can be considered inferior because it must accept charity or welfare in order to survive. Not only does the alleged moral deviancy of the poor reduce the moral pressure on the present political economy to eliminate poverty but socialist alternatives can be made to look quite unattractive if those who will benefit most from them can be described as lazy, spendthrift, dishonest, and promiscuous (1980: 171).

In the case of Jamaica, the stigmatization of the slum dwellers by the dominant society is necessary if the latter is to continue to profit from the former.

Political Consciousness: the Slum Dwellers versus the State

During early 1977, the underlying desire for peace continued to raise its head. This effort was
supported by many members of the two warring political parties, many of whom seemed to begin to realize that the political division they were experiencing somehow retarded the development of a cohesive mass consciousness. They appeared to have developed an operational level of political consciousness which manifested itself in such opinions as "the politicians dem gi de people dem gun fe fight gainst dem self instead of givin(g) dem wuk fe help dem self" (Instead of the politicians offering jobs to slum dwellers they are given guns with which they use to fight among themselves.) and "politics a mash up we country - dem have we a fight gainst we one anada dem." (People are fighting against each other because of the destructiveness of party politics.). Friere (1976:48) explains this kind of situation by pointing out that "submerged in reality, the oppressed cannot perceive clearly the 'order' which serves the interests of the oppressors whose image they have internalized. Chafing under the restrictions of this order they often manifest a type of horizontal violence, striking out at their own comrades for the pettiest reasons." Munroe, a university lecturer and leader of the Workers Party of Jamaica sums up the situation by pointing out that "the only way forward is to overcome division and bring greater unity of the grassroots Rema and Jungle people, PNP and JLP, in
the struggle against imperialism and the small clique who oppress JLP and PNP poor people alike" (1977:5).

Realizing the power struggle between the politicians of both parties, some slum dwellers apparently began to see themselves as pawns within the political party chess game. Many of them began to organize. They expressed the wish for free access to jobs and an opportunity to improve their poor material conditions. Given the political divisiveness within the area, having these needs met appeared impossible; but political consciousness seemed to have gained momentum and this was helped along by Bob Marley, the internationally know reggae superstar who blasted out his ideas to the tune of *Top Rankin'*

> They don't want to see us unite
> 'cause all they want us to do is
> keep on fussing and fighting
> They don't want to see us live together.
> I tell you want all they want us to do
> is keep on killing one another.
> Top rankin', top rankin'
> Are you shankin', are you skankin'
> top rankin', top rankin'. (1978)

Many slum dwellers of varying ages mounted a campaign calling for peace. In early January of 1978, these efforts culminated in a peace concert *One Love Concert*, which took the form of a peace truce between the two *top ranking* political gangsters from the two opposing
communities. There two men hugged and made peace before a gathering of thousands of people. It is reputed that they drew up a list of demands in an effort to ease the plight of the poor slum dwellers: "They wanted a lasting peace. They wanted to move again freely. They wanted work and they wanted a chance to improve themselves" (*Daily News* 1978:1). As individuals crossed geopolitical and ideological boundaries that they had not crossed for about a decade, the Peace Truce symbolized a celebration of solidarity. They chanted *We Want Peace*, the new hymn of the slums of Western Kingston. It has been reported that old acquaintances had been renewed as old rivals greeted each other, and some residents from both communities pledged that they would never again get involved in fighting each other. In the words of one of the chief peace initiators, Claudie Massop, "the peace will have to last because our lives depend on it. The youths have been fighting among themselves for too long and is only dem a get dead. Everybody I grow up with is dead" (*The Star* 1979:1).

The truce appeared to be a historical event for the city as these slums represented the last bastion of tribalized party politics. Elected candidates from both political parties intervened and a Peace Council was set up to look into the social, economic and political
problems within the area, with special priority given to the unemployment situation. Many citizens both inside and outside the slum expressed ambivalence towards this move, as it was generally felt that peace was not in the interest of those who controlled the inner dynamics of the slum.

A level of calm was maintained within the slums for about a year, although a few incidents occurred that the slum dwellers claimed to be politically motivated. The situation was to change drastically when, in early 1979, one of the chief architects of the peace truce was gunned down in cold blood by several members of the national security forces. This was unexpected and the shock reverberated throughout the slums. For a while, it left many in a trance-like state. The constant cry from within the slum became *dem don't want peace*. This situation seemed to rekindle the slum dwellers' feelings of powerlessness. It became apparent that the state did not want the slum dwellers to organize into a solid mass base as it feared that if they became more conscious of their situation they could make more demands on the state. The irony is that many slum dwellers did not really perceive themselves as consolidating against the state, but rather as coming together to stop killing each other in order to go on with their daily existence.
For a while, the state continued to exercise certain oppressive measures within the area, such as the enforcement of curfews and tighter security. Approximately 90% of the slum dwellers within my survey have explained that on the whole, they always felt constrained within the slum as they were in constant fear of the might of the security forces, who took their commands from powerful politicians. They have expressed fear of leaving the slums as many felt that they were politically and liable to get hurt without having the support mechanism that their own community offered. This fear could be easily interpreted as an obstacle to political, social and economic development as it forces slum dwellers to survive within the confines of the slum. Surviving in such a restricted space also robs them of exposure to certain spheres of knowledge that could presumably aid in further raising their level of political consciousness.

What I have tried to show is that even with a background of structural unemployment, slum dwellers make every effort to survive. Earlier, hustling has been described as a response to this structural unemployment. In this chapter, dependence on political party patronage with its underlying ideology is yet another response to this phenomenon. In that party supporters compete for
scarce material resources, this dependence often leads to political violence. This perpetual struggle for survival appears to consume the slum dwellers entirely thus negating notions of social, political and economic development while at the same time aiding in the persistence of the slum.
FOOTNOTES

Chapter 6

1 The term is commonly used within Jamaican intellectual circles, the newspapers and in graffiti throughout Kingston. Given the content of Chapter 6, I felt it appropriate to include the term within the title.

CHAPTER SEVEN

A CONCLUSION

In an attempt to understand the phenomenon of survival within the slum, it was necessary to examine how the slum is created, maintained and perpetuated. This was done by focusing attention on the type of economic activities performed by slum dwellers and the way in which these activities are linked to the overall economy.

Since the slum is an integral part of Jamaican society, which is in turn dependent on the international system, certain implications are evident. For instance, changes at the most powerful part of this international system will undoubtedly affect dependent peripheries such as Jamaica. The oil crisis has already been mentioned as having devastating effects on Jamaica in general and the slum in particular in the sense that people within the slum have had to stretch their meagre earnings to accommodate rising prices. Although all countries are affected by world inflation, it is particularly detrimental to poor countries such as Jamaica with their limited
natural resources. The fact that Jamaica is reliant on imports, especially in the area of food, makes the situation even more critical. Added to the economic effect is a psycho-social effect as evidenced in Jamaica's eating pattern, where one sees Jamaican food taking a subordinate position to food from abroad. It may seem ironic that dried codfish imported from Canada is an important part of Jamaica's national dish of *ackee and saltfish*. Yet, within the context of a dependent society, this situation could be viewed as inevitable.

As pointed out earlier, a major effect of such external dependence is that Jamaicans are consuming commodities that they do not produce and are thus neglecting the full potential of their local environment. If socio-economic development is the ultimate goal, self-reliance is essential. The situation of dependence is maintained through the dominant ideological notion that local products are inherently inferior. This, of course, is a historico-cultural legacy which has aided in negating the development of local resources and has made Jamaicans increasingly dependent on external sources. For example, most Jamaicans prefer to invest in imported metal furniture rather than in wood and rattan which are cheaply available in Jamaica. The same holds for the use of imported carpets instead of straw mats, which are not
only cheaper and readily available, but also suitable to the Jamaican climate.

When countries are so dependent on external sources, economic destabilization is always a possibility. As a consequence, there is a certain tenuousness within the dependent society because it relies on the whims of the international system on which it is dependent. For instance, although Jamaica possesses an important resource such as bauxite, because it does not have the capital or the technological expertise to refine the bauxite ore into aluminum, it has little control over the industry. This situation is exploited by foreign companies. Although their ownership is not always one hundred percent, by virtue of their power to make important decisions, they own the industry. As Tramm (1977:9) explains the situation of the bauxite industry, "[The] per year sales by a single company are on a par with, and even above, the returns to the island's economy of the entire value of its national production of goods and services". Not only does Jamaica find itself powerless in terms of the decision-making process, but both the tourist and bauxite industries which are located in rural Jamaica continue to alienate more lands for expansion, consistently displacing more peasants. This method of appropriation has led to under-production in agriculture thus
sustaining the already manifested structural dependence on imported foods. For instance, tourism not only displaces peasants from their lands and facilitates the problems that follow this, but its employment pattern,

...casts West Indians in the capacity of waiters, maids, bartenders, dish washers, chauffeurs, and porters, receiving low wages in inflationary economies. An entire section of West Indian society survives by gratifying the wants and needs of vacationing white foreigners (Perez 1982:251).

During the late 1960s, when the ideology of Black Power was pervasive in Jamaica, many Jamaicans exhibited hostility toward tourists. In 1969 the establishment of a training school for low level hotel personnel was a move to neutralize this hostility. Here one finds that the Jamaican economy continues to be aggravated as the costs in neutralizing the situation are borne by the government (Perez 1982:253). Prostitution, both male and female, is also on the increase around the tourist resorts in developing countries (Shirkie 1982:6). This is seen as an alternative to urban unemployment. In addition, foreign currency is invariably introduced, but instead of contributing to Jamaica's revenue, it immediately enters the currency blackmarket. Most of this currency leaves the country illegally: Between 1974 and 1977 some 300 million dollars in foreign
exchange were illegally smuggled out of the country, while during this period, some foreign capitalists operating in Jamaica repatriated to overseas countries some 253 million dollars in profits" (Manley 1977:10).

When supermarket chains (which sold imported goods with long shelf life) were introduced in the early 1950s, they eroded the traditional marketing system which was convenient and inexpensive for the urban poor. This system constituted the relationship between small and large scale farmers who supplied products to higglers who in turn sold these regularly in the urban markets. Unless they were related to these farmers, once the higglers obtained their produce they were independent of the farmers. The higglers often had regular urban customers with whom they established a trusting relationship. That is, the regular customer could owe for products from one week to the next, having a debit with the higgler. The customer also had the privilege of obtaining special prices when food was abundant. The relationship also became very personalized.

Following the breakdown of this system, the trusting relationship network also broke down. Many of the urban poor found that they had to depend on the supermarkets for food which they could barely afford. A consequence of this is that not only are the poor eating
less nutritious foods, but as consumers, they support the large food chains which are fully or partially controlled by foreign capital. Local street and market vendors were increasingly displaced by this process and many resorted to selling other items such as plastic combs, thonged rubber sandals, zippers, hair pins, mirrors, nylon laces and ribbons, all of which were imported and processed through local merchants. This is a clear instance of the interdependent relationship between external economies and the local economy.

