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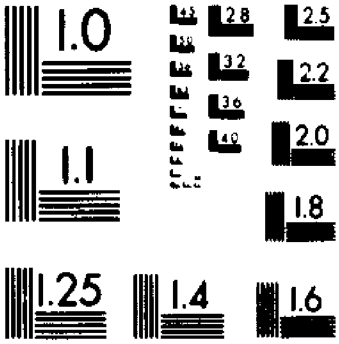
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YOU CAN'T GET ME OUT OF THE RACE: WOMEN AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN NEGRIL, JAMAICA, WEST INDIES

City University of New York PH.D. 1986

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YOU CAN'T GET ME OUT OF THE RACE: WOMEN AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN NEGRIL, JAMAICA, WEST INDIES

by

DEBORAH D'AMICO-SAMUELS

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in
Anthropology in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, the City
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January 27, 1986
Date

Joan P Mencher
Chair of Examining Committee

January 23, 1986
Date

Jane Schneider
Executive Officer (Acting)

Eric R. Wolf

Johnnetta B. Cole

A. Lynn Bolles

Supervisory Committee

The City University of New York

Abstract

YOU CAN'T GET ME OUT OF THE RACE: WOMEN AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN NEGRIL, JAMAICA, WEST INDIES

by

Deborah D'Amico-Samuels

Adviser: Professor Joan Mencher

This dissertation explores the relationship of gender to the process of economic development, within the context of a New World African culture and a fundamentally unequal global economy. The Introductory Chapter traces the history of the interaction of West African gender ideology with major economic transformations in Jamaica, and with the infusion of Euro-American ideas about gender, color and class which accompanied these changes. The next four chapters examine this interaction in a particular place (Negril) and within a specific time period (1950-1980). Chapter Two presents a descriptive overview of the subsistence economy of Negril and women's place within it, of the plans of the Jamaican government to develop Negril for tourism and of the struggle of Negrillians to secure a

share in the tourist dollar. In Chapter Three, the latter is examined more closely through case studies of Negrillians' responses to tourism and the class, color and gender patterns which these responses reveal. While Chapter Two and Three look at the relationship of small property-holders in Negril to tourism, and more briefly at wage laborers employed in both formal and informal establishments, Chapter Four describes the role which those with neither property nor jobs in Negril have played in its development. This chapter focuses on the history of a squatters market created by these people; Chapter Five looks at gender differences within this least formal sector of Negril's tourist industry. In the Conlusion, the Negril case material detailed in Chapters 2-5 is analyzed for what it reveals about the role of gender in the process of economic development within a color and class stratified nation and world.

Acknowledgements

Many people have provided inspiration, assistance and guidance without which I would have been unable to complete this dissertation. My greatest debt is to the men and women who told me their stories in Negril; I hope I have been faithful to their meaning and their truths.

In the composition of my dissertation committee, I have been particularly blessed. My advisor, Joan Mencher, knew exactly the right amounts of prodding, ego-boosting, emotional support and practical advice to render at crucial moments; she is the person most responsible for my achievement of the PhD. She provided, at times, the only meaningful connection between my bewildered thoughts as a new mother recently returned from the field and the scholarly task which lay before me. I hope I have done justice to her efforts on my behalf. Eric Wolf offered scholarly guidance of a quality which only he can give; from my first day as a student in his theory class he has epitomized the meaning and value of real intellectual work. Coming into my life when the obstacles to writing

a dissertation overshadowed my original reasons for doing anthropology in the first place, Johnnetta Cole was the electric spark that recharged and reconnected my political, personal and intellectual motivations.

To City University of New York I am grateful for both a graduate and an undergraduate education which affected my life and thoughts profoundly. To Hunter College, my undergraduate alma mater, I am also indebted for the use of an office and computer facilities beyond the time of my employment there as an adjunct.

The Institute of Social and Economic Research at the University of the West Indies in Kingston, Jamaica provided me with an institutional affiliation during my fieldwork period. Several individuals at the Institute were particularly helpful to me, offering both practical field advice and scholarly criticism. George Beckford, Dorian Powell and Erna Brodber each provided such assistance and for this, I thank them.

Many agencies and officials of the Jamaican government were generous beyond my expectations in granting permission to read through their files, copy materials and use their offices. The Urban Development Corporation, The Women's Bureau of Jamaica, and the Negril Area Land Authority especially deserve thanks for this. Mrs. Alleyne, who was secretary of the latter during my fieldwork period, and the staff of NALA were particularly helpful to me in this regard.

The InterAmerican Foundation provided generous funding, in the form of a Learning Fellowship on Social Change, which made it possible to do my year and a half of fieldwork. Elizabeth Veatch, Fellowship Officer, responded immediately and graciously to emergency calls from the field and was always willing to cut through bureaucratic red tape.

Several individuals have helped me at critical points in the development of my thinking about the topics covered in this dissertation. Professor Archie Singham of Brooklyn College worked with me on my research proposal. Professor A. Lynn Bolles both inspired me with the example of her work and consented to be my outside reader. Professor Faye V. Harrison sent her own papers on Jamaica to me through the mail, and offered her expertise in lengthy correspondence. In both the classroom and a private tutorial, Professor June Nash provided much food for thought concerning the intersection between gender and class.

Ronnie Lichtman, a close friend and an anthropological scholar herself, generously donated many hours of her valuable time to editing the first draft of this dissertation. Sydelle Postman typed tables for many long and frustrating hours, offering her help at a particularly critical moment. Pamela Wright, a fellow CUNY Graduate Center student, was always available to save me from the whims and vagaries of the computer and to offer support in the long journey toward completion. Jim Williams held my hand throught the initiation rites of Graduate School and helped me see the connections between these and the real world. In a much less direct, but equally essential manner, a host of family and friends have enabled me to continue my work, by believing in me and in my ability to do it. To all of the above, a heartfelt thanks.

Preface
Gender, Color and Class on the Road to Anthropology and in the Field

Self and Other in Anthropology

> The art of representing other cultures, once considered a reasonably straightforward business, has come into question. Cultures no longer appear as objects whose reality can be found, grasped and represented wholly. For this 'reality' seems increasingly elusive, an intricate tangle in which authors' preconceptions-cultural, historical, personal-inevitably shape the way they see and what they tell us. A text that presumes to represent the Other also, inescapably, reveals a Self (Kondo, 1984: 13).

A discipline which claims fieldwork, participant observation, and a belief in the unity of the human species among its distinguishing characteristics implicitly raises questions about the relationship between self, experience and research. This relationship is discussed under such topics as "culture shock", developing rapport, insider/outsider perspectives, and fieldwork ethics in Introductory Anthropology texts and courses. Published accounts of field research may include information of this kind, and a few anthologies contain articles which explore personal and/or political aspects of fieldwork (Hymes, 1974; Cole, 1982; Powdermaker, 1967; Golde, 1970).

Recently, theories which unite the societies of anthropologists and those in which they have traditionally conducted fieldwork in a global web of relationships have gained credence in the discipline (Fernandez-Kelly, 1983:1; Wolf, 1984). The explanatory frameworks proposed by world systems analysis, theories of economic dependency, and the concept of mode of production specify the political economic connections between ourselves and those among whom we do fieldwork. One's own position within this shared global order can thus be expected to affect the quantity and quality of data obtained in the field, and to influence the interpretation of that data. Yet, as Bolles points out:

> A topic-- which is not usually discussed in terms of the overall merits of any particular research--is who the anthropologist is, by race, class, gender, and nationality, and who the folk are, by race, class, gender and nationality (1984:1).

As they are used in a capitalist and hierarchically organized social structure, gender, color and class are not only ranked positions but also personal attributes. As such, they act to divide people from "others" (those who occupy different positions in the hierarchy) and from the self (those aspects of personality defined as inappropriate to one's own position).

My own research explores the relationships among gender, color and class. What follows describes how I am categorized by these words, as well as the experiences that have taught me to understand and to question the material, political and emotional consequences of this categorization. Although it does not easily fit into the shape of a dissertation, I believe this material is relevant to both the subject matter at hand and to a critical perspective on my own biases.

Gender, Color and Class on the Road to Anthropology

> Like the dead-seeming, cold rocks, I have memories within that came out of the material that went to make me. Time and place have had their say. So you will have to know something about the time and place where I came from, in order that you may interpret the incidents and direction of my life (Hurston, 1971:3).

I am a white woman of second generation Italian and Irish descent, born and raised in the United States. My mother worked at home without pay raising five children, and my father worked several jobs to support us all. He was a laborer with the Coca-Cola Bottling Company, a supermarket cashier, a truckdriver, etc. I am the only one of their children to attend college. The meaning of these facts for my identity did not begin to puzzle me until adolescence.

I am struck by the parallels between my own adolescent awakening of self and political consciousness and that of female characters in novels by women. Perhaps the experience of being "other" hits young girls with particular force at this part of the life cycle, and thus opens a door into a new perception of ranked differences other than gender. For example, in The Changeling, a young "tomboy" caught in the throes of experiencing her gender as limiting becomes friends with a black girl and begins to change her understanding of the limits imposed by color (Sinclair, 1985). Abeng, by Michelle Cliff, recounts the adolescence of a light skinned Jamaican girl who begins learning about ethnic injustice through reading The Diary of Anne Frank:

> This twelve year old Christian mulatto girl, up to this point walking through her life according to what she had been told-not knowing very much about herself or her past. . .-this child became compelled by the life and death of Anne Frank. She was reaching, without knowing it, for an explanation of her own life (1984: 71-72). (emphasis mine)

The relationship between learning about self and learning about those differently defined than ourselves is often subtle, indirect, and as the above quote implies, unconscious. In many ways, the world of males, which I began to enter peripherally during adolescence, was as new to me as the world of people of color. Yet the assumptions about gender which I had learned during a sex segregated childhood remained unquestioned for a longer time than did those concerning color. Perhaps we also use openings into the lives of others to close uncomfortable doors in ourselves, as Paule Marshall admits to doing in her explanation of why the characters in her first story were white:

> Cassie, who couldn't possibly be me with her gray eyes and fair hair was a convenient device behind which to mask my pain (1983: 16).

I was born in suburban New Jersey in 1949, and was raised during a time when to question the status quo, to seek philosophical meaning, to reflect at all on life as we lived it was to confront the question of color. Before I thought about class, before I recognized, consciously, what being female meant, I wondered about color. Was it because color was more "important" than class or gender? Or did the contradictions of gender and class find a convenient hiding place behind the all encompassing mask of color? Were class distinctions blurred by lack of real contact with anyone other than white working class people? To present gender as a titillating distinction, one to be savored rather than fought, did the exploration of gender difference become an exciting frontier while racial difference became a policed border? I cannot untangle these questions for myself as clearly as does

Jo Sinclair in The Changelings, a novel about the primacy of color in white ethnic neighborhoods in the 1950's. I can say that color was behind the moves to two of the three houses I lived in from birth to college age, that it drew a "Mason-Dixon" line across the gym floor at high school dances, that it was the reason I was sent to parochial school for most of my education.

I attended high school from 1964 to 1967. Intellectually and politically, I bounced from being an Ayn Rand objectivist to an existentialist, and finally to a liberal civil rights activist. Through one of my teachers, I became involved in the community action program (CAP) centered in the black community. As a tutor/day camp counselor of black children, I began to learn about the meaning of color in my town. This involved finding out what it really meant to be white, as an integral part of learning what life was like for those who weren't. It was my first cross-cultural encounter, and it changed my self and my relationship with everyone I knew. Racist behavior and remarks that were commonplace in white circles became objectionable, were cause for arguments and ended old friendships. Relations within my family became very tense. Increasingly, I sought support from black friends, white teachers and white students who thought as I did, and in books which explained the history and meaning of racial oppression in the United States. Historical circumstances supported the centrality of color during my adolescence, which coincided with the black liberation struggles of the 60's.

At some point during my last two years of high school, fired by a desire to do something about racial inequality and encouraged by a supportive guidance counselor, I switched my aspirations from beautician school to college. Over the objections of my parents, I chose New York University because of its location in Greenwich Village. I thought that there I could be part of a world more in tune with my ideas, one in which injustice and prejudice were rare.

While these naive hopes were soon disappointed, I did enter a political climate which radicalized my liberal approach to questions of color. The nationalist emphasis of the black student movement challenged my assumptions about the role of whites in the struggle, while the issues addressed by both black and white activists broadened my understanding of the implications of U.S. racism abroad, especially in Vietnam.