During the 1970s the accumulation of a huge balance of payment deficit in Jamaica is alleged to be a consequence of the Jamaican government borrowing capital. This capital was obtained in the 1950s from foreign companies, financial institutions and governments to finance projects such as the tourist and bauxite industries and manufacturing enterprises. It has been argued that the costs in maintaining these industries (i.e. infrastructure such as airports, roads, water supplies, sewers, electricity and industrial promotion) are substantial (Britton 1982:245). Infrastructural expenditure also diverts development of other projects that could be beneficial to a majority of the poor in host countries such as Jamaica. These countries now find themselves in a vicious debt trap. This is detrimental to the entire
society since money earned from industries built by money borrowed has to be diverted from internal use to pay the debt and interest incurred abroad.

By 1974 the Jamaican government articulated the fact that dependence on foreign loans was only perpetuating dependent development. The call for democratic socialism with an emphasis on internal economic reforms aimed at changing the structures of this type of development. Some reforms such as the land lease project, free education, an adult literacy programme, the institution of a minimum wage for workers and the establishment of a state trading corporation to regulate foreign trade, were attempted. These reforms met with strong resistance from members of the Jamaican economic elite. Their opposition often manifested itself through decreased production and layoff of workers. As Ambursley (1981:84) suggests political patronage also eroded these reforms: "The impact Programme, the Food Farms, Project Land Lease, and even the Brigadista Programme which sent Jamaicans for technical training in Cuba, were used for purposes of patronage." Another social reform was gain eroded when in 1979 again corruption surfaced in the State Trading Corporation. Its director, a political appointee, fled the island with an alleged $6 million while under surveillance by the security forces. This created a political
dilemma as it occurred at a time when the government had placed restrictions on foreign currency leaving the island (Daily Gleaner 1979).

The Jamaican situation was compounded by a shortage of capital and the International Monetary Fund was called upon for assistance. In the terms of the 1944 Breton Woods agreement, most capitalist countries are members of the fund whether they borrow from it or not. Whenever member countries experience foreign exchange difficulties, the fund is expected to bail them out. For granting loans, the fund normally demands devaluation of the local currency (Payer 1974). The effect of this is that with a devalued currency imports cost more for the Jamaican people while developed countries pay less for Jamaican exports. Since Jamaica imports the bulk of its foodstuffs the effects on the poor are obvious. Exports such as bauxite and sugar were severely affected. Although the export of ganja is illegal it does represent a large underground market. The impact on the urban poor, many of whom are involved in the trade as runners, was felt as international traders were paying less for the product. Acceptance of a loan from the fund was detrimental to the Jamaican economy as the fund was virtually in control, forcing Jamaica to continue its dependence on the developed countries.
In 1979 while the fund was still active in Jamaica, food and spare parts for motor vehicles and industrial machines were in short supply. This shortage was so widespread it created a state of panic among the Jamaican people. The interplay of panic and lack of trust in the local economy and shortage of funds from the government, since most was being used to service the agreed upon loan, contributed to the shortage of consumer goods in Jamaica. A consequence of this was that the middle and upper classes felt insecure, some migrated, mainly to the United States and Canada, and others began exporting their capital in whatever form possible. Of course, this was illegal as money was leaving in the form of foreign currency that Jamaica desperately needed. A strong currency black market became fully fledged. Individuals permanently leaving the country invested in commodities such as paintings and jewelry that could be sold easily abroad. A strong foreign goods black market carried out by sophisticated street vendors also developed. Tourists, returning Jamaicans, foreigners working on the island in the Bauxite and Tourist industries, Peace Corps and CUSO workers and foreign experts, often became part of this foreign goods and currency black market.

Although the government has set up an elaborate and expensive machinery (The Financial Intelligence Unit) to
counteract these activities, it is being circumvented by Jamaican ingenuity, thus further disabling the economy.

In times of economic crisis less funds are available and the sector of the society which provides cash value for goods and services tends to divert its funds and energy outside the country. Members of the hustle sector find it increasingly difficult to survive and are forced to find more sophisticated survival techniques as the competition for scarce resources becomes more fierce. Because most of the activities pertaining to survival are deemed illegal (ganja trading, consumer goods and currency blackmarkets) the poor find themselves in a precarious situation. For instance, possession and trading of ganja have always been illegal in Jamaica but it is alleged that prosecution was stepped up during the crisis. Also, the state imposed heavy custom fines on local vendors returning from abroad carrying contraband goods. It is further alleged that the government's action was largely a response to protests from the large scale manufacturers, who are part of the same economic elite allied to foreign companies. Again by merely attempting to survive, slum dwellers find themselves in a constant struggle with the state. Yet these marginal activities provided service to the economy in times of crisis. For example, the ganja trade, although a hidden
economy, provided much needed foreign capital. The trade in black market currency and consumer goods provided goods and services where needed and filled a gap vacated by middle class and elite merchants, many of whom diverted their capital and goods outside the country².

It has been shown that Jamaican society emerged within the socio-historical context of dependency, and although certain mechanisms have changed over time, these have not resulted in significant structural changes, so the society remains dependent. The slum is dependent on the capitalist sector while Jamaica is dependent on the more developed societies. These all interlock within a system seemingly unable to change. For instance, the economic elite continues to dominate the society on the one hand, and on the other, the slum dwellers, in their effort to survive, continue to be involved in economic activities that are more beneficial to sectors outside of the slum.

Other factors are also at work which help to maintain Jamaica's dependence. The first of these is the strengthening of the external-internal alliance between the Jamaican economic elite and the decision makers within the international system. The strength of this alliance was clearly felt during Jamaica's efforts at Democratic Socialism and its ultimate failure due mainly to
the fact that this group controlled the power. The second is the lack of political consciousness on the part of the majority of Jamaicans, who seemed not to recognize the dominance of this elite. One could theorize that lack of consciousness has been overshadowed by political partisanship. This acts as a disabling force preventing the poor from recognizing the important role they play within the total system. In addition, many of the poor tend to accept their position as transitory and, as the data show, many believe that within a matter of time their material conditions will improve. This position is reinforced ideologically by religious and political party loyalty.

The poor have also seen attempts at unity repressed by government forces. As one informant expressed it: "dem (h)ave de police dem and de solja dem backa dem - a wha we (h)ave?" (The government has the support of the police and the military, what have we got?). Thus, fear is another mechanism of social control. It is understandable that the poor perceive the state as powerful and that they fear its power. But, taken to its extreme, this fear becomes destructive. There does not appear to be any overall strategies among the poor in pushing for social change. Most public demonstrations in which they are involved tend to be
organized by the dominant political party whose leadership resides outside of the slum. The slum dwellers tend to reproduce the rhetoric of the political party leaders and there appears to be no analysis of their own social conditions. Politically, the middle class cannot be viewed as a model to the poor for when viewed within the context of their goals and their relationship to the advanced capitalist societies, it is seen that they are similarly oppressed. They too appear trapped within the colonial mentality syndrome as they continue to internalize foreign values.

Having established that the slum is an integral part of Jamaican society, one is forced to accept the problems of high unemployment, inadequate health care, and poor educational facilities as structural. The solution to these problems within the slum would have to include changes in the entire society. It can be concluded then that structural transformation is therefore a necessity and that the greatest hindrance to this is the dominance of political party polarization and the hegemony of the economic elite and its foreign interests alliance.

From the data presented the slum dwellers have demonstrated their innovativeness in trying to survive, but because the resources available to them remain
limited their situation is paradoxical in that it changes but remains the same. This is concurrent with the situation of the country itself. Given the appropriate opportunities the slum dwellers could realize positive changes. This only seems possible if they can extricate themselves from the present dominant ideology which only serves to oppress them. Given Jamaica's rigid class structure and the control of the power elite, will the Jamaican poor be able to make such a move should they so desire?

The phenomenon of multinational companies within small scale societies is becoming predominant. These companies tend to incorporate traditional populations into a wage economy. This usually destroys social organization as these industries cannot absorb all the labour force which they attract. Traditional workers not finding urban employment over long periods of time often become deskillled and usually unemployable. They tend to concentrate within the slum area thus reinforcing its persistence.

So far, theoretical perspectives concerning dependent development have not been able to deal adequately with this problem. Those subscribing to the classical theory of development still hold that foreign investments bring modernization to dependent countries
and hence a higher standard of living. Those subscribing to the dependency perspective argue that modernization disrupts the social economy and creates changes in cultural values, changes with which these societies have not adequately coped.

It would appear therefore that the need for structural and institutional changes within Jamaica's political economy are urgent. But the question remains. Can Jamaica, given its structural relationship to the international system bring about such changes?
Chapter Seven

1 The food is less nutritious in the sense that the highly iron content bananas are being substituted with cornflakes. Fresh fruits and vegetables are substituted with canned ones. Fresh poultry is substituted with canned meats. The meats, in particular, tend to have a high salt content. This can be detrimental to a population that already has exhibited a high incidence of hypertension.

2 In November 1982 the new Jamaican government has put further restrictions on currency in an effort to counter the huge blackmarket trade. Tourists in Jamaica are now required to use American currency unless for very small items such as taxi-fares. It is also illegal to take Jamaican currency in or out of the country (Province Newspaper 1982).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>baby-father</td>
<td>Fathering a child out of wedlock.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baby-mother</td>
<td>Mothering a child out of wedlock.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>backra</td>
<td>Refers to a member of the elite, usually white.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Babylon</td>
<td>Persons, objects or institutions representing the capitalist world.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bongo man</td>
<td>Recent arrival from the rural area.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>butus</td>
<td>Members of the urban lower class, usually coarse in manner.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>capture</td>
<td>The take-over of land or houses without permission.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chilum pipe</td>
<td>Special large pipe used for ganja smoking.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coche</td>
<td>The water container attached to the bottom of the chilum pipe.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crash</td>
<td>To enter a dance, party or other social event without invitation or without paying the required admission fee.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crasher</td>
<td>One who crashes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crashie</td>
<td>Employee of the Special Employment (Impact) Programme, commonly referred to as the Crash Programme.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crown &amp; Anchor</td>
<td>Game played for money with dice. Very common within the slum.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drop pan</td>
<td>Numbers game popular in the slum. Controlled by a group of Chinese-Jamaicans living outside the slum.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dutty labourites</td>
<td>Refer to members of the Jamaica Labour Party. The party originated with very strong labour support.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fabatism</td>
<td>favouritism</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
friars  Men in the slum who support women financially without any emotional involvement.

ganja  Marijuana. Smoked by many in Jamaican society, but observed as a ritual object by the Rastafarians.

ghetto folks  Slum dwellers often refer to themselves as such.

higgler  Food vendor in local market or on the street.

hustling  The ability to obtain material wants by using one's wits.

idiot men  Men in the slum who support women financially without any emotional involvement.