During this time, I also encountered whites whose class privileges alternately angered and humiliated me. I shared tables, rooms and conversations with people very different from me in background and experience, students whose incomes seemed limitless. I squirmed uncomfortably in dorm discussions of where everyone was going for the summer. I had never been on a vacation and was more concerned with finding a job that would allow me to support myself in New York. I did not want to go home and squirm again as my new political convictions met the unrelenting racism of my parents. Part of not wanting to go home was also the embarassment and shame I felt about the working class, uneducated character of my family and home, a feeling which I had not yet named and understood, emotionally or politically.

In the spring of my freshman year of college, Martin Luther King was assassinated. I remember that as my own personal push to "take to the streets." The path of non-violence and negotiation seemed hopeless. A protracted political struggle began at NYU over the rights of black students, which culminated in a student strike. My parents learned of the strike on the TV news, and called me up to ask if I were participating. When I said yes, they effectively disowned me, and we have had almost no contact for over fifteen years. I never re-entered classes after the strike. It seemed pointless and privileged to sit in a classroom while the streets outside erupted.

Over the next few years I worked at the kinds of jobs I could get without a degree, which also became a way of exploring and deepening my understanding of class. For several years, I worked as a customer service representative for New York Telephone Company, and it was here that class really took on conscious meaning for me. There was an implicit political bond between the women with whom I worked; this was most evident during a wildcat strike we organized in defiance of both company and union, but it was also expressed in the care and understanding with which we treated each other. There were, of course, the usual petty office quarrels and tensions, but underscoring these was the sense of something shared.

It was at New York Telephone that I really began to know black women as close, personal friends. Like many of the young black women on the job, I was single and responsible for myself. The white women in our office were more likely to be married early, or engaged and living at home with their parents. Consequently, my weekend social life was shared more by my black co-workers than by my white ones. I went to clubs, parties, and concerts with the former; we visited each other's homes and went shopping together. The experiences and ideas of these women led me to question some of what was written and spoken of as dogma on the black experience by male writers. Many of my black co-workers behaved as principled feminists in their relations with men, and they taught me to do the same.

During these years, I also became more attuned to both class and gender differences and their implications through my involvement with the white, predominantly male, left and the white, predominantly middle class women's movement. I spent some time as part of a small consciousness raising group and then became a member of a women's magazine collective, Up from Under. It was in the latter group that I began to systematically analyze patterns of color, class and gender for the first time. We wanted our magazine to speak to average women who were as yet uninvolved in political organizations, and we also worked on the inequalities among ourselves in the process. All work, menial and technical, was shared. Those who lacked skills were taught by collective members who had had the opportunities to learn them. Through my work on this magazine and at New York Telephone, class, color and gender came together as personal experience, intellectual endeavor, and political struggle.

A few years later, I began to resent the many hours of labor that I gave to the Telephone Company each day, doing work which was at best boring and at worst enraging. I wanted to devote more time to learning about the causes of the injustice I saw at the phone company, in my own life and the lives of my co-workers on the job and in the magazine collective. I felt that the price of spending the rest of my life as a mediator between consumer complaints and corporate justifications might well be my sanity. The only way out I could envision for myself led back to school. I had always been a good student and now I felt politically motivated to learn.

I began to attend Hunter College of City University of New York in 1973, first as an evening student and then as a full-time day student. Though I lived on a very small income gleaned from a combination of part-time jobs, student grants and government loans, my undergraduate student years felt rich and full. After the irrelevant content of much of my work day, school hours seemed full of valuable information. The students in my classes were not very different from my co-workers at the phone company; Hunter has a large working class, multi-racial student body that is also predominantly female. I have always felt doubly privileged to attend City University, because I learned both from the outstanding faculty and from the other students in my classes.

I took an Introductory Anthropology class to fulfill my basic degree requirements; at the time I had only a vague idea of what the subject was about. After a few class sessions, I fell in love with the discipline. If I learned Anthropology really well, I felt, I could explore the causes of the inequalities which angered and concerned me, and I could do so within a framework of respect for others. As I learned the diversity of human behavior in time and space, I could glimpse possibilities for myself which my own time and place had denied me. Moreover, Frank Conant, who taught my first Cultural Anthropology class made it clear that I could pursue my interest in women's studies through Anthropology. In fact, "the anthropology of women" was an exciting and timely topic in the discipline, and was the subject of new articles and anthologies.

My mind had settled on Anthropology as a field and women as a topic within that first semester, but I did not choose my area of interest until about a year later. While working as a switchboard operator during the summer of 1975, I came across a magazine article describing a camping resort in Eastern Jamaica. Intrigued by the prospect of a vacation which involved neither a great deal of money nor a stay in accomodations removed from local communities, I told a friend from the phone company about the article. She told a neighbor, and the three of us went together. For myself and my former co-worker, it was our first trip outside of North America. If I had not visited Jamaica that first time, perhaps I would have ended up somewhere else. As it was, my friends and I returned again and again to Jamaica, drawn by the general beauty of the physical surroundings and by the particular human beauty of those whom we came to know on our visits.

In retrospect, it seems that there were many obvious attractions for me in choosing the Caribbean in general and Jamaica in particular as my areas of interest. The similarity to Black American culture and history, with which I had developed some affinity through reading and personal experience, was evident in Caribbean music, literature, folk tales, etc. Both these similarities and some differences between the Black American experience and the Caribbean approach to life were made clear to me by the women of color with whom I traveled.

In the course of exploring gender cross-culturally, I had also been intrigued by the literature on West African and Caribbean women. It seemed that there was a case for the independence of these women, especially in the economic arena. On the other hand, there was a feeling among Caribbean women whom I met in both New York and Jamaica that women in the United States were freer, in some ways than they. Black women with whom I traveled to Jamaica expressed an appreciation of the ability of women there to handle themselves, but felt that they were still subject to men in relationships. My visits to Jamaica left me increasingly perplexed over these issues, and increasingly needy to know more. At the same time, I was developing a network of friends and acquaintances among Jamaicans on the island and in New York, and a great love for reggae music and dancing. I decided to pursue my scholarly and personal interests in Jamaica by doing graduate work in Anthropology, and hopefully doing fieldwork there someday.

Gender, Color and Class in the Field

During my years as a student at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York, I grounded my understanding of class, color and gender in a political economic framework which emphasized their global and historical development. At the end of my coursework, I wrote a proposal aimed at exploring these issues in the context of a developing resort town in Western Jamaica. Funding by the Inter-American Foundation made possible for me the experience which I had anticipated for so long--Fieldwork.

What makes fieldwork so difficult and writing about it even harder? Its relationship to scholarly work is the least of it--for this provides a mask and ready made answers--a vocabulary in which it is always possible to hide. Fieldwork itself is the very antithesis of this--it is an unmasking, a question, a learning to speak all over again.

One of the lessons of being judged according to cultural standards other than one's own is that differences used to mark distinctions of class, color and gender vary. Thus, cross cultural encounters make clear what is arbitrary in the association of these distinctions with personal attributes. For example, in the Italian-American subculture in which I was raised, women were not expected to defend themselves. In fact, some of my earliest fantasies of the opposite sex elaborated the theme of being rescued from danger by a strong, capable man. In Jamaica, however, women can be seen defending themselves verbally and physically on the street and in the brawls that erupt in bars and at dances. This does not discount the very real problem of male violence against women (Sistren, n.d.), but only says that the context in which it occurs is different from that in the U.S.

I recall an incident which brought this home to me in a way I will never forget. I was having a cold soda in a cook shop owned by a family with whom I was particularly close. A drunk man entered the shop and began propositioning me in a loud and offensive way. I waited silently for my male friend behind the counter to defend me, at least verbally, from this onslaught. Although I had acquired a reputation as a sharp-tongued respondent to the cat-calls which any woman, black or white, draws in Negril, when a man whom I knew was present I expected him to respond for me. I had never realized this about myself before; I did so then because my expectations so clearly occurred in a void. There was no assumption on anyone else's part that I needed defending. I realized afterward that had never seen or heard of an instance in which a Jamaican man defended a Jamaican woman in this way, and I wonder still how different I would be if I had been raised that way myself.

Cultural, class and color differences in the experience of gender also affected my relationships with women in the field. One of the most dissapointing aspects of my stay in Jamaica was that I did not develop a core of women friends around my own age--or even one very close friend in this group. The women with whom I became close friends were inevitably older or younger than me. I am not entirely sure why this was so. Perhaps I expected too much that my strength would come from a strong circle of women in their thirties as it did at home.

It may be that the life circumstances of women at different ages were more like mine in Jamaica than were those of women my own age. In my freedom to do as I pleased, I was if anything more like a young girl--yet in my responsibilities for finances and running a household, gleaned from thirteen years of living alone in New York City, I was more like an older woman. Had I had my daughter before going into the field, the whole character of my relationships with women may have been different. The differences in education and privelege were glaring as well--women my age in Jamaica were usually heavily burdened with both young children and work, each of which involved a lot of physical labor. If I had such a hard time washing my own clothes (see description below), I could only sit in amazement as the women around me washed for large families. Yet, many of the older woman friends I had also did a great deal of this hard and heavy work. Perhaps it was my own feeling of being a "disowned child" that attracted me to surrogate mothers--or perhaps the glare of inequality was smoothed over by the priveleges accorded age in Jamaica.

With men, on the other hand, gender may have acted as a kind of equalizer. Although I was priveleged and educated by their standards, to Jamaican men I was still a woman and not as free in some respects as a man. Then too, for a man there is the hope that a relationship with a foreign woman can potentially alter his life. If he should marry a woman from the U.S., or even have a relationship with one, he stands to gain in material goods, exposure to new ideas, and perhaps even entry to the U.S. on a spouse or fiance visa. The only way I could arrange entry for a woman, in contrast, would be as a domestic in my employ and I did not have the income required to sponsor someone in this way. So, from the point of view of a woman burdened with many children and little money, and no time for long, liesurely chats with someone who needed so much explained to her, I had little to offer.

The patois spoken by Jamaicans sounds deceptively like English, and for me had the disconcerting property of associating familiar words with new meanings. So too the familiar categories of color, class and gender took on different associations in the context of Jamaican life. I found, for example, that my color was often read as class; it was assumed that as a white academic I came from well-to-do, or at least comfortable, circumstances. This, however realistic given the historical relationship between color, class and education in Jamaica, involved assumptions which were not borne out in my case. I remember one particular conversation with upper class Jamaicans in which great fun was made of a local radio anouncer's mispronunciation of the names of opera singers, names with which I was not familiar. Some upper and middle class Jamaicans also seemed to welcome a chance to chat about the many inadequacies which they percieved in the character of the average Jamaican, and they expected me to share their opinions by virtue of my color/class.For these individuals, education and class acted to neutralize differences associated with national culture.

Many of the working people in Negril, in contrast, drew sharp distinctions between "Americans", Canadians, and Germans, and between each of these and "Jamaica people." U.S. tourists were associated with money and valued material items (such as jeans and cassette recorders), with "softness" (inability to sustain hard physical labor), and loose morals (casual sex, venereal disease, and drug use), all of which contrast sharply with the ideal Jamaican working class character. Working people and small business owners in Negril also distinguished between the "higher class" tourist and the average one.

Although there are quite a few foreigners living in Negril, I did not easily fall into the categories which they represented. I was not, for example, in the tourist business. Yet, I was not a tourist either. I thus had to carve out a new identity for myself. The first step in this process was to disassociate myself, in action and bearing, from the behavior of a typical tourist. It was in part for this reason I did all my own housework and cooking.

As a white woman from the U.S. living in an area where people serve white tourists and have a national history of servitude based on color, I felt strongly about this. Moreover, the stereotype of tourists as incapable of caring for themselves, together with a heavy local emphasis on self-sufficiency in this realm, made me feel it was necessary to take care of myself. I had always done this at home; it was in character with who I am. I am only one generation removed from women who did domestic work for others, and I have heard enough stories about it from their perspective to know that I did not want to be an employer in this relationship. Although the process of cooking, cleaning and washing clothes was very time consuming for me, it was also invaluable in understanding women's work.