Jah  God.

joints  Similar to cigarettes but filled with ganja instead of tobacco.

kotching  Sponging off relatives and friends usually obtaining free accommodation.

loads  A collection of goods brought to the city by higglers.

mice  Men in the slum who support women without any emotional involvement.

monkey  Reference to a physically unattractive person. In the case of Jamaica, such a person is usually black, as beauty is judged by European standards.

obeah  Witchcraft.

pardna  Informal savings network common to the slum.

peaka peow  Numbers game using Chinese characters. Played mainly in the slum and controlled by a group of Chinese-Jamaicans living outside of the slum.

pickney  child.

pickney dem  children.
quashee
Derogatory word referring to someone from the rural area.

ranking men
Refer to political party thugs within the slum. These are usually gunmen.

reggae
Type of Jamaican music made popular by singers from the urban slum.

rock-steady
Type of Jamaican music and dance.

round
Refers to the buying of alcoholic beverage in a bar for more than two persons.

rounds
Similar to a cigarette but ganja is used as the filling instead of tobacco.

souffling
Similar to hustling but constitutes a smaller part of one's daily activities. It is not as consuming as hustling. For instance, one can have a job as a domestic helper and scuffle items of food from her employer.

ska
Type of Jamaican music and dance.

sky-juice
Water mixed with fruit syrup and served with shaved ice. Usually sold by slum dwellers in the city of Kingston or at special sport events or public concerts.

spliffs
Similar to cigarettes but filled with ganja instead of tobacco.

streggae
Member of the urban lower class, usually coarse in manners.

strugglers
Those individuals who have an extremely difficult time surviving from day to day.

suck-suck
Flavoured ice cube.

sufferers
Those individuals who have a difficult time surviving and feel oppressed and powerless about their situation.
ticks
Refer to members of the police force who cruise the slum area and are viewed as parasites by the slum dwellers.

vege
Young girl who lives at home but has a sexual relationship with a male who is usually older than herself. He often gives her some sort of financial support.

wapun-bapun
A phrase used to express the hurried manner in which something is done, especially the construction of shacks.

yard
An area consisting of a number of different households usually of the tenement variety, that is, one room to each household. Yards are a dominant feature of the urban slum.
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LA CLAU, Ernesto

LANTERNARI, Vittorio

LENIN, V.I.

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WALLERSTEIN, Immanuel

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APPENDIX 1

MAP 1 - LOCATION OF JAMAICA WITHIN THE CARIBBEAN

MAP 2 - STUDY AREA ACCORDING TO STREETS
(Adapted from Map Division, Dept. of Statistics, Jamaica)
INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

HOUSEHOLD NO........SEX:  M...F...  Educ. Level..............

1. How long have you been living in this area?
   Years.......Months.......Weeks.......

2. Where were you born?
   In the area.....Another part of Kingston.....Not in Kingston.....Other.......

3. How old are you?........

4. What is your marital status?
   M.....S.....D.....C/Law.....Semi C/Law.......Widowed.......Other.......

5. Is your spouse alive? Yes.....No.......

6. Do you own.....Rent.....or have captured.......your accommodation? Or Other.......

7. Who is your landlord (if any)?
   Government.......Private.......Other.......(explain)


10. Do you rent accommodation to others? Yes.....No.......If yes, where?...........How much do you get?........

11. How many children and adults are in your household?
    Children (ages) Relationship  Adults (ages) Relationship
12. If any children, are they in school? Yes......No......

If yes, what type of school?

Prep (3-12)......Basic (3-6)......Primary (7-12).........

All-Age (12-15)......New Secondary (12-18)........

High (12-18).........Comprehensive (12-18)........

Technical (12-18)........Other...........

Is the school in the area? Yes.....No......

If not at school, why not?

What do they do?

13. Do the children contribute financially to the household?

Yes......No......

If yes, what?

Roughly, how much do they bring in per week.....month......

14. Do you have any specific plans for your children (e.g. what would you like them to be) (Probe)

15. What do you do for a living?.........................

Where do you work?...............................

How much do you make?...........................

(If vendor, where do you buy your products)
16. Do you do any other jobs?  Yes.......No........
    If yes, what?...................  Where............... 
    How much do you make?............. 
17. What is your spouse's occupation?.......................
    Where does he/she work?..............
    How much does he/she make?.............
18. Are you a member of a "pardna" network?  Yes.......No........
    How many?......................How many members in each............
    What is the "throw" for each?...........
    What is the "draw" for each?.............
    Are you a "banker"?  Yes.......No........
    Explain role......................
    Does your "banker" live in the area?  Yes.......No........
    How do you spend your "pardna" money? (draws)

19. Are you a member of any other Mutual Aid Fund?  Yes...No......
    If yes, which..............
20. Apart from your household, do you have other relatives in
    the area?  Yes.......No......
    If yes, how many.............
    Do you get any support from these relatives?  Yes....No......
    If yes, what type?
21. Do you have relatives in the "country" (rural areas)
   Yes.....No......
   If yes, explain relationship

22. Do you own any land in the "country" (rural areas)
   Yes.....No......
   If yes, does it produce?  Yes.....No......
   What?
   Do you get the products?  Yes......No......
   If yes, what do you do with the products?

23. Do you visit your relatives in the "country"? Yes....No....
   If yes, how often............
   Do they visit you?  Yes.....No........
   If yes, how often............

24. Do you take anything to them on visits?  Yes.....No........
   If yes, what?
   When they visit you, do they bring you anything?  Yes....No....
   If yes, what?
   When they visit you, do you give them anything? Yes...No....
   If yes, what?
   If no, why not?
25. Do you get support (economic) from others outside your household? Government......Relatives in the area......
    Relatives in the countryside......Relatives in other parts of Kingston......Relatives from abroad......
    Where?.......... Other.......... Explain extent of support

26. Do you do things for people in the area? (e.g. looking after children, etc.).
    Yes........No........
    If yes, what?
    Do you get paid? Yes........No........
    If yes, how much?..............

27. Do other people in the area do things for you? Yes.....No....
    If yes, what?

28. Do you shop in this area? Yes......No......
    If yes, explain types of shopping etc.
    If no, why not? (explain fully)

29. How much do you spend on food per week.....Month........

30. Do you grow any foodstuff? Yes.....No......
    If yes, what?
31. Do you sell the produce.......keep all for your family.....
    Retain a part and sell a part.......Other.........
    (Explain where, amount in cash etc)

32. Roughly, how much do you spend on clothing per month.....
    Year.......

33. Do you encounter any problems getting transportation
    in and out of the area? Yes.......No........
    If yes, explain

34. Do you ever leave the area? Yes......No......
    If yes, purpose for leaving
    If no, why not?

35. What do you like best about living in this area?

36. What do you dislike most about living in this area?

37. Do you have any fears about crime in the area? Yes....No....
    If yes, explain

38. With what social activities are you involved?
    Are you a church member? Yes.....No.....
    Which church do you attend?....................How often.......
39. Are you a member of any other group? (political etc)
   Yes......No...... Which.............
   How often do you attend meetings?.................
   Are these activities in the area? Yes......No......
   If no, where..............

40. What future development would you like to see implemented in your community?

GENERAL INFORMATION AND OBSERVATIONS
   (e.g. living conditions)
LAYOUT OF A TYPICAL TENEMENT YARD
## APPENDIX 4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family Group</th>
<th>Companies Represented</th>
<th>Number of Directorships Represented</th>
<th>Family Members Who Chair Boards of Top 41 Companies</th>
<th>Companies They Chair</th>
<th>Rank of Company By Capital</th>
<th>Area of Investment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abrahams Ashenheim</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>N. Ashenheim</td>
<td>Caribbean Cement Co.</td>
<td>2,277,000</td>
<td>Cement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sir N. Ashenheim</td>
<td>Wray and Nephew</td>
<td>1,941,000</td>
<td>Sugar and Rum</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>L.E. Ashenheim</td>
<td>Caribbean Steel Co.</td>
<td>7,771,000</td>
<td>Steel Products</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Gleaner Company</td>
<td>3,370,000</td>
<td>Newspaper &amp; Printing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Insurance Co. of Jamaica</td>
<td>2,078,000</td>
<td>Insurance</td>
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<tr>
<td>Brandon</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>A.E. Brandon</td>
<td>Motor Owners Mutual</td>
<td>669,556</td>
<td>Insurance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brown</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D'Costa</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>C.E. D'Costa</td>
<td>Lascelles De Mercado</td>
<td>8,681,000</td>
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<td>P.S. Desnoes</td>
<td>Western Terminals</td>
<td>2,622,000</td>
<td>Real Estate</td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Desnoes &amp; Geddes</td>
<td>3,955,000</td>
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<td>7</td>
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<td>Graham</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<td>K. Hendrickson</td>
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<td>Jamaica Co-Op</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>R.D. Henrikse</td>
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<tr>
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<td>3</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Judah</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>E.A. Lai</td>
<td>Lai Corporation</td>
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<td>Jamaica Telephone Company</td>
<td>15,071,000</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Industrial Commercial</td>
<td>9,629,000</td>
<td>Diversified Metal Products</td>
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<td>Developments</td>
<td>3,803,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mahood</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>W.H. Mahood</td>
<td>Life of Jamaica</td>
<td>1,732,000</td>
<td>Insurance</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nunes</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>Bryden &amp; Evelyn</td>
<td>2,592,000</td>
<td>Distributors &amp; Importers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rousseau</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>P.H. Rousseau</td>
<td>Kingston Ice-Making Company</td>
<td>874,000</td>
<td>Ice &amp; Refrigeration Facilities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stone</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>D.H. Stone</td>
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</table>

The illiteracy rate in Jamaica is estimated at 30%. What I found in the slum area was that many people had been to school, even if it were for a short period, and many could at least read and write. Of the 100 indepth interviews carried out, it was found that 12 persons did not have any schooling, 4 had schooling to the 2nd grade, 20 to the 3rd grade, 31 to the 4th grade, 12 to the 5th grade, and 5 to the 6th grade. No educational information was obtained for 6 persons. It should be noted that under the old educational system, the 5th grade was a respectable level at which to leave elementary school. The 6th grade was the highest and was attended by those who intended to further their education. Most of these students sat the Jamaica Local Examinations (1,2,3). Many of those who were successful went into the teaching and nursing professions. There was only one person in the study who attended high school, and he dropped out in Form 3. Apparently, he attended one of the best boys' school in the city, but claimed that he was "kicked out" because he was "a ghetto boy".