That much of my learning to accomplish simple household tasks took place in public was also difficult, but again very significant for the development of my relationship to those around me. Most of my frustration centered around one of the basic elements of living: managing, using and acquiring water. I will never forget the humbling experience of washing that first morning. Had I known what to expect, I might have anticipated this problem and devised a plan which involved keeping a basin of water in my room. Yet this simple solution did not occur to me, so rooted was I in my own transparent embarassment. I trudged out to the common pump, which was set between a group of three houses, with my soap and toothbrush. I proceeded to bend and wash, wetting myself and my clothes in the process and leaving a long trail of toothpaste trickling down the front of my dress. Eyes watched unabashedly from inside and out, and voices called out unintelligible comments to each other.

Public water continued to embarass me in my daily routine of washing, laundry and cleaning. I was always spilling too much and creating puddles in the wrong places. Washing dishes seemed a delicate and complicated process. My wash water got dirty and my rinse water got soapy before I was half-finished, and I'd have to fetch yet another pail of water too heavy for me to carry, spilling along the way.

I grew so self-conscious about this that I began doing my laundry on my landlady's back steps, where only she could stand over me shaking her head at my futile efforts. Of course, I'd done handwashing of delicate things before, but sheets? Towels? These turned out to get remarkably heavy when wet and exceedingly difficult to wring out. When I tried to hang the sheets, they would blow back in my face and trail in the dirt and I would have to start all over again.

To make matters worse, there were times when the water was turned off, a frequent occurrence in Red Ground, the area in which I lived for the first three months. I learned to keep a small supply for washing but this was exhausted quickly and the thought that there was no more was frightening to me. Most people had storage drums for water, but the house in which I was staying did not. I felt too shy to ask for water from someone else, though that is what everyone else did. My own independence was costly for me throughout the entire year and a half of my stay.

These kinds of problems were daily and their lessons were important. They taught me to laugh at myself and to respect the skills of those around me. They showed me how new and ignorant I was in this context, and how much I needed my new neighbors. They made me desperate for a way to pay back my "teachers", a debt my limited finances strained toward meeting but never could--a debt that could finally be paid only by opening up and giving of what lessons I had--whether these were the skills of the literate world or the stories of my own experiences at home.

The debt emphasized the inequality inherent in fieldwork-that the lessons people teach us get us further on in the same world that keeps them where they are. To deny this structural inequality would have been fatal to the achievement of any equality in personal relationships which I might be able to develop. The process of finding the "real" human individual in myself, and showing that person to others, involved not only removing elements of stereotypic behavior from my actions but also recognizing the elements of such behavior which were true and real. I did meet North Americans and Europeans in Negril who attempted to "become" Jamaicans, but denying my own class, color and nationality seemed to me a detour, rather than a shortcut, on the road to truth and fairness in relationships. One can try to understand someone else's dues and what it cost to pay them, but one can't claim to have paid them because of this. Fieldwork for me meant paying my owndues, carrying the load of being white and from the U.S., along with all that did to separate me from myself and others. Attempting to assume a Jamaican identity would have made me appear at best, ludicrous, and at worst, a new version of cultural imperialist.

It is to the vendors in Negril's market and to the residents of Negril that I owe my largest unpaid debt, in the sense that my relationships with them gave me the core of the data for my dissertation. I tried to repay some of this in favors for individuals and with services to the Negril Art and Craft Vendors' Association and the Negril Community Council (see Chapter One). On the day before my departure from the island, the vendors from the market read a speech of appreciation that they had written for me and presented me with gifts from their shops. Many cried about my leaving, something which moved me deeply, as I had initially been intimidated by the toughness of these women. The Negril Community Council gave a farewell party in honor of myself and my husband, complete with curry goat and a band. So it is that the debt accumulates, but relationships flower in spite of it. These tributes from the people of Negril have meant more to me than my completed dissertation ever will. In the deepest sense, the work has been approved by those whose opinion is finally most important to me.

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1: In Awe and Anger:
A Historical and Theoretical Perspective on Women in Jamaica

> Elaine Hedges, in her description of the lives of black and white quilters in the United States, accurately captures the complexity of response appropriate to the lives of oppressed women: "a combination of admiration and awe at limitations overcome and of sorrow and anger at limitations imposed" (1980:19).

Introduction

The essence of gender inequality for women in Jamaica lies in the simultaneous occurrence of disproportionate female responsibilities for households and the association of women with higher levels of poverty. Both of these phenomena, in turn, are integrally related to color and class exploitation; poverty in Jamaica originated with the development of plantation slavery and imperialist and capitalist domination has persisted into the post-Independence period. Research on the economic development of Jamaica in particular and the Caribbean in general documents the historical process by which colonialism, economic dependency, and indebtedness have bankrupted Jamaica's economy (Beckford, 1972; Williams 1945; Best, 1968;

Girvan, 1973; Girvan et. al., 1980). This literature, however, fails to account for the specific ways in which gender has interacted with the economic processes which have so drastically affected all Jamaicans.

Similarly, the high incidence of female-headed households and the variety of sexual relationships found in Jamaica and throughout the Caribbean have been the subject of studies focusing on family structure. Parallels in family forms among dispersed New World African populations have been attributed to a common African cultural heritage (Herskovits, 1941), domestic relations imposed by plantation slavery (Frazier, 1966), the effects of color and class stratification (Smith, 1956; Henriques, 1953), or some combination of these factors. Analysis of the specific implications of such families for the women in them, however, has been lacking until recently (Massiah, 1982: 65).

Research which does focus on women in the Caribbean suggests that the conditions in which they live and work are becoming more desperate, a conclusion supported by participants in workshops on the region at the U.N. Decade for Women Conference in Nairobi:

> It really get worser fi tru. In fact, my
> Granny tell me seh tings gawn so far

> backwards dat it worser evan dan what it was after dem abolish slavery. For she tell me seh dat when dem abolish slavery nearly every woman did a wuk and nearly every woman coulda get fi grow lickle food fe eat. Nowadays, none a wi cyaan get wuk and when you go inna shop or supermarket di price a de food so high you can only look pon it (Sista Anansa, 1985:1).

Coupled with the present increase in female headed households and the poverty associated with these households in both industrialized and developing countries, such concerns lend urgency to the task of unravelling the historical circumstances which create such grim prospects for women and their children.

This dissertation explores the historical process through which gender roles are reinterpreted as economic and political conditions alter the bases on which assumptions about men and women rest. An overview of the changing roles and conceptions of women during four periods of economic transformation in Jamaica is the focus of this chapter. The remaining chapters chronicle the interaction between color, class and gender in a specific place, during a limited time period, and with particular reference to the development of tourism.

Methodology

The aim of the methodology employed in this research was to generate data which would illuminate the class, color and gender dimensions of local response to economic development processes which originate at national and international levels. An understanding of the historical and global forces relevant to this topic was sought through archival and library sources in both New York and Jamaica. The Research Institute for the Study of Man was an invaluable source of published and unpublished material essential to the interpretation of data collected in the field. The Jamaica Agency for Public Information in New York made available recent Government statistics which provided a contemporary context for discussions of employment and gender in Jamaica. The libraries of the University of the West Indies, the Institute for Social and Economic Research and the Institute of Jamaica were sources of scholarship which helped shape the direction of this research during the fieldwork period.

An overview of the chronology of Negril's development was obtained through perusal of the files of various Jamaican government agencies involved in

Negril's development. The Negril Area Land Authority, which provided access to notes on meetings of the Authority since its inception, and the Urban Development Corporation, which made available its extensive research reports on Negril, were especially helpful in this regard. Officials of the Town Planning Department provided copies of maps and development orders for the Negril Development Area, while the Tourism Product Development Company and the Jamaica Tourist Board furnished statistics on tourism in Negril. Interviews with past and present personnel in such agencies supplemented written material on Negril's development. The Women's Bureau of Jamaica offered access to its files, and were supportive in sharing their concerns and information about women in the Caribbean.

I began my fieldwork in Negril in November of 1979. Through contacts made on five previous visits to the island, I had arranged to stay with a family whom I knew and with whom I had been corresponding. That this family was one of Negril's original "royal" families (see Chapter Three) proved essential to conversations with other residents whose presence in the area also predated tourism. My home for the first three months was in the Red Ground section of Negril; subsequently I lived for two months on the beach road and for one year on the West End. Residence in each of these sections was essential to grasping the intra-community divisions of Negril (see Chapters Two and Three) and to becoming acquainted with people in all three areas.

The basic understanding of the community which allowed me to phrase questions appropriately was slowly acquired through conversations in the early months of fieldwork. It is hard for me to separate some of these conversations from the informal interviewing which I began to do consciously after the first two months of fieldwork. The contribution of conversations to my knowledge of Negril is made painfully clear to me when I compare early tapes of interviews with later ones of the same individual. Thus, although I can state that I interviewed thirty Negrillians in a series of in-depth sessions structured around historical categories suggested by conversations with many residents, the actual number of people with whom I spoke is both much greater and at least as important to the quantity and quality of my data. Indeed, my focus on "interviewing" as such was a source of frustration in the first six months of fieldwork. Erna Brodber of the Institute for

Social and Economic Studies at the University of the West Indies helped me to overcome this by pointing out that conversations were probably more valuable at that stage of my work than taped interviews. This advice allowed me to relax into discussion when and where it occurred--rather than setting particular goals of talking to specific people at appointed times. The latter method did not work well anyway in a town with poor phone sevice and days full of unpredictable events. I began to group people I was interested in talking to into localities, and to head for general areas, rather than specific individuals, each day. I also abandoned the tape recorder much of the time, and instead wrote detailed notes and impressions. I have consulted these notes as frequently as I have my interview summaries, notes and tapes.

After three months of residence in Negril, I began a basic survey of Negril's cottages and hotels, which provided data on the history, ownership, employment patterns and scale of operation of these enterprises. In 1984, when I returned to Negril for a brief visit, I was able to supplement this survey with information on new developments, additions to old ones, and changes in ownership.

During my fieldwork, I became a dues-paying member of the Negril Community Council and of the Negril Art and Craft Vendors Association (NACVA) and attended monthly meetings of these groups. Participation in these meetings provided important qualitative understanding of the dynamics of color, class and gender, as well as a way to contribute skills and information to the Community Council and to NACVA. I was able to describe my work to these groups and to get cooperation and feedback on what I was doing. I could also provide "translation" of technical development materials which had impact on NACVA and Council members, but which were not often presented to them in a comprehensible manner. I typed letters for both groups, participated in fundraisers and celebrations, and wrote a brochure on the craft market aimed at luring customers. Participation in these groups helped earn the respect of those concerned with their stake in Negril's development.

After a year's attendance at NACVA meetings, I described to the members the purpose and content of a survey I conducted over the next six months in the Negril Square market. Owners of seventy-two of the eighty shops in the market at the time responded to questions designed to illuminate three areas of their lives: their market work, their family responsibilities and their relationship to formal development plans and to NACVA (see Appendix 5 for questionaire used). Life histories were collected from seven of the vendors as well. (During my visit in 1984, I was able to get a sense of market growth and of the current concerns of NACVA when I attended a monthly meeting and accompanied some of the members to a leadership training session organized by the UDC Community Development Officer for the area). Links between Negril and Montego Bay vendors provided opportunities to interview vendors outside of Negril for comparative purposes. Twelve vendors in the UDC market at the northern end of Negril Beach were also interviewed toward the end of the fieldwork period.

The combination of library and field research outlined above generated data on Negril's development process at several levels:

1) the global and regional context for the development of tourism during the time period 1950-1980;

2) the national response from government, planning agencies and political parties;

3) the participation of Negril born people in the development process and the influences of gender, color and class on this participation;

4) the relationship of Negril's development to the mass of unemployed in the surrounding region, especially to the women in this group.

Taken together, these data provide a detailed miniature of the historical interaction of gender, color and class described in the remainder of this chapter.

A Historical and Theoretical Perspective on Women in Jamaica: The West African Background

In their seminal article, "An Anthropological Approach to the Afro-American Past: a Caribbean Perspective," Mintz and Price urge anthropologists to look carefully at the changing historical circumstances in which basic West African values were reinterpreted by enslaved Africans in the New World. Toward the end of their essay, they suggest the study of family and kinship patterns as a fruitful area for such analysis, and outline the ways in which differing plantation structures may have affected the kinds of domestic groups which Africans formed in the New World. Their major point is that by finding common themes which underlie the variety of forms, one gets a clue about basic value orientations of Caribbean and Afro-American populations:

> . . .it seems clear that the independence and authority exercised by a Haitian or Jamaican market woman in regard to uses of her own capital probably have few parallels in the Western world, where individual prerogatives commonly are assumed to flow from individual male wealth, embedded in an economically indivisible nuclear family structure. The generation of separate and independent economic risk structures within a single family may be considered characteristically West African and Afro-Caribbean, as opposed to European or North American (Mintz, cited in Mintz and Price, 1976: 41).

This formulation by Mintz neatly joins the economic and familial roles of individuals within families and at the same time underscores what appears to be a fundamental difference in gender relations and values between African and Western family structures.

In her article "Female Employment and Family Organization in West Africa," Niara Sudarkasa documents the West African context of women and their work. Traditionally, she says, the absence of sharply delineated public and private spheres for both men and women and the embeddedness of the domestic group in matri- and patri-lineages provided a context of structural and cultural supports in which women's "domestic" and "economic" roles were not conceptualized as separate:

> . . .the important economic roles of women in traditional West Africa were part and parcel of the overall domestic roles of wife, mother, sister and daughter, . . .At the same time, through their economic roles, women played an important part in the 'public sphere' . . . .which in most West African societies was not conceptualized as the 'world of men' (1981: 54-55).

Of contemporary West African women Sudarkasa says:

> Women in West Africa do not work to get away from their 'domestic' situations; they work because it is considered an integral part of their domestic responsibilities (56).

Supporting this continuity in cultural expectations for women are extended family systems, elaborate child-rearing networks, inexpensive household help and relatively cheap domestic services which can be bought instead of done(57-58). An example of the latter is the provision of dietary staples, which can take hours to prepare, by food sellers in West African towns.

Despite the above, Sudarkasa directs us to several important factors that may negatively affect the position of West African women today. The shifting relation between the domestic and public world caused by economic and political upheaval associated with capitalist domination can cause changes both in the work women do and in where they must do it (51). Both rural-urban migration and increased exposure to Western values are associated with changes in household structure, kin relations and gender roles which create a very different context in which West Africans interpret and exercise appropriate male-female behavior. The negative effects of capitalism and colonialism on women's economic and political roles in West Africa have been documented by many (Remy, 1975; Green, 1947; Leith-Ross, 1965; Von Allen, 1972; Etienne, 1980, etc.), and the often painful changes which women in the region experience with Westernization and urbanization have been movingly chronicled in the novels of Buchi Emecheta.

If the economic and political transformation of West African societies has changed the effect and interpretation of basic values, how might gender be understood in a historically changing Caribbean context? What follows is an attempt to ask this question within the context of four key historical processes in Jamaica. The answers which are suggested, given the relative scarcity of data on women[1], are not meant as absolute truths, but rather as touchstones for analyses concerned with the roots of gender relations in Jamaica. This is especially so given the lack of hard evidence concerning variations which may have occurred in the interpretation of gender in different parts of Jamaica; the reconstruction of history which follows should be read with these qualification in mind.

Slavery and Gender: The Jamaican Case

The only detailed and sytematic exploration of slavery and gender has been done by a Jamaican woman, Lucille Mathurin Mair (1974, 1975). In an article aptly entitled Reluctant Matriarchs, Mair states the ideological relationship between the false concept of the black woman slave and the equally inaccurate picture of her contemporary sisters:

> The myth of the black matriarch, the mother who fathered countless generations of West Indians, and who in the process demoralised and feminised husband, lover, brother and son, 'originated' historically in the concept of slave woman as a specially privileged and authoritative person within the slave hierarchy (1977:1).

In A Historical Study of Women in Jamaica, 1655-1844, Mair systematically debunks the illusions which feed this myth. The vast majority of enslaved black women, according to her analyses of plantation documents and secondary sources, were the least privileged of all slaves. Most field slaves were black women and most black women were field slaves (1974: 296 ff.). Male slaves had access to a greater variety of tasks and skills, and thus "the differerce in valuation of male and female slaves reflected also the the difference between the skilled and the unskilled worker"(1977:3).

Women's reproductive capacity, far from being a source of special favor, provided an opportunity for greater exploitation. Not only were black women raped with impunity, they also suffered through pregnancy, birth and breastfeeding under intolerable physical and physic conditions:

> The female slave offered minimal returns on capital outlay unless heavily utilized as breeder and worker (1974:311 emphasis mine).

Regarding punishment for infractions, Mathurin tells us that women were special targets of the whip and were percieved as more difficult to handle than men (344). Indeed, it appears that most of the highly publicized cases of excessive brutality during the final years of slavery involved female victims (344). The Caribbean slave plantation then did not create a climate in which men and women were equally mistreated, but one in which gender added yet another burden to the already intolerable load of race and slave oppression.

Gender, Color and Class Inequality

Research on the origin and development of gender inequality presents a variety of explanations for the subordination of women in different historical contexts (see for example: Leacock, 1978; Chodorow, 1974; Rubin, 1975; Sacks, 1975, etc.). Although debate continues over whether or not gender distinctions have always been associated with lower status for women, there is growing recognition of the relationship between the development of gender inequality and that of other forms of hierarchically ranked differences (Wolf, 1982, 93; Leacock and Etienne, 1980: 6). This relationship is strengthened during the development of capitalism, when the social construction of gender and other biological charcteristics, such as color, facilitate the exploitation of some sectors of society. The ideological association of "natural" deficiencies with the female gender and with dark skin make it appear as though class barriers, or inequalities arising from relations of production, are instead related to biological characteristics of exploited groups (Saffioti, 1978: 44-45).

The Development of Plantations and White Women's "Place"

Interpretations of gender and color which accompanied the development of plantation slavery had their harshest effects on black women, who occupied the lowest positions in the hierarchy of plantation society. The ways in which white women were affected by these changing interpretations, however, also illuminate the interaction between gender, color and class during this period. Mair reports that for the white woman in the Southern United States and in the Caribbean:

> property rights narrowed and the marriage noose tightened (232).

This, she says, contrasted with the modification of English law regarding women and property which prevailed in frontier regions of the United States and prior to the development of monoculture in the Caribbean (31-32). Fernandez-Kelly has analyzed the fluctuating relationship between women and work which occurred in Europe as households were transformed from arenas of production to ones of consumption and reproduction of the labor force. The retention by women of major responsibilities for the latter qualified their relationship to the former. Although an ideology of women's place which relegated them to the domestic realm developed, as Fernandez-Kelly points out:

> . . .more often than not women have had to coordinate labor within the home with wage

> labor . . . .Therefore, a clear distinction must be made between ideological definitions of what women's place should be and the realities that women as well as men have had to confront in the course of their daily existence (1983: 74).

In Jamaica, the shift from family farms to plantations was marked by the association of white women with the ideal of gentility (Mair, 1974: 61), but, as in the European case, the degree to which women attained this ideal was determined by class. As the number of African slaves increased, so did paranoia about the dangers which life in Jamaica held for whites. It became no place for an upper class "lady"; indeed, the larger the estate, the greater the scarcity of white women (63). Women whose wealth was not great enough to buy removal from Jamaican society or total retreat into the genteel domain of domestic life, on the other hand, could derive income from the hiring out of slaves whom they owned. It is interesting that female self-sufficiency in this respect, as well as in land ownership, was inversely related to wealth (Mair, 1974: 198-199). However, many more white women owned slaves than owned real property. Thus, women whose color and gender defined them as inappropriate for most kinds of work could still ensure their livelihood by exploiting the labor of black men and women (199-205). White women too destitute to own slaves and not able to depend on their husbands or families might be offered jobs designed to provide an alternative to prostitution, an occupation obviously unsuited to the prevailing definition of white females. Such jobs were usually extensions of domestic work considered appropriate for women and were "barely disguised forms of poor relief (211-212)."

For the dwindling numbers of white men during the plantation era, specialization in artisan and supervisory work became the norm for those not wealthy enough to finance plantations of their own. As the population of these white males fell, brown men and some black men were able to move into these jobs (117).

Black Women and the Slave Household

Black women, exempt because of their color from the association with gentility, were expected to labor in the fields along with men and to reproduce the slave labor force. What was the slave household like under such conditions? Mintz and Price state:

> In spite of the difficulties the enslaved faced in creating stable unions and keeping them together, we have ample evidence of small groups of kinsmen (sic) (often simply a woman her children, and her current spouse)

> which were basic units of economic cooperation (38).

Higman's work on slave population and economy in Jamaica supports this contention. His analysis reveals three major categories of household organization: 1) slaves without family, living alone or with friends; 2) simple family households, mostly nuclear units, which comprised the great majority of households studied; and 3) varieties of extended households[2] (1976a:168). The latter category was dominated by Creoles and was most often found among the more privileged slaves. It was in this group of "slaves of color," with privileged occupations and ties to whites that households in which slave men had no part were most likely to appear (161). Mair confirms this, saying: "The original Creole matriarch may well have been brown, not black:

> In so far as women who were non-white had any access to power in a power structure which was white and male, they were these women (1974: 441).

Martinez-Alier has affirmed this connection between stereotypic matrifocal households and women in an intermediate position in the color hierarchy in Nineteenth Century Cuba. She notes that women of color who wished to maximize their status entered into concubinage arrangements with white men, whose own status position precluded marriage to these women (1974:128). Likewise, Mair tells us that the mulatto woman in Jamaica was aware of her strategic postion in the process of upward mobility:

> It was her initial mating pattern which set in motion the exodus of certain blacks, legally and ethnically, out of the servile class (151).

Although the development of solidary kin groups larger than the household, along the lines of the West African models described elsewhere by Sudarkasa (1982), would have been prohibited by the very conditions of enslavement, the notion of a larger grouping was present and active. Mair cites evidence of "networks of mutual supportiveness and concern" which had broad kinship bases. For example, she quotes a planter's explanation of why his entire slave community became heir to the property of a slave who died intestate and without children:

> They have all connections, more or less, the Africans; they call one another Brothers and Sisters and so on (384).

The Sexual Division of Labor in the Domestic Economy of Slaves

For the mass of enslaved black men, women and children in Jamaica, survival was greatly dependent on the domestic economy of the slave population. The existence of provision grounds, plots on land ill-suited for sugar cultivation which were allocated to slave households, is testimony to a tradition of family cooperation and joint economic effort by men and women. Though only permitted to work their ground in the limited time left after long days in the cane field, by 1774 the enslaved in Jamaica were not only provisioning themselves but controlled the internal distribution of crafts and produce in Jamaica (Long, cited in Mintz and Hall, 1960: 16). In fact, the island-wide network of formal produce markets one sees in Jamaica today is largely the result of the efforts of the slaves, who were "allowed" to market produce from their subsistence plots in their "spare" time. Women who marketed, Mair says, often had to walk ten miles or more in both directions, sometimes with the added burden and responsibility of a young child, and always with a load of goods (1975:10).

Although Mair cites evidence for her view that these early markets were dominated by women (1974:391)[3], and Edwards asserts that from the very outset, the majority of traders were women of African descent (1980:2), Mintz says:

> "Evidence suggests that men, or whole families, engaged in local market trade (1981:519).

Paradoxically, the evidence for both positions on gender and marketing appears to have come from the writings of planters. These documents are characterized by the standard use of male pronouns to refer to slaves of both genders and by the scantiness and selectiveness of the descriptions available. In their original paper about the origin of markets in Jamaica, Mintz and Hall quote from the journal of Madden:

> . . .The Negro labours on his own ground for his own advantage and . . .his wife and children have the price of his own commodities to fetch him from market town . . . .(1960:18-19).

This quote could be interpreted to mean that marketing was the job of wives and children. It seems more logical to assume a continuity in a tradition with both a history in West Africa and a strong presence in contemporary West Indian societies. Mintz does offer a historical explanation of why a gender shift in marketing may have occurred, which will be discussed in the section on Post-Emancipation below.

The allocation of household tasks in the slave community remains something of a mystery. Can we assume that women took major responsibility for preparation of meals eaten away from work, laundering, sweeping and the like? Writing about the United States, Davis describes the sexual division of labor among slaves as follows:

> . . .the special character of domestic labor during slavery, its centrality to men and women in bondage, involved work that was not exclusively female . . . .For while women cooked and sewed, . . .men did the gardening and hunting. This sexual division of domestic labor does not appear to have been hierarchical: men's tasks were certainly not superior to and were hardly inferior to the work performed by women. They were both equally necessary. Moreover . . .the division of labor was not always so rigorous, for men would sometimes work in the cabin and women tend the garden and perhaps even join the hunt (1983:18).