The structure of the educational system is such that many children from the poorer classes are excluded because they are required to sit entrance examinations for which they are not prepared. Of those who are admitted, many drop out because of social and financial pressures.
The concept of free education was introduced under Jamaican socialism but the entrance examinations remained and tended to block many students. To pass these examinations, one needed to prepare either through preparatory schools or extra lessons. These are expensive endeavours and are not feasible for the poor. In scanning the places offered in the high schools from 1974-1979, there was indeed a markedly low representation of students from the slum schools. There is also a tendency to be more applicants than there are places available and this gives rise to a very fierce competition. To remedy this several schools were constructed, but a state of confusion developed regarding the many levels of schooling and the varied certificates offered. A result of this confusion is the illusion that most of the population is being serviced educationally when in fact some of these certificates are of little value in terms of furthering one's education or obtaining a job. The educational elitism that existed prior to the 1950s still exists, but is obscured by these circumstances.
APPENDIX 6
POOR RELIEF IN THE URBAN SLUM

The concept of Poor Relief started in 1838. The Office falls under the Board of Supervision (which "manages the poor"). This board trains poor relief officers.

Persons 60 years of age and over who are mentally or physically handicapped qualify for Poor Relief benefits. Exceptional cases, such as financially overburdened families, are often considered. Orphans get assistance and their names are recorded on the rolls. They are placed with a guardian who is often a relative or a friend of the family. They are fully taken care of, with school uniforms and books being supplied along with the usual care.

Accidents or shootings are also regarded as special cases. Because of the nature of the urban slum, there are cases where a man is shot and three different women who have borne his children appear in the Relief Office seeking support. The policy of the office is to give the support to the woman who produces the Burial Certificate, as this indicates a certain closeness to the man and a willingness to take the responsibility to bury him. According to one Poor Relief Officer, sometimes all the women (baby-mothere) turn up together. During the Green Bay shootings, for instance, 4 women came to the office to obtain support on behalf of the children of one
of the men killed. The officers claim that in situations such as these, they use their discretion in placing individuals on the rolls.

They sometimes help out with rentals and assist pregnant women who are unable to pay the nominal fees charged at Kingston Public Hospital (Jubilee). These women are enrolled with Poor Relief until the baby reaches three months old. The benefits across the board is $10.00 paid forthnightly. According to one officer, although the benefits are small, everyone seems to be aware of the Poor Relief office. People who come into the city from the rural areas and have difficulty finding money to return home invariably turn up at the Poor Relief Office. The unemployed usually turn up at the office, but if they do not fulfill the requirements they are turned away.

The Poor Relief benefits are handled directly by the Kingston and St. Andrew Corporation. There are 3,192 persons enrolled on Poor Relief for Kingston and St. Andrew. Of this number, 285 are from the slum studied.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Street</th>
<th>Persons</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Albert Street</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beeston Street</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blount Street</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bond Street</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bread Lane</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chestnut Lane</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drummond Street</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dumphries Street</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elgin Street</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greenwich Street</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hannah Street</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heywood Street</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Last Street</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Little King Street</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metcalfe Street</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milk Lane</td>
<td>13</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nelson Street</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Street</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orange Street</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oxford Street</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pink Lane</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Regent Street</td>
<td>25</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rose Lane</td>
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<td>Victoria Street</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Water Street</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wellington Street</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Queen Street</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Street (Upper)</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>285</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: My compilation of figures received from the Poor Relief Office, 65 Hanover Street, Kingston, 1979.
The above represents the form used in Peaka Peow which is a numbers game played throughout Jamaica and very popular within the slum. It is written in Chinese characters (60x60). Although many players have indicated to me that they do not understand Chinese, this does not prevent them from avidly playing the game. The player marks the characters (a minimum of 8 and up to 40) at a cost of 10¢ for each character. In order to win, the characters marked by the player has to match those pre-selected by the Chinaman, an agent of whom carries out the transaction (i.e. collecting the marked forms and returning the results). I have been informed repeatedly that the results get to the agent before the Chinaman sees the markings of players. A player hits the jackpot if he/she selects 8 characters pre-selected by the Chinaman.
The player submits a number to an agent of the Chinaman, referred to as a Kent. The player wins if his/her number is played. The results, as shown above are displayed on the walls of small shops, light posts, or designated trees. The first set of numbers represents the drawings of the morning. The highest number in the game is 36 and numbers within this ranged are represented by the top numbers. The bottom numbers indicate the amount of shuffles performed in order to determine a winner. Each play costs from 10c upward. The amount a player spends depends on how strongly he/she feels about his/her luck.
The Honourable House may wish to be reminded of the importance of the Special Employment Programme and will be pleased to learn of measures which are being taken to improve the efficiency of this programme. This paper will also serve to inform the House how the total provision of $50 million for the current year's programme has been allocated among major projects and implementing agencies.

In April 1972 the aggregate unemployment rate in Jamaica stood at 23.6 percent of the labour force having declined steadily from 13 percent in 1962. While it had been traditional to implement Special Works Programme throughout Jamaica, especially prior to major holidays, Government recognized that ad hoc seasonal works programmes were unlikely to make an impact on the unemployment problem either in terms of numbers of persons affected, mandays of employment created or contribution to national output. The Special Employment Programme has therefore been devised in response to this need. Government has always been aware of the need to increase the productive content of the Programme but the problems of the exercise should be appreciated. There are several technological difficulties in the development and implementation of productive capital projects using high proportions of unskilled labour. The needs of the unemployed could not be put aside while new ideas were being explored, projects developed and evaluated and implementation commenced. The strategy therefore has been to provide as much employment as quickly as possible while increasing our capacity to improve the productive content of the programme. In 1975/76 the Special Employment Programme provided the equivalent of 24,500 man years of employment at a cost of 53.2 million dollars. Because many projects last less than a year and some employment is part time, the number of persons who receive employment from the programme is estimated to be in excess of 50,000. About 70 percent of the expenditure and employment in 1975/76 was allocated to the development of rural and agricultural infrastructure. The main areas were road maintenance and construction, flood water and river control, irrigation, soil conservation and forestry. The remaining portion of the expenditure was allocated to community related projects, the development of parks and playfields, the cleaning of gullies, the sweeping of streets and bushing. About 15 percent of the expenditure goes toward the urban street sweeping programme.

During 1975/76 a training programme for supervisors employed in the programme was implemented. Over 500 supervisors were trained for one week in the elements of supervision and simple technical skills. Efforts continue not only to improve the
content of the programme and the distribution of benefits but also to improve the skills of the persons involved and improve the sense of personal worth.

Planning and monitoring of the Programme

1976-1977

A Monitoring Unit has been established within the National Planning Agency to provide data essential for evaluation and planning and to ensure that programme objectives are realized and maximum benefits accrue to the nation. A complementary Planning Unit is also being staffed which will evaluate project proposals submitted by various agencies or persons as well as develop and co-ordinate projects on a national scale. The Planning and Monitoring Units will function within the National Planning Agency under the direction of the Chief Technical Director. Projects will be referred by the Chief Technical Director to Economic Council for approval after evaluation by the Planning Unit.

The Approved Estimates for the current financial year reflects a provision of $39 million under the Ministry of Finance Head of Estimates for the Special Employment Programme. The Supplementary Estimates to be presented later in the year will show an additional provision of $11 million to bring the total provision for the Special Employment Programme to $50 million.

Appendix A shows the distribution of the amount of $50 million among major categories of projects and implementing agencies. It will be observed that the allocation to the Rural Area of $25,738,000 represents approximately 51.5 percent of the total allocation. While the proportion of expenditure allocated to the Corporate Area seems large, it must be appreciated that not only does the highest concentration of the unemployed occur in the Corporate Area but there is very little opportunity for alternative seasonal employment.

The Ministry of Finance has been authorized to provide implementing agencies with carry-on allocations amounting to 25 percent of the approved provisions in order to prevent dislocation of on-going projects. Detailed project proposals are being submitted to the National Planning Agency for evaluation and submission to Economic Council for approval. Every effort should be made to send forward outstanding proposals as quickly as possible. The Ministry of Finance will release additional funds when detailed projects have been approved by Economic Council.

MICHAEL MANLEY
PRIME MINISTER.

Source: Agency for Public Information Library, 1979 (mimeo).
Mr. Speaker,

There has recently been a considerable misunderstanding in Jamaica about the role which ought to be played in the future by what we describe as the private sector of the Jamaican economy. I intend today to make a clear statement of policy on behalf of the Government which will set out the principles upon which we base our actions insofar as the general management and organization of the economy is concerned.

Ever since 1940, the People's National Party has accepted and believed in the principles of Socialism. Recently we have undertaken a major exercise of democratic re-examination of the principles of Socialism with a view to examining how these principles relate to modern Jamaica in a changing world. It is vital that this should be done because the world itself is changing at a quite unprecedented pace. The nature of international relationships, the world's economic system, the expectations of people, the attitudes of the young - all change and evolve as history unfolds. Recently, however, the nature and speed of change has undergone a dramatic transformation.

It is inevitable that there should be a certain measure of insecurity felt by many Jamaicans today. Businessmen who used to be certain of their supplies at dependable prices from abroad are suddenly finding that world inflation has swept away the foundations upon which their business calculations are based. Suppliers cancel supply contracts at a moment's notice; wreaking havoc with the plans of the local businessman, as all the known ground rules seem to disappear before the forces of inflation. Then again, everyone in this country must accept, somewhere in their hearts, that we could not hope to continue in Jamaica with a situation where a minority of the population were secure and well-off while the majority of our people hover either at the margin of poverty or are a part of that lost, hopeless army of the unemployed. As a consequence, those who are better off and more privileged know that sacrifices have to be made, but may find themselves guessing at the extent and nature of the sacrifice that will be required.

All these elements make for an atmosphere of uncertainty. To make matters worse, we have the fact that the Press often makes blaring headlines by quoting speeches out of context or by inventing inferences out of the blue! Against this background the People's National Party has itself felt it necessary to re-examine its fundamental beliefs so as to test them, insofar as judgment and commonsense can, in this rapidly changing environment.
In the course of this statement, at a public meeting tomorrow night, and again next week Tuesday in a document which will be distributed through every Daily Gleaner, Daily News and Star, on Tuesday of next week we will be setting out, firstly, an explanation of our political education process and programme; secondly, our basic beliefs as a political movement; thirdly, a careful account of the democratic socialism in which we believe and which we believe is best for Jamaica; fourthly, a careful account of the principles by which we are guided in the development of a mixed economy in Jamaica and, finally, descriptions of some of the terms which are used in political dialogue but which are often misunderstood in Jamaica. Here, it is our purpose to explain what this Party means when it uses particular words.