From the Jamaican evidence, Mair tells us that slave couples were "mutual helpmates . . .dividing their domestic responsibilities, with the woman performing personal services for her spouse: it is the custom of the wife always to cook his supper for him (Sir M. Clare, cited in Mair, 1974:378). "Contrary to the notion of black female household power," Mair finds evidence of "black masculine authority bordering on patriarchism (378)." This aspect of gender relations was encouraged in part by laws of primogeniture (379) and by planters' assumptions about the greater responsibility of male slaves for their families. The latter resulted in extra allotments of provision grounds for men, although the Consolidated Slave Laws also entitled women to a "sufficient quantity of land as her proper ground (Clause 2, quoted in Mair, 1974:387)." In fact, it was quite clear that women were important both as workers and owners on provision ground plots (387, 388, 391ff). Indeed, the two were inextricably linked, since "labor was the currency with which all slaves laid claim to property, especially land"(393).

If, in addition to working for the masters in the canefields and for themselves and their families in provision grounds and markets, women also had major responsibility for the daily tasks of cooking and minimal cleaning. then we can speak of a triple work day for women. The contradiction between this less sanguine view of the sexual division of labor during slavery and the flexibility in gender roles suggested by the range of women's work arises from the possibility that household work and child care remained primarily female responsibilities and that male roles did not expand to encompass these activities to any significant degree. But it is also possible that, to some extent, housework and child care tasks were usurped by the overarching power of the plantation:

> . . .if the plantation did admittedly deny the black man much of his authority as father, it also usurped some of the female function 'materfamilias'. . . .in the 1780's, William Ricketts, Jamaican planter. . .wrote: 'By having a room near my dwelling house I have raised 6 children. . . .I have now 26 from 3 years old to the breast at this place besides a swarm at my mountain, and I make it a rule to have them fed from my own table and in my sight every day (Ricketts/Jervis family papers 1726-1842, quoted in Mair, 1977:2).

Davis points out the importance of recognizing the relations between domestic household and plantation when evaluating gender roles among slaves:

> Domestic labor was the only meaningful labor for the slave community as a whole . . . . the only labor which could not be directly and immediately claimed by the oppressor (1983:17).

In a similar vein, Mair states:

> The black woman asserted in a variety of ways that beyond the boundaries of the estate, she had another life. It was a life which was lived in cultural antithesis to that of the white plantation. In one, she was a fixed unit of labour, and breeder of units of labour, in the other she could be a dynamic producer/entrepenuer/person (350).

Whether or not this is the way a woman field slave, exhausted from a long day of arduous physical labor, felt if she had to confront repetitive domestic chores is a question we may never be able to answer.

What is clear about the operation ot the domestic economy of slaves, including the work done in provision grounds and at markets, is its role in overt and covert resistance to slavery. While the use of provision grounds to feed the enslaved population doubtless reduced costs of plantation masters, provision ground experience also provided both Maroon[4] and freed slave communities with some independence as they faced the crucial task of feeding themselves (Mintz, 1974a; Mintz and Hall, 1960)). Money earned in the Sunday market was used not only to improve diet and dress, but also to purchase freedom and, at emancipation, land. Markets often provided the setting for clandestine meetings and the networks for information about planned acts of rebellion and resistance. Thus, the operation of the domestic economy stands as one more way in which the enslaved in Jamaica sought to alter their relation to land, labor and the island's rigid class and color hierarchy. Women's centrality to the domestic economy of slaves meant that they were indeed, in Mair's words, "rebel women" who undermined slavery in a variety of ways (1975). These included: manipulating processes of birth, weaning, menstruation and abortion (Mair, 1974: 361); fomenting conspiracy (105, 356, 362); running away (366); practicing varieties of "house mischief", such as poisoning (363); seeking legal redress for abuses against them (354); fighting in Maroon Wars (199 ff); and laboring in Maroon communities (95).

The Post Emancipation Period and Women

The diagram summarizing the development of class oppositions and alliances provided by Beckford and Witter (1980:60) depicts the period 1838-1865 as one marked by the transformation of African slave and Maroon communities into an African peasantry. This change did not occur painlessly; indeed, as Beckford and Witter tell us: "The Jamaican peasantry was born *struggling* for land (42, emphasis mine). Mair describes women's experience during this transitional period as follows:

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Throughout the 1830's and 40's, however, black women began to move out of the estate environment and into "family-oriented villages as well as the towns" (Mair, 1974: 467).

Women in Rural Jamaica

Mintz and Price suggest that the acquisition of land by black men made possible after Emancipation was responsible for the male farming/female marketing division of tasks which developed among the Jamaican peasantry (1976 41 ff; Mintz, 1981: 531). They are less interested in why each sex does what it does than they are in the fact that women develop an economic arena in which they operate independently of their spouses. They see this as reflecting "fundamental West African concepts about appropriate male and female behavior" (42). To understand the status of women, however, it is important to analyze what each sex does and why. Did males take over farming because they had greater access to formal title to land?

Historically, land ownership has not been problematic for women in Jamaica, though historical data on this are slim.[5] However, it is possible that two factors may have given males greater access to land: 1) in the case of "bought" land, males may have had greater ability to purchase land because of greater access to occupational skills during slavery. While the lion's share of a skilled slave's hire went to his master, he nonetheless could save a small portion; and 2) in the case of free villages established under Church auspices, stable, monogamous (and male-headed?) families were favored (Mintz, 1974a:171). However, there were other ways of acquiring land, such as squatting on Crown Lands or in Forest Reserves or receiving grants of land from ex-owners (Clarke, 1979:20), and some women had access to cash through a more limited range of work for hire, such as laundering.

Indeed, the focus on free villages may be responsible for weighing land ownership too heavily in the search for an explanation of male/female roles in rural Jamaica during this period. Robotham argues against the notion that post-Emancipation Jamaica was overwhelmingly characterized by a free peasantry, and states that the masses of the rural population remained tied to the estates as tenant farmers (1977:50). Beckford and Witter likewise remind us that many ex-slaves were forced to keep working on plantations for much of the year (39). Combinations of free peasant agriculture and wage work also existed. Yet there is no evidence that women in these rural groups did not market produce from rented plots or combine seasonal wage work with marketing. Moreover, if both men and women farmed and marketed during slavery as Mintz believes, why should this division in tasks appear now, regardless of who owned the land?

Durant-Gonzalez shows how the higglers whom she studied in contemporary rural Jamaica adjust their work to the events and cycles of birth, breastfeeding, weaning, etc. (1976 162 ff.). However, it is quite common elsewhere in the world for women of childbearing and childrearing ages to shoulder the major part of agricultural labor associated with plots not unlike those of rural Jamaica, and one can certainly see some women in Jamaica doing likewise today. I personally know a woman who both cultivates extensively and markets regularly and I doubt she is alone in this combination of activity. It thus seems unlikely that the division of labor in question was based on assumptions of what women can or can't do because of their gender or its association with children.

I believe that the African tradition of female marketing has continuity during the slavery period and that it is accompanied by other specific gender values. I have noted, for example, a feeling among both Caribbean men and women that women are much better at managing money:

> The man brings home money which is dispensed by the woman. It is generally felt that their men, as [one woman] . . . . says of her husband, "don't have a business head." (Brodber, 1975:44).

This perhaps parallels West African patterns by which the male and his kin group make available the means through which women take on greater financial responsibility for the raising of children than do men (Marshall, 1964:189, 191, 201). Such male backing for female economic ventures can include land belonging to the patrilineal kin group which women farm, seed capital with which a woman begins trading, produce grown by the husband which the woman sells or some combination of these. It is interesting in this regard that during the Emancipation period in Jamaica, among those who had gained access to land, large kinship groups, possibly along the lines of West African models began to grow:

> Composed in theory of all the descendants of the original title holder (traced bilaterally) these late-emerging non-unilineal kin groups . . .were centered on family land . . .with a ritual association between ancestors and the land on which they were buried (Clarke, 1953; Davenport, 1961; cited in Mintz and Price: 39).

Women in Post-Emancipation Towns

Hall, quoting a Baptists' report of 1865, lists the following categories and numbers of workers in Spanish Town: bakers (33), shoemakers (91), tailors (127), bricklayers (38), masons (63), carpenters (228), blacksmiths (33) builders (21) and Wheelwrights (20). The report goes on to say that these categories of male workers lead a "precarious existence" because of their large numbers. Yet, "other Spanish Town residents included almost 1,000 domestics, not half of whom were employed; and 772 seamstresses who got only occasional work before August and Christmas holidays; and 422 laundresses, who were nearly all out of work . . . . (1959: 213).

The grim picture painted for both men and women in Spanish Town appears to have been worse for women, whose number in categories of high unemployment was greater and whose range of jobs was narrower. These inequalities were worsened by the wage differentials which existed between domestics and other categories of non-agricultural labor shown in Table 1.

The decline in wages between 1848 and 1865 reflected in Table 1 was due to the economic crisis of the second half of the 18th Century, which also reduced the demand for domestic labor as well as for such services as sewing and needlework (Hall: 232).Women who did such work were described as follows:

> work, they cannot, to beg they are ashamed (233).

Slavery, the Post-Emancipation Period and Gender Ideology

Thus far in our historical consideration of gender relations, patterns in Jamaica seem to reflect the interaction of two sets of cultural expectations for women. The tendency to denigrate women's labor characteristic of the transition to industrialization in Europe resulted in women's concentration into fewer and less rewarding job categories than those of men, both on plantations and in post-Emancipation towns. West African gender ideology, on the other hand, seems to have contributed a vision of women as capable enough to manage the domestic sphere and their own economic affairs, though these are seen as inextricably linked. Thus, women work in part to meet a set of domestic responsibilities that is greater than men's. This greater responsibility is reflected in a wider range of domestic tasks and expenses for which women are held responsible. Men, however, are expected to provide ideological and material support for women's productive activities. During slavery, this was accomplished through the joint working of the provision grounds and the marketing of the results, and afterwards, among the newly freed peasantry, through the supply of agricultural products for women to market.

Although plantation labor and work on subsistence plots are combined within the lives of individuals and families in both pre and post-Emancipation Jamaica, it seems that the role of access to land was particularly important in providing a context for the reinterpretation of African gender values. Thus the continued undermining of the peasant land base in Jamaica, as a result of the opposition of the planter class to the newly freed peasantry and later, as a result of the reorganization of production by multinational corporations, might be expected to change the dynamics of gender for the masses of Jamaicans.

Proletarianization, Migration, and the Coming of the Multinationals

According to Beckford and Witter, the years between the Morant Bay Rebellion of 1865 and the uprisings of 1938 were marked by the differentiation of the mashared anger of the

small farming and growing proletarian sectors combined. This anger, in turn, was fueled by global events and processes accompanying the imperialist phase of the development of international capitalism:

> It is in this period that Tate and Lyle, Barclays Bank D.C.O., United Fruit Company and Alcoa, four huge monopolies which have exploited Jamaican labour and resources, emerged. For these monopolies, investment overseas, where raw materials were to be found with abundant and cheap labour under the heel of colonial oppression, meant even greater profits than they could earn at home . . . .For Jamaica, this period marked the

> entry of American capital . . . .and saw the encouragement of peasant production of banana exports as well as the organization of production and marketing by the United Fruit Company. This was an important step linking the peasant economy to the world economy (49-50).

According to Post, the agrarian capitalism which developed during this period in Jamaica thwarted the growth of an alternate peasant agriculture but was unable to absorb the rural labor supply which this process created (1978: 40). The peasant agricultural base which grew despite great limitations in the Post-Emancipation period was undermined after 1865 by both population growth and the Crown Colony Government acting in collusion with the big farmers. Post tells us that repossession of land held by squatters, begun as early as 1867, had reverted 240,000 acres to the Crown by 1912 (40). This process continued with investment by multinational corporations in sugar and bananas and later, in bauxite and tourism. Between 1921 and 1943, 2,750 peasants were forced off the land every year, as were 2,000 agricultural wage workers. Table 2 shows the results of this process in land redistribution by 1938.

The Impact of Proletarianization on Women and Their Families

Because international monopoly capital began to encroach upon farm lands, particularly the more desirable acreage, the rapidly growing peasant population was left with a shrinking land base. Increasingly, rural Jamaicans had to turn to wage work, cash cropping and migration in order to supplement their yield from subsistence plots. What success did these mixed strategies offer, and what are the implications of these constricted choices for women in particular?

For those who did retain plots of land, the lure of growing bananas and sugar as cash crops was great. From 1876 to 1929, Jamaica was the largest producer of bananas in the world, and about one-third of the 69,000 acres devoted to this crop in 1910 were in holdings of less than 20 acres (Post, 1978:37). In 1850, those with 20 acres or less produced 10% of Jamaica's agricultural exports, and by 1890 their share had increased to 39%. Sugar cane farming, begun after Emancipation with the reorganization of the sugar industry, even today accounts for half of the total cane output in Jamaica (Beckford, 1973: 17). Unfortunately, as Beckford tells us:

> The cane farmer is, in essence, a plantation worker who works for the plantation on his own land (1973:17).

Small cane and banana farmers remain at the mercy of corporations which control prices and, in the case of sugar, expensive processing. Despite the success of peasants in production during this period, they were severly hampered by reduced access to even the small and less desirable plots which they had historically worked, as well as by new exchange and distribution arrangements which were not in their interests.

What this meant for families is suggested by an estimate "from peasant sources," quoted by Post, that cash of 8-10 shillings a week would be a tolerable living for a family in 1935, provided they grew some of their own food. Agricultural wages at that time were: 1s6d a day for men, 9d a day for women, and 6d a day for children. Post concludes that, at these rates, a man would have to get work with either his wife or two children four days a week throughout the year to manage (120). Yet figures on seasonal agricultural wage work lead Post to estimate that there was only one job for every three workers available, even in peak periods of employment (119).

To the inevitable conclusion that subsistence under these circumstances was difficult for both small holders and the rural proletariat, must be added the realization that every acre devoted to cash crops meant less both for women to market and for families to eat.

The wage figures cited by Post tell us that the

Post-Emancipation pattern of women's low wages continued in this period; as might be expected, the increasingly dominant U.S. investors fostered the same patterns of inequality which characterized employment in their own country.

The reorganization of agriculture described above also diversified the growing urban proletariat; numbers of dock workers, transport workers, and clerical workers grew. There was also a rise in the number of women employed as domestics (Beckford and Witter, 1980:52). Post gives us a picture of women dock workers through the eyes of an observant bystander:

> Women and children are among the banana carriers, pregnant women included. I stood up for about half an hour watching the carriers running and trotting all along . . . The big bosses and managers pace lordly up and down the piers with their hands in their pockets, laughing and chattering with each other, while tourists take photographs of the workers clad in tattered garments (1978:137).

Male Migrants 1881-1921

For men during the period from 1880 to the turn of the century, emigration to Panama and Costa Rica for wage work in agriculture and construction offered other painful alternatives to reduced opportunities in Jamaica. From 1916-1921, emigration to Cuban cane fields attracted men from Jamaica, while many women went to meet the Cuban demand for domestic service, dressmaking, and laundry work. Between 1881 and 1921, total net emigration from Jamaica was 146, 000 (see Table 3). Except for emigration to Cuba, this migration movement was predominantly male.

Post says of this period that "where there was limited employment, women did marginal jobs and men emigrated" (138). Although the absence of migrating males might be difficult to bear emotionally and sometimes financially, the remittances which many did send home to Jamaica were doubtless crucial to the survival of the women and children left behind. Also, the reliance of women on kin networks may have helped compensate for the absence of some men in families and communities (see Solien-Gonzalez, 1969:Chapter 1 for a discussion of consanguineal kin relations affected by migration among the Black Carib).

Women Migrants: 1921-the Present

After 1921, women figured prominently in migratory movements of their own. Between 1921 and 1943 the internal migration of 108,900 women and 90,200 men to urban areas became a substitute for external migration in the face of reduced opportunities abroad. More recently, Foner tells us that emigration to England from Jamaica became predominantly female over the period of its heaviest flow, from the early 50's to

1962. With changes in English immigration laws and subsequent revision of United States ones, the goal of prospective emigrants shifted again to the United States. There, from 1962-1976, 50% of recorded entering immigrants from Jamaica were women. Changes in immigration laws that stressed family relations and a demand for unskilled, especially domestic, workers are associated with both the British and U.S. patterns of female migration from Jamaica.

Jamaican immigrant women share with others the phenomenon of invisibility; we know comparatively little about women immigrants in general (Bryce-LaPorte, 1981: Introduction). Foner provides some intriguing observations about Jamaican women in London (1978) and Bolles sheds some light on the decisions of Jamaican women to migrate (1981). Foner tells us that women in her sample of Jamaicans in London were only slightly more likely than men to send remittances back to their families, but that reasons for the decision to migrate did vary considerably by gender. Seventy per cent of women, as opposed to 9% of men came to join a spouse or relative; while 73% of men gave economic reasons as their primary motivation, only 26% of women did so. Foner's explanation for this is that men in families usually were better able to leave first and then send for women and children. Women hesitated due to child care responsibilities and the greater difficulty they had in raising passage money (55). Another gender difference found among Jamaicans in Britain was the women's greater attachment to relatives at home. This was expressed by the maintenance of close ties with those at home and by a greater desire among women to return to Jamaica in order to care for relatives. One women explained it this way:

> My father died last year and my mother is old and . . sick now. I'm the only girl, the only one to lean upon . . . (61).

All of these differences found by Foner echo what Bolles so aptly says of Kingston women seeking admission to the United States:

> The idea of emigration for working class women is not their relinquishing family responsibilities, but extending them (1981:76).

Of 50 prospective immigrant women interviewed by Bolles, 42 were household heads. Even though these women were employed in Jamaica, the opportunity to acquire clothes, shoes, household and food items for their families with comparative ease in the U.S. was an important motive for migration (67).

Although many Jamaican women, and men as well, speak hopefully and positively about migration, one need only visit the airports in Kingston and New York and watch the pain of joining and separating families to see its costs at first hand. For women in particular, who feel so close to kin, rely so heavily on extended family networks and bear so great a responsibility for their children the irony of leaving loved ones in order to meet responsibilities toward them is particularly cruel.

Discussion

The linked processes of proletarianization, migration and multinational investment in Jamaica have indeed had serious implications for gender relations. Proletarianization as a process places a greater emphasis on the individual as the unit of wage labor (Mintz, 1974b). Thus, the individual economic risk structure postulated by Mintz and Price as a characteristic of West African gender relations occurs now in a situation which reinforces the separateness of men and women in other ways. It is worth noting that it is within this historical context that most studies of the West Indian family have been done.

The necessity to migrate in search of work adds physical separation for long periods of time to gender separation in responsibilities. Migration, moreover, coupled with increased landlessness, loosens individuals from an important anchor of kin and community. Women and men who worked separately and at a distance from each other in traditional Yoruba walled towns and fields had the common bond of the patrilineal compound to which they all owed allegiance. While it is obvious that Jamaican men and women migrants maintain ties to rural kin units, these groups have nothing like the political and economic structural permanence and centrality of traditional West African lineage groups. Instead, they are shifting units very much at the mercy of powerful multinational and local elites over whom they have little leverage. The undermining of peasant agriculture and the increase in migration greatly reduced the male material and emotional support which previously underwrote both traditional and New World African female roles.

The interaction of Euro-American and West African gender expectations with the economic processes described above leaves poor black women extremely vulnerable. Condemned at home and abroad by class, race and gender to a limited range of low paying and scarce wage work, or to subsistence higglering, they still bear major responsibilities for the time and money involved in child care and domestic tasks. They have truely inherited the worst of both worlds.

Urbanization, The Growth of the Informal Sector and the"Feminization of Poverty"

Urban Working Women

As the data cited above on internal migration show, Jamaican women have sought to escape the legacy of rural marginality bequeathed them by plantations and multinationals. Sometimes leaving their children in the care of female kin, they have fled to cities and towns. Mair reports that in 1921, 57% of all Jamaican women worked in agriculture; by 1943, this percentage had fallen to 28%, and by 1972, to less than 20% (1977:5).At present, half of the total population in Jamaica is urban, one-third of the nation resides in the capital of Kingston, and over one-half of Kingston's population is female.

What has been the experience of the masses of poor black women in towns? Conditions may vary between those who have jobs in the formal sector and those who do not, but hard realities for all reflect the crisis of the Jamaican economy. Recall that the effects of multinational investment in sugar and bananas led to foreign control of the export sector of the economy as well as to the rural conditions which caused men and women to flee to towns in search of work. In the Post-World-War II period, the Jamaican government pursued a policy of "industrialization by invitation." The two new areas of invited investment were bauxite and tourism. Both of these industries had the effect of raising the prices of land and goods in selected areas of Jamaica and both were more closely tied to the structures of multinational concerns than to Jamaica's economy (Girvan, 1976: Chapter 3; Brown, 1974). Neither provided year round employment for the displaced rural population.

More recently, rising oil prices coupled with declining earnings in sugar, bauxite and tourism have exacerbated the foreign exchange crisis in a country heavily dependent on imports and hard pressed to pay for social programs. The result has been a series of agreements with the International Monetary Fund (IMF). In her study of female factory workers in Kingston, Bolles found that because Jamaican manufacturing concerns are dependent on the availability of foreign exchange, the role of the IMF in the lives of the women in her sample was key. The vulnerability of Jamaican working women within a global system dominated by multinational corporations is further evidenced by the removal of garment firms to areas with cheaper labor costs, a move cited by an officer of the Jamaica Development Corporation as a major cause for the high unemployment among Jamaican women in the manufacturing sector (1979:8).

While shortages of foreign exchange and the flexibility of multinationals to seek cheap labor interfere with factory operations and cost jobs, the IMF packages designed for Jamaica added to women's problems "a soaring cost of living index and unavailability of essential (imported or import dependent) items." (Bolles, 1979:24). Women cope with this double dilemma by depending on kin and fictive kin networks that cross household, yard, and urban-rural boundaries, but as Bolles notes, "during ' these times' the operations of familial networks are pressed to the point of exhaustion" (1979: 20). The consequences for gender relations are significant:

> At other times, a woman would have a child for a man, in order to expand her financial network to support her household. Even if the relationship ended, a child could hopefully hold a man financially, if not physically to the household with child support. But today, with the high rate of unemployment for the population, more men are jobless and with weaker ties even to the informal sector. Therefore, having a baby means creating another drain on the women's scarce resources, which she as primary supporter cannot afford. In addition, the man can no longer fulfill the meagre obligations he had been able to in the past (23).

Bolles reported a "barrage of complaints" in reply to her questions about male support of households of these working women (1981:187-188). In households with stable, nuclear unions, financial security for women was more consistent, but in visiting unions, only 23% of the households studied could count on regular support, with little over half getting cash on an infrequent basis. Although Bolles states that "in general, contribution of funds is not made on a steady basis by spouses, partners and boyfriends, either past, present or former," it is among single women with children and without current mates that the greatest insecurity is experienced; only 22% of women in this category received cash even once in a while from their children's fathers (187-188). As one woman accurately summed up: "My dear, nothing is fair in this life." However, in her paper on Jamaican women seeking emigration to the U.S., Bolles found among a subsample of these women that 12 of 50 households had at least one brother as a household member. These brothers were said to contribute financially and emotionally to these households, thus underscoring once again the importance of consanguineal relations in evaluating male participation in families.

Jamaican Women and the Informal Sector

Keeping in mind that the lines between formal and informal employment are blurred within households, in individual lives and across occupations, let us now consider the position of women without formal employment. In 1981, the unemployment rate for women in Jamaica was 38.7, as against a rate of 14.2 for men and 25.5 for the population as a whole (Department of Statistics, 1981: 18.13). For the largest grouping of women, those between the ages 14 and 29, the rate was 60%.

In Jamaica, as elsewhere in the world, the exclusion of large numbers of people from formal employment which is structurally built into modern capitalist industrial development has resulted in the growth of an informal sector. For example, self-employed and independent occupations accounted for most of the growth in overall employment levels from November 1980 to April 1981. This sector grew by 6.1 in 1980 and 3.6% in 1981, representing 56.8 and 44.6 of the total increments in those periods (National Planning Agency, 1982: 18.9). While labor force survey statistics show 229,000 men and 109,300 women in this category, women have historically dominated the ranks of petty trading and seem to account for much of the recent swell of "illegal" vendors who are unlikely to be included in formal surveys.