Now, Mr. Speaker, there are professional mischief makers in our society. This little clique which is to be found in the ranks of some, I repeat some of the more privileged of our society, knows that change is coming, have no intention of accepting change and is determined to create every kind of trouble in Jamaica which they can by propaganda and lies. There is nothing that I can say to them, because they lack that basic ingredient without which a country cannot survive - the quality of patriotism. Luckily, there are a fraction, a clique, a minority.

Let me state now, Mr. Speaker, with all the emphasis at my command that when we of this Government and in the People's National Party speak of Capitalism we are not speaking of any person or individual. We are not speaking of a businessman or any particular entrepreneur. We are speaking of a total system. Capitalism is a philosophy and a total method for the organization of economic and social affairs in a country.

It claims that the making of profits and the true selfish pursuit of personal gain is the supreme activity which every person must pursue and that everything else comes second.

From this basic definition of Capitalism, I want us to bear one simple truth in mind. In a Capitalist society, a Capitalist Government makes decisions primarily in the interest of Capital, the assumption being that once the owners of Capital are treated with due deference, the social order will take care of itself. Historically, this theory has proven to be totally fallacious and the consequences for humanity most disastrous.

A look at slavery and the plantation system will prove most instructive. The only concern of the plantation system was to provide owners of capital with maximum profits regardless of human misery. Once this is accepted we can understand the moral sanction of slavery since it provided free labour. We can understand why one hundred million Africans could be totally subjected to the most inhuman and degrading existence via the slave trade.
Exploitation is the inevitable consequence of Capitalist philosophy. Exploitation is inevitable in any system based upon the one dominant notion that it is the overriding duty and obligation of every human being to grab as much money as they can make at the expense of anything and anybody else in the society.

The apologists for capitalism maintain that man is a selfish, greedy animal that can only be motivated by selfish individual gain. As Socialists, we challenge this assumption since we believe that man is motivated to work not only to satisfy the basic needs for himself and family, but just as importantly to satisfy the fundamental need for full creative expression. This is the quality that separates man from the beasts. It is this driving force in man that Socialism seeks to mobilize in the national interest.

Socialism is also a philosophy and a method for the total organization of society. However, by contrast, in a Socialist society, a Socialist Government will take decisions primarily in the interest of the social order that is, of people. The economy is organized to serve the best interest of good social relations and human development.

The Socialist believes that every individual is entitled to an opportunity in life and believes that wider family, wider community that we call the nation, owes an opportunity of life with income, and security to all of its members. Equally, the socialist believes that every member - every man, every woman - owes to the community their loyalty and their service and the obligation of hard, honest work.

The socialist believes that every individual has an overriding responsibility to make a contribution towards the welfare of the entire national family in return for the rights and opportunities that the whole family owes to the individual. There are many senses, Mr. Speaker, in which socialist thinking tries to express for the whole nation the same principles and values that guide each member of a family in their relations with each other.

It is here that one sees a clear parallel between Socialism and the Christian way of life. We are called by Christianity to brotherly concern based on the concept that we are all God's children. Socialism provides the organizational framework for us to put this concern into practice.

I would now like to take a programme which is controversial in Jamaica, to illustrate certain basic principles of Socialism and also to demonstrate a fundamental difference between socialist philosophy and capitalist philosophy. I refer to the Impact Work Scheme. May I first of all, set some facts straight since this programme has been the subject of a lot of quite vicious misrepresentation and an equal amount of genuine misunderstanding. The Impact Work Scheme is a number of projects
in all parts of Jamaica which are designed to find work for the unemployed and to do things which the nation needs to have done.

More than $30 million are being spent under this programme. For example, this programme is being used to help to drain the upper Morass in St. Elizabeth as we get ready to bring 8,000 acres into rice production over the next two to three years.

The Impact Programme is being used to transform nearly 6,000 acres of prime agricultural land in Hanover. Here we have commenced to place young people on the land; not old, sloping hillside land, but prime, flat land. We are also saying to some of the older farmers whose ancestors were driven to the hills around Montpelier after Emancipation, to come down from the hills and take their rightful place on a piece of flat land. There, they are all beginning to produce food for the nation and are being trained in agricultural methods while they build their own housing estate and are assisted to form their own co-operatives.

The Impact Programme is being used to straighten gullies and to plant forests. The Impact Programme is being used to finance the Pioneer Corps which is our parallel youth operation with the National Youth Service. Here, we already have 2,000 young boys and girls who never got a chance to "make it" in education to perform useful tasks while receiving some basic training. The Impact Programme is being used to build vitally needed sidewalks in Kingston.

Finally, Mr. Speaker, there is a sum of about $3 million which is being spent on the programme that is causing the argument: that is the programme to keep Kingston clean, its gully courses clear in case of flood rains, the sidewalks tidy and its empty lands bushed. Under this Programme, there are some 11,000 human beings, most of them young women who have never had a chance to work before in their lives, and old ladies many of whom have hovered on the verge of starvation for years. This Programme is literally saving 11,000 human beings and their families from destruction.

We make it clear, and I myself have made a number of speeches, that we expect these people to give a fair day's work to the nation which is now embracing them with a genuine concern for their welfare. All Supervisors in this Programme have instructions to weed out any persons who willfully refuse to give an honest day's work. The great majority of these people do give an honest day's work. The proof of the fact that the majority do give an honest day's work is the fact that Kingston is probably cleaner today than it has been in twenty-five years.

But, Mr. Speaker, at the heart of this question is a great principle. If you have the capitalistic outlook you will take the view that these human beings must be left to starve, to be
destroyed, unless you can find something immediately profitable for them to do. This is because the profit motive is made the dominant consideration in human affairs. In a socialist view, we feel that the nation must accept responsibility for its people and that so far as resources permit, it must take people out of the horror of unemployment and engage in tasks that the society need to have performed.

In a socialistic view, you cannot leave people to be destroyed merely because your planning mechanism may not yet have found an absolutely perfect way of using their services. You cannot leave people to be destroyed merely because you cannot find an activity which will make profits for somebody who owns capital. Your concern is a different concern. It is a concern for the survival of the people themselves. That is your first concern.

As time passes, many of the people in this Programme will begin to develop the habit of work discipline which they do not possess now because society never gave them a chance to work at anything through which they could learn discipline. But they are learning. As time passes our planning mechanisms will improve and we may find that a smaller portion of the people can keep Kingston clean and some can be diverted to activities of a more obvious economic significance.

These workers know, because I have told them, that when we call upon them to shift from cleaning streets or sidewalks or something different, because the nation is now ready to use them differently, that they must be prepared to accept the new type of employment. This they accept joyously because we have now included them in this human family that is the Jamaican nation – for the first time at last!

Mr. Speaker, may I now turn to a second principle of socialism which can be illustrated from this Programme. In the philosophy of capitalism it was believed that only the profit motive can supply the motivation for human effort, for hard work, and by extension, for discipline. We socialists insist that hard work by everyone, whether they are making profits or serving the nation in other ways, is essential to national welfare. Therefore, we do not make hard work depend upon making money. We insist that hard work is an obligation that is owed by every human being to the nation that gives them the opportunity to earn a living in any manner whatsoever.

We teach and we insist, therefore, that the nation owes opportunity and security to its sons and daughters. We teach and we insist that sons and daughters owe the responsibility of hard and honest service to the nation. As between the two systems, Mr. Speaker, the choice is clear. One the one hand we have a concept of social order directed towards moral purpose. That is the socialist view. The alternative is to pursue a
course that is morally bankrupt and self-seeking. It is to that course that capitalist philosophy invites us. It is that morally bankrupt philosophy, which was used to justify slavery, colonialism and exploitation, which we reject.

It is in the pursuit of that philosophy that this country was reduced to the point where by 1972, twenty-three per cent of our persons were unemployed, poverty stalked the land, inequality of wealth was the order of the day, the great majority of our farmers scratched to survive on the hillsides. That system and philosophy, Mr. Speaker, has had its time - three hundred years of time - it has been tried - it has failed - it is the passing of that age and that concept of human exploitation which I celebrated the other day with my remark - and I quote - "The age of capitalist exploitation is dead".

Therefore, I say to those who have not understood, be patient. And if you cannot walk the socialist road of social responsibility to an acceptance of the work programme, then I say to you - accept it in the name of Christian brotherhood.

Under the socialist system, there is a perfectly reasonable, honourable, decent, respected and permanent role for a businessman. And please note, by businessman I do not refer solely to any one type. There are big businessmen and industrialists at one end of the scale; but equally important are the small business people such as the small furniture maker, shopkeeper, snow cone vendor, the higgler and so on. For all the various types of business people there is a legitimate place in our socialist system. And I wish to explain exactly why and how. If one stops to think there is no such thing as just a businessman. There are different kinds of businessmen. Frankly, some businessmen - and there are a small minority - do not belong in a socialist society. But others do belong. Let me illustrate.

A businessman who has what I would call a capitalistic outlook will operate his business with complete ruthlessness. He will try to cut corners in relation to quality; he will try to jook up his prices to the very maximum that he thinks he can get away with. He will exploit his workers and pay them the lowest possible wage - all for the reason that he has been taught to believe that the only purpose of his activity is to make as much profit as possible. In the final analysis, this capitalist will fight against the national interest because he will use the profits that are accumulated to block the progress of the masses.

This might take the form of sending profits out of the country so that they cannot be used for national development; or financing false propaganda and subversion. This kind of selfish businessman, caring for nothing except the maximization of profits has no place in socialism, and I submit no place in Jamaica's future.
Mr. Speaker, let us contrast that with other kinds of businessmen. There is a totally different kind of businessman - I am sure the great majority - who regards everything that he does as subject to an obligation which he owes to the community. He will insist upon the highest levels of quality, he will "fine tune" his prices to keep as low as possible for the benefit of the consumer, and he will regard his workers as engaged in a great partnership with him. This kind of businessman regards the profits he makes as an honourable and reasonable reward for effort, for the taking of risks and for the application of entrepreneurial imagination. The truth is that without necessarily even knowing it, this kind of businessman has been led by social conscience to a kind of attitude which is completely consistent with, and acceptable to, a socialist.

Even where one may find instances of exploitation, these are likely to be more incidental than planned. Similarly, his response to exploitation, once it is identified, will be to see how quickly he can apply corrective measures. The second kind of businessman has a clear place in a socialist society and a permanent place in Jamaica's future.

The truth is, Mr. Speaker, that a confusion arises here between the meaning of capitalism, the meaning of socialism and the meaning of the term "private businessman". I repeat that capitalism is a total system in which the pursuit of personal profit is regarded as the overriding obligation of every human being. This system we reject for Jamaica. Socialism is equally a system which says that the overriding consideration in these matters is that all human effort should be organized in the interest of the whole national family. Private business is not a system. It is not a philosophy. It is a method of producing goods and services. Where private business is guided by purely capitalistic values, it has no place in a socialist Jamaica. Where, on the other hand, private business accepts the overriding needs of the community as being paramount, accepts the Government as existing to interpret these needs, and is itself guided by a sense of social responsibility, that kind of business has a permanent and honourable place under socialism in Jamaica's future.

I have two comments that I would like to make, Mr. Speaker. I can think of some businessmen that I know who, because of their own inner nature and character as human beings, behave as if they were born socialists. These are people who seek their business as an opportunity for creative self expression, who have tremendous care and regard for their workers as genuine partners in the business. These are the people who raise wages without being pressured, seek to share the wealth of the business by bonuses and other devices among their workers, who genuinely treat those who work with them as equal members of a family on the enterprise, and who will work constantly to put out a good product at the lowest possible price. Believe me, these people belong in a socialist system.
My second comment is to do with insecurity. I know what uncertainties are felt by all sorts of people in today's world. But I may remind them that the insecurity which they feel now is as nothing compared with what is felt by the poor. I suggest that everybody in this country pause every now and again to imagine what it is like to wake up morning after morning with no job, not knowing how to pay for food on a Friday, where to turn to for the baby's milk, not knowing when the bailiff will appear. These are the terrible consequences that have been visited upon Jamaica by the capitalist system under which our affairs have been run for two hundred years with slavery; more than one hundred years of colonial exploitation; and in the first ten years of Independence. This is the system and these are the consequences that must go.

Let us not forget, the first decade of Independence, under a totally Capitalist system, left its own indelible mark on our society. There is one statistic which tells this story more powerfully than any other. While the G.D.P. was growing in 1962 from $480 million to $1,207 million in 1972, facilitating more big cars, more big buildings, more big houses; at the same time there were more people out of work and less farmers on the land.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I wish to state formally and officially the principles that guide this Government in relation to the mixed economy. We believe that the mixed economy has a permanent place and relevance in Jamaican economic affairs.

THE MIXED ECONOMY

The Government is committed to the concept of a mixed economy within the context of the socialist organization planned for Jamaica. The role of the Government within this type of economic organization is to ensure that all development takes place in accordance with the needs and goals of the society.

To achieve this, the Government must supervise the running of the economy, by a combination of direct ownership, control by participation, regulatory machinery and by the creation of appropriate incentives and opportunities.

Wherever the Government acquires assets in the national interest it will observe the principle of fair compensation. This Government rejects any form of expropriation.

Any discussion of private or public ownership must begin with the question of social accountability. In some instances Government will find that the public interest can only be adequately protected by direct and total public ownership of a particular enterprise. For example, it is quite inappropriate for private investors to derive profits from the provision of essential services such as water supplies. In other cases the conditions under which a public service must be provided simply
do not allow any profit margin for the investor. An example of this is rural electrification in Jamaica.

Secondly, a different situation occurs when the need for social accountability can be satisfied by Government participation through ownership of shares in an enterprise or industry. This enables the Government to participate in their decisions to ensure that these are taken with full knowledge of and attention to the public interest. Two examples of this are provided by the cement industry which is basic to our construction industry and our ability to provide housing and Jamaica Flour Mills which plays a vital part in our national nutrition programme. In both these enterprises, the Government has acquired shares.

Thirdly, there are those enterprises or industries, for example, the insurance industry, which the Government regulates by various devices to ensure that the goods and services being offered to the people meet certain basic standards both in terms of quality and price.

Fourthly, by incentives, the Government seeks:

(a) to provide new opportunities, wherever appropriate, for the private businessman; and

(b) to widen the base of ownership by providing opportunities for more people to enter the field of business.

Fifthly, the Government can motivate some business people to promote priority areas of development.

Finally, assistance and encouragement will be given to the organization of co-operative methods of production wherever appropriate.

By these various means, the Government can perform the dual task of:

(1) exercising the controls that are necessary to provide the society's basic needs.

(2) developing a favourable climate for those creative individual or collective enterprises that are important to national development.

This Government in its role as guardian of the national economy, will endeavour to assure that both management and workers within every business receive a fair reward to compensate them for past endeavours and to provide incentives for future development. Therefore, workers must begin to participate in meaningful decision-making at all levels.

Greater worker participation in ownership of the means of production is an intrinsic feature of the organization of a mixed economy.

The Government sees this system of economic organization as providing adequate scope for the private sector and the Government
to work together as partners towards the common goals of socialjustice and equal opportunity for all.

THE ROLE OF THE GOVERNMENT IN THE MIXED ECONOMY

The areas which require public sector involvement are: Human Resource Development and Basic Social Services. These include Health, Education and Housing.

Government's involvement in these areas is not intended to exclude private or voluntary effort wherever these play a complementary role to Government's initiatives. It is, however, the Government's responsibility to ensure that certain minimum standards are maintained in these services.

BASIC NUTRITION

It is the duty of this Government to ensure that basic food items are available at the lowest possible cost since good nutrition is fundamental to the development of our human resources. For these reasons, Government has established the Jamaica Nutritional Holdings and expanded the School-feeding programme.

INFRA-STRUCTURE AND PUBLIC UTILITIES

These include Public Utilities; Roads and other infrastructure; Environmental development and protection activities; Major transportation systems; Telecommunications; Water resources.

These are critical for national development. They must therefore be planned on the basis of human and economic needs, rather than profit. It is, therefore, the responsibility of Government to provide efficient services in all these areas.

MINERAL RESOURCES

These include bauxite and gypsum. For example, Government has negotiated a substantial increase in the taxes paid by the bauxite industry, and is currently negotiating the recovery of our bauxite lands and participation in the ownership of the industry.

FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS

These must come under effective national supervision in order to ensure that they operate in the best interests of the country. For example, steps have already been taken to monitor and control insurance companies to ensure adequate protection for the people who insure with them. It is also the goal of the Government to ensure that there is maximum local ownership in all
financial institutions. If necessary, the Government will participate directly, in order to achieve this goal.

SALVAGE OPERATIONS

The Government reserves the right to acquire ownership of any industry which produces an important commodity or provides employment for a considerable work force, but which private enterprise is not prepared to continue to operate because of indebtedness, or seeming lack of potential. An example is the purchase of Ariguanaba Textile Mills.

TRAIL-BLAZING

There are certain areas of trade and industry which the private sector is hesitant or unwilling to develop. These industries are often important because they provide significant linkages in the economy and could be a source of employment for a considerable workforce. It is necessary for Government to spearhead the research and development of these industries through the provision of investment where necessary.

THE ROLE OF THE PRIVATE SECTOR IN THE MIXED ECONOMY

The public sector leaves a wide-ranging area of goods and services which the nation needs. Government recognizes that the private sector can and does produce these goods and services efficiently. We wish them to continue to do so.

It is therefore appropriate to state the role of the private sector in a mixed economy. This includes:

1. Investment in areas where special entrepreneurial skills and expertise are necessary to build and operate businesses that provide goods and services which the society needs at reasonable prices.

2. Making profits commensurate with the skills and money invested and the risks taken.

3. Receiving reasonable rewards for individual initiative and hard work.

4. Operating freely within the laws and regulations that govern private enterprise, with due regard for the community at large and for the workers who are part of the enterprise.

The private sector, which includes builders, is a full, integral partner in the national economy. It is the duty of the Government to provide those conditions that will help to ensure maximum levels of efficiency, productivity and development in the private sector. These conditions include the
creation of an atmosphere of mutual confidence between Government and private businessmen, the building of necessary infrastructure, and the creation of a trained labour force imbued with appropriate work attitudes. The private sector must, however, recognize its responsibility to assist Government in creating and maintaining this co-operative spirit.

Foreign private capital is welcome in Jamaica and is assured of fair and consistent treatment provided -

(a) the investment is consistent with national purposes
(b) it operates in Jamaica on a basis of good corporate citizenship
(c) so far as ownership is concerned, it is willing to enter into partnership with local private interests, the Government or both, as may be required by the Government of Jamaica.

Mr. Speaker, I have laid on the Table of the House a Ministry Paper dealing with the Capital Development Fund. Members will recall that it was announced by the Deputy Prime Minister and the Minister of Finance in his Budget Speech this year that a proportion of some of the additional funds which we are receiving under the Bauxite Levy will be put into a Development Fund for the purpose of financing certain kinds of basic economic development and to begin the process of re-acquiring on behalf of the people of Jamaica control over certain strategic sectors of our economy. I myself used the phrase at that time: "Buying back Jamaica".

It is going to be a matter of great importance that the resources of the Fund are soundly managed and that the investments are based on sound criteria. Because of this, the Government regards as a matter of highest priority the setting up of effective machinery for the formulation of investment policies of the Fund and for an evaluation of projects which fall within the investment criteria laid down.

As Ministry Paper No. 51 indicates, the management of the Fund will be at two levels: (a) at the Ministerial level, where the Ministers, who are substantially involved in the development processes of the economy, together with myself, constitute a Policy Committee; (b) at the technical-official level, where there is a combination of expertise from the public and the private sectors in a Management Committee, which will make recommendations to the Ministers.

Priority will be given to the financing of projects in the productive sectors of agriculture, industry (including the minerals industry) and the provision of adequate infrastructure facilities to support the productive sectors, such as public utility services (electricity, water, etc.), irrigation, road communications, harbour and port facilities, housing. It is the desire of the Government that the resources
of the Fund should be used in such a manner as to put into practice the whole concept of a mixed economy and the development of lasting partnerships between the public and private sectors, as well as to promote Government to Government joint ventures with friendly countries.

The Government sees the Capital Development Fund as a powerful catalyst for the generating of investment funds into sectors which will result in maximum benefits to the Jamaican people. By using a substantial portion of the resources of the Fund as equity contributions, it will be possible to generate total investment amounting to many times the resources in the Fund. For example, if $100 million of the resources of the Fund are invested in equity this could generate total investment of $300 million, or a ratio or 1:2.

The success of the Fund will depend on the extent to which the projects are thoroughly examined from a technical, economic, financial and social point of view. In an economy with a 20 per cent level of unemployment, it is important that the employment generating capability of projects is fully taken into account. It will also be important for the Management of the Fund to be fully accountable to the House and to the country for its operations, and to this end, emphasis will be placed on Management accountability taking fully into account commercial criteria.

Source: Agency for Public Information Library, 1979, (mimeo).
On Saturday, June 19, 1976, the Governor General declared a State of Public Emergency acting on the advice of the Cabinet. This marks the second occasion since Independence that a Government has found it necessary to take this action.