Reasons for the growth of the informal sector are linked to the same set of conditions which make the situation of the formally employed factory women studied by Bolles so precarious. Agreements between the Jamaican Government and the IMF during the period 1974-1980, resulting in wage freezes, increased unemployment, cutbacks in social services, dollar devaluations and high rates of inflation (Girvan et. al., 1980), have simultaneously made it harder for women to increase their incomes and more imperative that they do so. In addition, import restrictions associated with IMF packages, the rebellion of business against the Democratic Socialist regime of Michael Manley, and machinations having to do with a violently contested 1980 election together created a national shortage of consumer items. The occurence of the latter, coupled with rising prices and high unemployment, resulted in the rise of "unprecedented hustling" (Beckford and Witter, 1980: 97). The growth of the craft market in Negril, which will be described in Chapter 4, is but one example of this.

How do women fare in this sector of marginalized urban workers? Based on her limited survey of informal sector workers in Central Kingston, Harrison found that men had access to a wider range of income earning activities and that the opportunities accessible to men in the informal sector provided more remuneration than did women's jobs. A sexual division of labor in kinds of products and services seemed to underlie this gender disparity in the informal sector, with 50% of women involved in marketing domestic/household services and goods as opposed to a little over 12% of men involved in these areas. Scale of operation revealed another gender disparity-85% of female marketers were street vendors, while 50% of male marketers were owners of small shops and restaurants (1983b: 11). (In Chapter 5, we will explore the history of similar gender differences in an informal market in Negril.)

Significantly, the differences in scale and remuneration found among Harrison's Kingston sample occurs also among modern West African traders (Mintz, 1971a). The phenomenon of women being relegated to petty-level subsistence-oriented activities in agriculture and trade while men become involved in external trading and cultivation of cash crops is a familiar pattern (Boserup, 1970; Etienne, 1980, etc.) Western notions of economic development, marketed in aid packages, development designs, technological training, etc., are based on assumptions of gender, class and racial inequality, whose existence they tend to support. Indigenous ideas about complementary economic behavior of men and women are undermined by the heavier weighting of male activities within the larger national and international context. Traditional ideologies which do not divide women's economic and domestic arenas now occur within a political economic system that relegates to subordinate status everything associated with the domestic realm.

While Harrison does not present comparative data on household structures for the Kingston marketers whom she studied, she does describe important differences between the genders:

> Whereas . . . males . . . generally benefitted from the labor of their spouses and/or kinswomen, their female counterparts were less inclined to have adult males as regular sources of labor (11).

She also discusses the heavy reliance of the women on matrifocal kin groups in contrast to a wider range of network ties among the men:

> a possible implication of this may be that men, having effective ties to their kindreds largely through their mothers as well as having peer bonds and gang connections to patrons, may be in the position to gain greater access to a wider range of resources (including petty capital and labor) than women (13).

The "Feminization of Poverty"

Often, when women' s kin relations are evaluated or the extended family is described, the emphasis is on how the sharing of obligations and duties make it easier for women to rear children and/or work, especially in the absence of resident fathers (see for example, Stack, 1974). But such sharing also entangles women in a set of reciprocal exchanges in which they must contribute their share. It is possible that women's greater investment in time, money and energy to matrifocal kin groups, domestic needs and , especially, childrearing operate to minimize their involvement in other kinds of groups and relationships. Again, this is in stark contrast to the traditional African situation, in which involvement in domestic affairs was an integral part of political behavior and in which women extended their kin base influence through membership in other kinds of groups (market organizations, religious societies, etc). This is not to say that Jamaican women only associate with or have access to their kin. In fact, Christian Church membership commonly links many with a network of support, friendship and services. The argument here is rather that the number and extent of extra-kin connections varies by gender, to the detriment of women.(Some of this is clearly conditioned by aspects of gender ideology which act to restrict women's mobility and contacts, but this will be considered more fully in Chapters 3 and 5.)

Not only have historical and structural changes transformed the meaning of women's relationships to kin groups, they have also altered the costs and benefits involved in raising children. Again, women are caught in the crossfire of these changes. One such woman is movingly described in Buchi Emecheta's ironically titled Joys of Motherhood, in which a West African woman works for years in the markets of Lagos to raise and school her children, only to learn that their increased education has changed their sense of obligation toward her:

> She had had nine children, and luckily seven were alive. . . .how was she to know that by the time her children grew up the values of her country, her people, and her tribe would have changed so drastically, to the extent where a woman with many children could face a lonely old age and maybe a miserable death all alone, just like a barren woman? (1979:219)

Not only value changes, but structural ones can affect the return on child rearing. The need for more education may both raise the cost of rearing children and delay their working ages, or the economic situation of a country may make employment possibilities slim even for those whose parents have sacrificed to educate them.

Given current global realities for women, economic self-reliance coupled with heavy domestic responsibilities make female headed households not only the poorest in Jamaica, but the poorest everywhere they exist. The feminization of poverty in Jamaica, as elsewhere in the world, results from the combination of women's primary responsibility for children and their limited access to income earning activities and decent levels of remuneration for their work. Because of historical changes in land use and kin group permanence, because of the global inequities of capitalist industrial development and consequent marginalization of urban and rural Jamaicans, the traditional African notion that allowed women to be economically responsible for households has been stripped of the material basis which made it viable and of the advantages which compensated women for such responsibility over a lifetime.In fact, the character of gender relations in Jamaica today are such that while women's earnings outside the home may alter her position withing the household, her "outside" work may be adversely affected by her disproportionate share of domestic responsibility.

Political Implications of the Growth of the Informal Sector

As Simms, in an analysis of petty trading by women in Africa points out, for societies in which women have historically worked outside the home and retained rights to their own income, the issue is not exclusion of women from the economic arena, but the "character and quality of their participation (1981: 150)." As she states, women are heavily involved in petty trading because of a lack of alternatives, and such alternatives depend for their creation on economic structural change and on the political institutions charged with the responsibility of fostering such change.

In the Jamaican case, national institutions operate within the context of unequal industrial, trade and financial relationships which are global in scope, and within a national structure which has operated to bolster and perpetuate these relationships. Despite rhetoric and even intentions to the contrary, this comprador relationship between government and local elites on the one hand and foreign investors and lending institutions on the other, precludes efforts which truly benefit those operating outside the limited offerings of the wage labor market. Such relationships worsen and strengthen the rigidity of the existing class structure, while those in the informal sector hope to better their positions within this structure or to change it entirely.

The tremendous efforts of enslaved African women in the provision grounds and early markets of Jamaica are now accepted as challenges to the colonial class, color and gender hierarchy. It is comparatively easy to look at things past and analyze them in terms of political struggle; it is harder to understand the elements of this struggle in the present, when the intentions of individuals are expessed not in political rhetoric but in the language of private hopes and petty calculation. Yet, as Roberts states, self-help and the informal economy today:

> . . .affect and even limit the scope of action of the economically and socially superior classes by creating uncertainty and reducing their possibilities for controlling the environment (1978:79).

Ethnographic detail, according to Roberts, should bring the individual back into the development picture as:

> . . .not simply the puppet of forces beyond his or her control, but a force contributing to . . .the course of events (136).

From this perspective, the relationship of men and women trying to secure income in Negril and the Jamaican government agencies entrusted with its development is particularly interesting. As described in the chapters which follow, Negril has become an arena in which those doomed by class, color and gender to lives of unemployment, subsistence farming and fishing or produce marketing seek to transcend the places defined for them by Jamaica's history and by formal development plans for the area. Yet, their very efforts in this struggle are themselves characterized by patterns of gender, color and class.

Because they are not formally represented in the halls of governments in great numbers, women's role in pressuring the state for change may not be recognized as such. Yet the seizure of land and the creation of work characteristic of informal sector activity in Negril and elsewhere represent challenges which strike at the very heart of definitions of peasant and proletarian and at the most fundamental forms of exploitation and transformation of these populations. Moreover, the illegal nature of much informal sector activity is a direct affront to the state itself. The implication for policy is profound structural change, aimed at the ownership of land, the means of production and the nature of the state. It is in this spirit that I present the story of Negril's development, as a continuation of the historical movement of Jamaicans toward self-determination, a movement of which women have always been part.

Notes

[1] As E.K. Braithwaite remarked in his recent Elsa Goveia Memorial Lecture, the history of women in the Caribbean is an almost totally neglected subject (1984).

[2] As Higman elaborates in his article, Methodological Problems in the Study of the Slave Family, there is a great deal of difficulty involved in defining significant units of kin among slave populations. Part of this problem lies in knowing whether the significant boundaries of domestic activity are the walls of individual houses or the edges of shared yards.

[3] Mair cites William Barge's evidence, given in Parliamentary Paper 1832 (127) II: 993.

[4] The role of women in Maroon communities is beyond the scope of this chapter. Bilby and Chioma Steady (1974) along with Mair (1974: 93-105) have described women among the Jamaica Maroons, and Price looks at women among the Saramacca (1984). It is clear that Maroon women in Jamaica were important as agricultural producers, as mothers, and as warriors. The legendary Nanny, a Jamaican National Heroine, is the best known example of a female Maroon leader.

[5] As discussed earlier in this chapter, women in Jamaica were entitled to their own provision grounds, albeit smaller plots than male household heads. For a complete discussion of land tenure in Jamaica, see Clarke (1971). Especially important in understanding landholding in Jamaica is the distinction betweeen family land, which theoretically is inherited, inalienable and transmitted equally to all family members (Clarke, 1971: 234) and bought land, which has no restrictions, in theory, on alienation or transmission (235). Family land, in Clarke's usage, often refers historically to post-Emancipation grants of land (234). Clarke states that discrimination on the basis of sex and legitimacy do not affect land inheritance in Jamaica.

Chapter Two
From Coconuts to Cottages: A Historical Overview of Negril's Development

Introduction

The historical focus of Chapter One springs from a search for the roots of the particular gender puzzle of Jamaica, the pieces of which I began to find and place during my fieldwork in Negril. The experience of fieldwork provided a critical slant on the themes of development and inequality which had so dominated my reading and thinking during graduate school. The gift of this experience was a personalized view of how development occurs and how inequality is maintained, instituted or challenged. Abstract processes and labeled categories dissolved and faces took their place. Gradually, these faces and the stories behind them revealed patterns, raised questions, and shaped the focus of my work in Negril.

Approaching the center of Negril from the direction of Montego Bay Airport, there is a moment when a single glance holds all the essential contradictions of Negril's development. Crossing the bridge that spans Negril River, I could look ahead to the imposing modern shopping plaza which sits just below Negril Villas, a luxurious tourist accomodation. To my immediate left and right, however, were the makeshift shops, stalls and wares of Negril's illegal vendors, primarily women. Who, I wanted to know, were these women and what was their relationship to the kind of development which the Villas complex represented?

As I learned more about these women and about the people of Negril, I was excited by their refusal to be left out of development plans which seemed designed to discourage, ignore or eliminate their participation. My reading of the literature on dependent development had prepared me for their exclusion, but not for their active responses to the plans which Government and private investors had for Negril. The small business owners and vendors represented for me the often hidden or underestimated side of radical development analysis; they put the struggle back into the concept of class. As I learned more about Negril, this two-sided struggle became finer-grained, more contradictory and many-sided. The mix of planned and unplanned, large scale and small scale, capital and labor intensive enterprises was also reflected in the sprinkling of modest homes and small cottages interspersed among the hotels along Negril's white sand beach and climbing the cliffs of Negril's West End. Here in Negril, I would find local families who built rooms or cottages for tourists and continued to fish and cultivate, realizing out of necessity a mixture of subsistence and industrial resource use which planners find hard to achieve.Women who based small restaurants or cook shops on the use of local ingredients and local skills offered other modest "success stories." Vendors who battled for the rights to sell a few oranges along Negril's river bank ended up in a formal craft market on Government land, coming to occupy a different place in the scheme of things from vendors who were relative newcomers.

Negril, from the late fifties to the present, has been the scene of enormous economic, ecological, political and social change. Chapter Two describes these changes, along with the responses of Negril residents to them. Chapter Three looks more closely at the class, color and gender dimensions of these responses. While Chapters Two and Three chronicle the experiences of those with a property base in Negril, Chapter Four examines the growth of a squatters craft market created by people who fit into neither the property owning nor the formally employed segments of

Negril's tourism. Chapter Five, in turn, focuses on gender differences among these vendors.

Men and women, the skilled and the unskilled, those with land and those without, those with money and those without. . .all of these have responded differently to the development of tourism. This section focuses on what these differences tell us about the relationships between gender, color and class.