In October, 1966, a few months before the General Elections, the previous administration advised the then Governor-General to declare a State of Public Emergency. At that time, the former Government invoked the same section of the Constitution as we were forced to do last Saturday.

It is of great importance that the country understands clearly why the Government felt it was necessary to take this action and how this action will affect the country. In order to understand why, it is necessary for me to go through a brief history of events leading up to the announcement.

It is also important for the public to understand what are the circumstances in which a democratically elected Government is constitutionally permitted and empowered to advise the Governor-General to declare a State of Public Emergency.

Such a proclamation can only be made in two situations. The first is where there is an imminence of a state of war between Jamaica and a foreign state or there is natural disaster or other calamities, for example, earthquake, hurricane, flood, outbreak of pestilence, or infectious disease.

The second situation is one in which the Government is satisfied that action has been taken or threatened of such a nature and on so widespread a scale as to be likely to endanger the public safety or, to deprive the community or any substantial portion of it, of supplies or services essential to life.

In 1966, the former Government invoked the Constitution to declare a State of Public Emergency based on the ground that public safety was threatened.

This Government has acted in precisely the same manner as the previous administration acted and invoked the identical constitutional powers. The only difference is the time, magnitude and the nature of the surrounding situations leading to such action.

This country has for some time been plagued by the problem of violence. This has taken a heavy toll of human life and suffering. Difficult as it is to identify all the root causes of violence, it is fair to say that there was a point of time
when the entire community would have felt rightly that the violence which harrassed the society had its causes in poverty, poor housing, unemployment and insecure family life. On the fringes of this mainstream, there has always been a minimal element of sporadic political violence.

In 1966, Jamaica witnessed the emergence of a pattern of violence in Western Kingston which appeared to be politically motivated and directed, forcing the then Government to declare a State of Emergency.

Between 1972 and December 1975, it would be fair to say that the violence that this country suffered fitted into the traditional pattern albeit on a somewhat wider scale than had been previously experienced. January, 1975, marked a new and dangerous trend. Tragically, the events which have taken place since then have added a new dimension to violence, the dimension of urban terrorism, confrontation with the Security Forces and other agents of the State, and widespread arson. This terrorism has been organized and is designed for the double political purpose of embarrassing the economy of Jamaica and undermining the confidence of the community in the democratically elected Government.

While the build up of violence was taking place, there were also developments in the electoral system which produced serious consequences for the political system and the economy. During 1975, there were several by-elections to fill vacancies for various parish councils. Each of these by-elections was strongly contested by both parties. Following hard upon the heels of the JLP's crushing defeat in each of these by-elections, we have witnessed a serious attempt to discredit the existing electoral system on which our democratic institutions rest. This culminated in the refusal by the JLP to contest the by-election to fill the vacancy created by the resignation from the House of Representatives by the Hon. Eli Matalon.

In addition, there has been a concentrated attempt by the JLP to spread a wave of hysteria throughout the country based on the oft repeated allegation that the Government was Communist and that in itself constituted a threat to the democratic system as accepted by the people of Jamaica.

The mounting anti-communist hysteria, taken in conjunction with the violence, had grave economic effects. The genuinely frightened started to remove their resources from this country, legally and illegally, to such an extent that the nation's foreign exchange resources were drastically eroded. The entrepreneurial class reacted to this situation in different ways. The genuinely patriotic stood their ground and continued to operate their businesses within constraints of the economy. The frightened, refusing to analyze the situation and to look objectively at the policies and performance of the Government, either
refused to invest in new ventures or began to slow down the pace of their activities. The unpatriotic decided, as a matter of set policy, virtually to cease all activity and use every available opportunity to export money from Jamaica.

At the same time, elements of the local press, particularly the Daily Gleaner, reproduced a spate of articles emanating from foreign sources, the vast majority of which were calculatedly unfavourable to the elected Government and the state of the economy. Underlying all these articles, was the theme that violence was raging, the Government was going Communist, business was slowing down, and economic collapse was at hand. It was further reported and highlighted, that there was growing fear in Jamaica that the democratic system was in danger of being subverted by elements within the People's National Party.

Mr. Speaker, in an atmosphere where some people are led to believe that the Government threatens to wipe out their democratic rights, that the Government is plotting to hold on to power by subverting the Constitution, that the Government is responsible for the slowing down of business and subsequent unemployment, it is easy for unscrupulous men to mobilise the constituency of traditional violence and to rally more and more people to the cry that the solution to all of the country's ills is the use of the gun, the bullet and fire, and not the ballot box.

This is the real background to the horrible events which have taken place in Jamaica since January 1976 which I will now set out:

Over the last six months, some 2,900 crimes have been reported, of which some 1,662 involved the use of fire arms. During this period, 163 murders have been committed; over 1,000 armed robberies committed; and in the process of all this, 19 policemen have lost their lives - killed by gunmen. But the statistics do not tell the full story. They merely give an indication of the magnitude. Even more disturbing is the nature of the criminal activity. We began with the Trench Town revolt in January when, for the first time we saw a community organize itself to do battle with the Security Forces of the country, organize itself to prevent the fire fighting services from doing their duty by the use of guns; the blockading of the streets and indulging in other activities which are common only to urban guerilla warfare. We have seen countless persons sniped at and many killed, for apparently no motive, by gunmen who make their entrances and their exits in high speed motor cars. We have witnessed the Orange Street and New Lane fires which have shocked every decent citizen to the core. We have been exposed to bizarre discoveries of a mini-hospital and a private jail. None of these operations or activities come within the pattern of violence which has been experienced before. But all of these activities have played a part in destroying the
confidence of our people in our society and provided material for those who would wish to destroy the confidence of others in Jamaica.

Mr. Speaker, for some time now, in the face of this record, we have had under constant review the question of declaring a State of Emergency.

As time went by and events unfolded, it became increasingly apparent that the Security Forces would be unable to check the violence using conventional means.

In addition, we are warned by the Security Forces that their Intelligence indicated a new wave of violence planned for the end of June into July which incidentally is the time planned for Carifesta. We could not help but observe the parallel with what had happened when another major wave of violence coincided with a major International event being staged in Jamaica, namely, the I.M.F. Conference. It was obvious that it would be necessary to give them the full powers that the Constitution provides for, as the general security of the nation, both from the question of personal security and economic security, was seriously threatened.

It was also necessary that the Security Forces should be in a state of preparedness to use these extra powers so that the State of Emergency could have maximum effect, and be as short-lived as possible. Therefore, some weeks ago, a small group of Ministers, officials and high ranking Security Officers began the detailed planning towards the declaration of a State of Emergency.

The date that was set for this declaration was Tuesday, June 22, 1976. In other words, it had actually been planned that today would have been the date on which the State of Emergency would have come into effect, but let me say Mr. Speaker, against this background, we became aware of a specific development that can only be described as strange in the extreme. It came to the attention of the Security Forces that a man wanted to make a statement involving crime. The Security Forces immediately arranged to meet this man and listen to what he had to say. He made a series of grave allegations against an Agency of the Government and a number of prominent personalities associated with Government, all dealing with the distribution of guns.

However, immediately after, the man made further statements, this time under oath, to the effect that everything that he had said on the first occasion was untrue and that he had made these serious allegations under threat and because he was told to do so by certain persons who would stand to benefit if the Government were embarrassed.

It so happens that there are incontrovertible facts, quite apart from the word of the man, which prove conclusively that the
allegations which he made against people connected with the Government were not in fact true and could not in fact have been true. Needless to say, the Government is continuing to investigate all of the allegations of this man including the sworn statement that he had been put up to do these things under threat for the purpose of hurting and embarrassing the Government.

In the course of investigating this strange and sinister case, other and similar matters came to light suggesting at the very least the possibility of a conspiracy to create harm to the name of prominent supporters of the Government and to cause a general increase in the atmosphere of uncertainty and fear in the country.

At this stage, the Government took the decision to act immediately and decisively to bring the whole of this dangerous, disruptive and subversive behaviour to a halt by declaring the State of Emergency at once.

We are satisfied that our prompt and decisive action has averted a threatening crisis which would have further eroded the foundations on which our democratic system is based and which would have made it that more difficult for us to deal with violence - the No. 1 enemy which has driven fear and concern into the lives of every law abiding citizen of this country, regardless of political persuasion.

I believe, Mr. Speaker, that the House may expect me to say something about allegations made by Mr. Herb Rose, formerly a member and Organizer for the Jamaica Labour Party, concerning the use of organized disruption, terror and violence for political ends as an electoral strategy by the Jamaica Labour Party. However, the House should know that the Police are conducting intensive investigations into a number of matters that arise both from Mr. Rose's public statement and other information which he has supplied. Since these investigations could result in criminal prosecutions, I do not feel that it would be appropriate for me to make any comment at this time.

In declaring the State of Emergency, our first target is the gunmen and the new breed of terrorist. Our second objective is to smash the link between politics and violence. Our third objective is to create a breathing space, a pause, if you might say in which the nation may take a deep breath and begin to shake off the pall of confusion and return to the path of common-sense. Our fourth objective is to create an atmosphere of security in which the economy can start to function effectively again. Our fifth and most important objective is that the citizen, the men and women and children of Jamaica, should be able to sit on their verandahs and porches, to walk the streets peacefully, once again. At present innocent people feel imprisoned while the gunmen are free. We must put the gunmen away so that the innocent can be free.
Thus it is that the regulations under the State of Emergency allow to the Security Forces powers beyond those given to them under the Suppression of Crime (Special Provisions Act). They allow to the Government the exercise of greater powers than are allowed in a normal situation. These powers include:

(i) the power to require information necessary for the preservation of the peace from any person who has such information.

(ii) the restriction on the publication of statements likely to be prejudicial to public safety or to incite or provoke a commission of a breach of the peace.

(iii) the power to arrest without warrant and to detain, pending inquiries, any person whose behaviour raises reasonable grounds for suspicion that he has acted or is acting in a manner prejudicial to public safety.

(iv) the power for the Minister to make a Detention Order against any person whom he is satisfied has been concerned in any act prejudicial to public safety or public order or is in the preparation or instigation of such acts.

(v) the power to order the closing of any premises used or intended to be used for any purpose or in any manner prejudicial to the interest of public order of public safety.

(vi) the power to restrict the movement of persons or to confine them to their premises if the Minister is satisfied that this action is in the interest of public safety and order.

(vii) the power to requisition Essential Services where the Governor-General is satisfied that it is necessary or expedient so to do.

I now wish to turn, Mr. Speaker, to the question of Elections and the maintenance of normal, peaceful, democratic political activity. Before I do so, however, let me make it absolutely clear that the Government intends that the Security Forces should have a free hand to use their powers in the manner which in their judgment will best bring about the objective of a restoration of peace and the breaking of the link between political activity and crime.

Where the Security people feel that particular persons are a clear security risk, it is their duty to detain such persons and no pressures will be exerted on them, nor permitted to modify or alter their professional judgment. Those people who have been held so far, have been detained by the Security Forces on the basis of information available to them.
However, as far as Election and normal, peaceful political activity are concerned, we are determined that the State of Emergency should interfere with this process as little as possible. We regard it as important that both Political Parties and all persons who wish to pursue legitimate and peaceful political activities should have a clear understanding of their rights in that regard under the State of Emergency. Therefore, with a view to having a full discussion of this matter, and to lay down ground rules which all political workers of goodwill and peaceful intent can work by, I have invited the Opposition to meet with representatives of the Government and the People's National Party to discuss this matter along with the Brigadier and the Commissioner of Police. The Opposition have accepted and this meeting will take place at 10 o'clock tomorrow.

In the meantime, attention is being given to the appointment of the Tribunals which will be appointed in accordance with the Law to hear all appeals against detention. The government intends to be able to announce the composition of these Tribunals later this week when the Resolution is being debated in Parliament.

Mr. Speaker, our struggle is for the safety of our people and against those who seek to use violence and crime either as a weapon of personal gain or as a means of destroying our country and its democratic political system.

There is no question that there have been persons in the field of political activity working with others with influence in the economy who have not been prepared to act within the normal rules of our democracy, but who have tried to act outside of those rules. It must be the duty of everyone of us who cares for this country to unite against this threat.

Peace will not happen overnight, but we have declared the State of Emergency to give the Security Forces the greatest possible power to achieve this result.

I appeal to every Jamaican to rally to their country now; to stop listening to rumours; to be calm and sensible; to help the Security Forces; to give evidence and information where this is needed and can help.

I appeal to the great majority of decent people in both the Jamaica Labour Party and the People's National Party to turn away from violence, to demand an end to violence, to stop and realize that in the end our country will be destroyed if we do not unite against all kinds of violence now.

APPENDIX 11

INTERVIEW WITH INFORMANT DETAINED DURING 1976 STATE OF EMERGENCY

This informant claimed that while she was sitting with some other women on the morning of the curfew during the State of Emergency, two policemen approached her and informed her that the Senior Superintendent of Police wanted to see her. She asked "Wha (h)im want?" (What does he want) They replied "(H)im send fe call yu". (He wants to see you). She said that the policemen appeared friendly and as she was barefooted at the time she wanted to get dressed properly. They informed her that she could not go upstairs to her apartment to get dressed. They also refused to let her put on her shoes. They all walked to nearby 4th Street where they got into a Radio car and drove to the police station. At this point she was sent to the Guard Room. She was the only person there. She was aware that there was another woman from the slum who was detained earlier, but she did not see her. The Senior Superintendent of Police passed by and she "called to him" and made it clear that it was her understanding that he wanted to see her. He informed her that he had not made such a request.

She claimed that she was routinely questioned regarding her name and address. She stayed for about three hours. She was ordered to stand straight and was not allow-
ed to "even lean on the wall". While she was being ordered to "stand straight" a policeman shouted at her "Mary James (name changed) you are going to up Park Camp". She indicated that she was not scared because she expected the arrest. Two days prior to her arrest, a blue car with two men drove slowly through the slum and a man in her group pointed to her and another woman and said "A yu and she dem a luk fa". (They are looking for you both.) She was sent to Up Park Camp along with another man where they were both given Detention orders. She was interrogated and was stripped of her clothes by a police-woman. According to her, they were looking for guns, but they found none. She was then allowed to get dressed. She was taken to Cell #5. "Wha dis fa" (What is all this about?) she asked. "You are a gunwoman", the police-woman replied. Three days later she was given the grounds for her detention. It was stated that the Security Forces had seen her handing a gun to a Chinese man for the purposes of shooting at them. For this she was confined to her cell, fed three times daily and allowed visitors twice per week. At first, her children were allowed to visit, but they were stopped from visiting when "Bayi" (a renowned "criminal") escaped from his cell using a child as hostage.
During that time most people were arrested on the same
grounds. She remained locked up for 7 months (June 1976-January 1977). She was allowed outside to walk around, and she could play games such as dominoes, ludo, and cards.

She has five children, four of which live with her, the fifth daughter lives with her aunt (her sister). Her baby-father took care of the children while she was away. She stated that she was visited by Catholic priests. Bishop Edmondson (Anglican) and Bishop Carter (Catholic) also visited her in the cell. They talked about things in general. Catholic sisters visited on Sundays. Politicians were not allowed to visit until after about a month after her arrest. She stated that their visits were monitored by the guards. Although people within the prison compound and those outside voiced their opinions about the detention, many were scared and did not get to the forefront with their complaints. She was interrogated regularly about friends, the constant question being "how well do you know such and such gunman"? "Does such and such a friend have a gun?" "Did John Doe (politician) give you a gun"?

Like others in the slum, she believes that people do not rise up against the injustice and victimization they suffer because "The Security Force is very strong". She claimed that she was allowed one phone call and she called her lawyer (the lawyer acting on behalf of the detained of
a particular political party). She openly decried her detention. She attended a Tribunal but said it was dismissed *sine die*. She was taken back to her cell. She asked that she be released on a restricted basis, but this was denied. A Jamaican woman who was a Canadian resident asked for the same privilege and it was granted.

There were 5 females involved (4 politicians) and the interviewee whom the Security Forces referred to as "one who cling to bad men". She stated that she was concerned with the women who had left children at home but the officials were not concerned about the children left at home. Their response to this concern was "we don't know how to let out Mary and Jean to society". She said that she got frustrated and cursed the officials when she remembered her children outside. These incidents were recorded and reported to a colonel who reprimanded the officers who had shown lack of concern for the children.

In the 7th month, she was summoned by the officials. A paper was read out to her stating that she would be released but would be restricted to the area up until the end of the State of Emergency. She was then released. She stated that she could not go out of the area, not even to go downtown. To leave the area, she had to report to the police station in the area to get permission.

She explained that her *baby-father* is very quiet
and does not get involved in politics. He is a casual worker but was unemployed at the time of her arrest. Whenever the police forces entered the area and opened fire, she shouted at them and informed them that the children are in the area and are liable to get hurt. She claimed that she made "a lot a noise" whenever the police and soldiers were around.

She has lived in the area since 1965, initially in the board houses, but now in the apartments. She pointed out that the officials did not ask her about the welfare of her family. She lost her job as an Impact Worker (a job which she had from 1973-1976). On weekends she usually sold haberdasheries bought from wholesalers and retailed at the King Street stalls. She claimed that she went down to the King Street stalls on the Friday prior to her arrest on Saturday and was expected at the stalls that Saturday. The merchants on King Street allowed the street vendors to store their goods in their stores overnight. As a result of her not returning to the stalls, her goods were misplaced. According to her, the officials did not ask her whether she was working or about the welfare of her children. She felt that they really did not care about her. She still does not know what kind of information they have on her and she is worried. She heard that there was some information in the foreign press which
stated that she fought the police and resisted arrest. She complained that she felt hurt in that her name has been scandalized.

She pointed out that she is now frustrated with politics as she has put a lot into it and has not really gotten anything out of it. She has expressed a desire to go abroad, preferably to the United States. She has no skills but would like to go as a domestic as she feels that she could manage and do much better that she is doing now. Her biggest regret is that after all the things that she had done, she was not even mentioned in the book written by one of the politicians about his detention. She says that she has to think of herself and her children. She claimed that she does not see any future for her children, or for that matter the other youths in the area. She claimed that in spite of all the political struggles she had been through, she sees no positive results. People are still suffering, ghetto folks are still being discriminated against. She pointed out that although it may sound selfish, after all she has done, she is now quite prepared to look after herself and her own family as the politicians for whom she has worked and risked her life do not seem to care.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
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<tr>
<td>20-29</td>
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<td>14</td>
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<td>30-39</td>
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<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70+</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
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</table>

**Total Males = 38**

**Total Females = 62**
**AGE STRUCTURE ACCORDING TO SEX - DENHAM TOWN**

Total Population

Both Sexes = 10,676

Total Male:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>All ages</th>
<th>Under 2</th>
<th>2 - 14</th>
<th>15 - 44</th>
<th>45 - 64</th>
<th>65 + Over</th>
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Total Female:

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According to Enumeration Districts (Ethnographic Area) - MALE

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<th>District</th>
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<th>All Ages</th>
<th>Under 2</th>
<th>2 - 14</th>
<th>15 - 44</th>
<th>45 - 64</th>
<th>65 + Over</th>
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<tr>
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<td>20</td>
<td>6</td>
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<td>W 52</td>
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<td>64</td>
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<td>173</td>
<td>5</td>
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<td>West Kgn.</td>
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<td>11,773</td>
<td>830</td>
<td>4,594</td>
<td>4,400</td>
<td>1,541</td>
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Commonwealth Caribbean Population Census 1970
Jamaica - Vol. 5 Part 1
Parish of Kingston, Division of Censuses & Surveys, Department of Statistics, Kgn. Jam.

(Extracted) 3530 - E. Districts
### AGE STRUCTURE ACCORDING TO SEX - ENUMERATION DISTRICTS

- Female

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Both Sexes</th>
<th>All Ages</th>
<th>Under 2</th>
<th>2 - 14</th>
<th>15 - 44</th>
<th>45 - 64</th>
<th>65 + Over</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>W. 50</td>
<td>386</td>
<td>202</td>
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<td>57</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>23</td>
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<td>59</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>22</td>
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<td>W. 53</td>
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<td>97</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

West Kgn  25,194  13,421  766  4,691  5,331  1,997  636

West Kingston
Enumeration Districts = 98

Source - Commonwealth Caribbean Population Census 1970
Jamaica - Vol. 5 Part 1
Parish of Kingston, Division of Censuses & Surveys, Department of Statistics, Kgn. Jam.
### Age Structure According to Sex - West Kingston

**West KGN =**
- **F = 13,421**
- **M = 11,773**
- **Total = 25,194**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>M.</strong></td>
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<td>1907</td>
<td>1351</td>
<td>988</td>
<td>864</td>
<td>806</td>
<td>618</td>
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<td><strong>F.</strong></td>
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<td>1957</td>
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<td>1127</td>
<td>908</td>
<td>689</td>
<td>742</td>
<td>640</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>45 - 49</th>
<th>50 - 54</th>
<th>55 - 59</th>
<th>60 - 64</th>
<th>65 - 69</th>
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<th>75 - 79</th>
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Source - 1970 Pop. Census - Dept. of Statistics
Census taken every 10 year period.