Class, as used here, is:

> . . . a shorthand for a process, and not a thing. That process is the one by which different social relations to the means and meanings of production are inherited and reproduced under capitalism. As the concept is developed through Marx, the process of capital accumulation generates . . .two categories of people: those who are both available and forced to work for wages because they own no means of production, and those who control those means of production (Rapp, 1978:5).

Rapp also points out that class, as a historical process, generates "shifting frontiers" among categories of people between and within these two primary classes. People's individual experiences of upward and downward mobility, as well as their collective attempts to alter these experiences, reflect these changing boundaries and deepening contradictions between classes (Rapp,1978:6). Thus, at any particular moment in the process of class, we may view classes as:

> . . . real clusters of people whose development or decline is predicated on particular historical circumstances, and who act together or against each other in pursuit of particular interests prompted by these circumstances (Wolf,1969; xii).

Let us turn now to the historical circumstances which shaped the ways in which people in Negril responded to the development of tourism.

The Coconut Days

> In my boyhood days, the beach land was overladen with coconut palms and the women always use the coconut to make oil and sell it. After they make the oil, they use the meal to raise pigs. The men do fishing. When coconut was plentiful, we also take it and bait our fish traps. In those days, people never was so anxious over money . . . .The people from the hills come with their fruit and vegetables to the seashore and exchange it for fish. And it was joy those days.
> (a 60 year old man from Negril)

Negril is located near the westernmost tip of Jamaica, about fifty miles from Montego Bay. As discussed here, Negril includes the area extending from Orange Bay on the northeast to the Negril Lighthouse on the southwest, Red Ground, and the Negril swamps (see Figure 2), an area of approximately 20 square miles. Much of the coastal land in Negril is now taken up with resort cottages, a few hotels, restaurants and other small businesses catering to tourists. Red Ground is the area where the majority of Jamaicans live, though many rent rooms to tourists as well. The center of town is comprised of a shopping mall which includes a supermarket, doctor's office and bank, a round-about where mini-bus transportation in all directions convenes, another supermarket and a bar. According to a house to house census by the Ministry of Health's Public Inspector, a native of Negril, in early 1980 there were 1891 persons in Negril, living in 643 houses. This represents a population increase of about 60% since 1970.

Negril can be found on some of the earliest Spanish maps of Jamaica under the name Negrillo. During the Spanish occupation of Jamaica and the era of European rivalry in the Caribbean, the dense morass behind Negril's coastline made it an ideal place for pirates to land--they could quickly disappear into the swamp and hide. Calico Jack, one of the most notorious pirates in colonial times, was captured on Negril beach. Among his crew were two famous female pirates, Ann Bonney and Mary Read. Negril Harbour was also the assembly point for British convoys, and is mentioned in the diaries and journals of travelers who visited Jamaica during the 17th and 18th Centuries.

After British conquest of Jamaica in 1655, the English laid the foundations of Jamaica's slavery-based sugar economy. Negril land, however, was too wet for the large sugar plantations that elsewhere dominated the coastal plains (see topographic map, Figure 3). For this reason, much of the land in Negril, with a few exceptions of coconut and cattle raising properties, ended up in small holdings. A 1969 study of landholding patterns in Negril described the area as characterized by very large holdings (including Government lands) and small ones of a few acres or less, concentrated around the southern third of the beach front and the Red Ground and West End areas. According to this report, many of these small plots were originally granted by proprietors of large estates (Adelatec, 1969: 30).

As far back as the oldest residents can remember, Negril was home to about 20 interrelated extended families. The beach was the main thoroughfare; the present roads did not exist. Travel to nearby Green Island was by canoe. Men made their living fishing, using at first cottonwood tree canoes and bamboo fish traps as the Arawak had before them. Nets were used when a group effort could be mustered, or by those who specialized in turtle fishing.

Beach land in Negril was richly stocked with coconut trees, whose nuts were often gathered by children in the mornings before school. Children and men helped crack open and grate the nuts, while the women squeezed the juice from the grated nuts and boiled this "milk" to obtain oil. As one man phrased it: The woman who boil the oil, her arm would be the hero to squeeze the milk." The Jamaica Tall coconut trees were a valuable source of income for women because of the oil, which they carried to market in Little London or Savanna-la-Mar. The "trash" of the coconut (the remains of the grated inside of the nut after the milk is squeezed out) was used to feed pigs.

In Red Ground, a hilly settlement area that extends back from the banks of the Negril River, people cultivated yam, banana and other fruits and vegetables for subsistence, along with tobacco as a cash crop. Red Ground men also fished.

Crucial to the survival of families in both areas was their exploitation of land. Garden plots were often the special province of women, because their location near the house allowed for minimal time loss in sowing and reaping. Trees on the house plot provided a supply of fruits, especially breadfruit and neeseberry on the beach and plantain, banana, breadfruit and mango in Red Ground. In addition to the trees and gardens in their yards, Negrillians cultivated ground provisions on plots several miles distant from their homes. These plots might be located in the hilly interior of Red Ground or in parts of the Morass, often on land belonging to the Government. The clearing and planting of these plots was sometimes a collective effort, with men doing the work on the land and women preparing and serving food to the men. This kind of group enterprise still occurs in Negril, though much less frequently than in the past. The provisions reaped from these plots are shared. It was even considered the right of the anthropologist to enjoy yams harvested from the ground whose clearing I had witnessed.

The pattern of separate finances for men and women described as characteristic of Jamaica in Chapter One also prevailed in Negril, according to older residents:

> The rule of me and my wife and most peoples-I pick my wife's coconut and I go to sea. I have one day to go to my field and another to pick all coconut. The women can do what they like with the money.
> (Negril man, age 82, raised on Negril beach)

> When I was between 10 and 16, we used to boil coconut every week and the bigger women take it to market. That was our only dependence, that and "fishnin." The men fish and the women boil oil. That was the woman's living.

> (Negril woman, age 60, raised on Negril beach)

The process of making oil from coconuts is long and arduous, and women drew on kin and neighbor networks during both the making and marketing of oil:

> You do it like how you can manage it. Maybe 50 nuts one day, fifty nuts a next day. My husband's sister grater all 200 in one day, but she have people come help her. People with pigs. She raise pigs and me too. Somebody come grater with you and get the feedin' for their pigs. I carry my oil on Thursday, walk 18 mile with it 'pon mi head. I don't come back til Saturday. I sleep at mi sister or cousin down there. Sometimes me carry about 14 bottles. I have my own customers who always buy from me. They come with their vessels or you walk along to their yard. You can't sit down one place. You mus' walk up and down and sell.
> (72 year old woman, resident of Negril Beach)

In Red Ground, where there were fewer coconut trees, women were also involved in marketing tobacco:

> The men fish and the women twist tobacco and take it to Green Island, Sav-la-Mar and Little London.
> (54 year old Red Ground man)

> With the tobacco now, men prepare the land and shake the seed. Men, women and children draw the seedlings and transplant them. Men, women and children pick the leaves when they ready. After picking, it is tied in bunches and dried. Then there were some women who took it to market to sell.
> (Red Ground man, age 67)

As the latter quote hints, the role of women in marketing did not always involve the direct sale of household products. Women sometimes prepared oil or tobacco for marketing and sold it to higglers. Red Ground women and beach women sometimes bought coconuts to use for their oil. For the former, it was a necessary purchase if a woman was to engage in making and selling oil, since Red Ground land was not well stocked with coconut; for the latter, the large coconut plantation at Rutland Point sold them nuts when their own ran out. While this practice does not alter the pattern of separate income sources for men and women, it does qualify the extra-household dimensions of oil making and marketing.

Small landowners in Negril shared with others like them in Jamaica the need to supplement their cultivation with sources of cash income. The sale of fish, tobacco and coconut oil helped pay for clothes, school fees,"shop food" (rice, flour, salt, sugar, etc.) and other necessities. Negrillians also turned to wage work and migration to supplement their incomes. In the immediate Negril area, a few men were employed at the Whitehall cattle range or the Rutland point coconut plantation. Jobs on these properties included penkeeping, carpentry, fence construction and repair, etc. For women, "there was nothing here to do.," in the words of one woman who migrated for nine years to the U.S. as a domestic. Because of the scarcity of wage work, Negrillians joined their fellow Jamaicans in migrating to Kingston, England and the United States. Virtually every informant had a host of relatives who had "gone a foreign," if they had not done so themselves.

The efforts of Negrillians to combine subsistence cultivation with income producing activities at home and abroad reveal that Negril before tourism was far from a prosperous or self-sufficient district. The difficulties of life without roads, running water, adequate transportation and decent housing are recalled clearly by Negrillians. As one woman put it: "It was like a slum. No water, no electricity, no road, just a track." Negrillians are thus enthusiastic about many of the material changes which tourism has wrought in the area. They are also astute about the price they have paid for these changes, and so speak eloquently about the less tangible virtues of life before the advent of the industry. Key to many of these descriptions are the close relations among kin and neighbors and the greater degree of trust and sharing prevalent in those times. Closeness between people was tied to their everyday interactions, upon which the survival of families and the economic independence of women depended. The nature of oil and tobacco production and marketing and the custom of collective labor on subsistence plots described above show the daily necessity for reciprocity and reliance on others. In the minds of Negrillians, the period before tourism is remembered for the relative peace of life, the security of knowing everyone in the district, the values of faith, order and above all, love:

> I liked Negril when I was a little girl because we had the river . . .The roads wasn't paved or anything. You could leave the house open and go anywhere and nobody would interfere. And, you know, it's funny, on Sundays everybody would go to Church, even the men. Yes, even the men turned out . . . .There was more love going around at that time. Everybody was more loving . I mean, if you were sick, a lot of people would come and stay with you. They couldn' t really help you, but they would sit with you just to company you through the long nights. If you had a funeral, everybody would pitch in to build the grave, make the coffin, and things like that. But now, they don't do that anymore . . . .
> (54 year old Negril woman)

> People was much loving than they are now and they were more law-abiding. When we were young chaps, if we have a dead in the district, you wouldn't find a crowd now as what you have in size, but everybody would take something there and make sure that the burial went on as best they could. Each

> assist each other. If there is sickness you'll find your neighbor would get up first in the morning and find out if everything is alright and such "delikes." People never fight and quarrel with each other as what they did now. I remember the first person that ever went to the courthouse here. They prosecute a chap for drunk and disorderly. And the day of the court, everybody was just listening out to hear what happen and nobody go to work that day. For a start, we only used to have one policeman in the district . . .and he didn't have any work to do. When he wanted something to do he used to ride a horse to other districts and back, or ride up the beach. It was just, call it one family here.
> (Negril man, 63 years old)

A Change is Gonna Come

In my early unstructured interviews with Negril's older residents, I was gently led to see the beginnings of the changes in Negril's way of life not in the harbingers of tourism, but in the death of Negril's Native Tall coconut trees. Between 1942 and 1950, lethal yellowing disease killed 90,000 coconut trees in the parish of Hanover, home to the Rutland Point coconut plantation. This represented 46% of the total number of coconut trees alive in Hanover in 1942. During the same years, Westmoreland, the parish in which Red Ground and Negril Beach lie, lost 9,000 or 10% of its trees (Burrows, 1952, cited in Rashford, 1980:8). However, it was in the 1960' s that lethal yellowing disease reached epidemic proportions

(Tomlinson, 1972:7, cited in Rashford:8), and by 1976, two thirds of the six million Jamaica Tall coconut trees listed in the 1961 island census were lost (Romney, 1976:I, cited in Rashford:5). Research on the impact of and possible remedies for lethal yellowing disease increased after 1962, and in the early 1960's the Government sponsored the planting of Malayan Dwarf coconut trees, a disease resistant variety.

The centrality of coconut to the lives of Negrillians, especially to the beach residents, was evident in their use of the term "coconut days" to refer to life before the native tall trees began to die. That both men and women emphasized coconut trees in this way shows how intertwined were women's economic activities with the fate and lifestyles of their families. Beach people and Red Ground people were sometimes described as divided by status differences, and some informants felt that this was due in part to the economic advantages which coconut trees afforded beach dwellers prior to tourism. "Red Ground people had to buy oil or coconut from beach people, " they would say. The physical beauty which the trees gave to the beach landscape was also an enduring part of memories of the "coconut days."

Although the loss of the trees was keenly felt by all, in Negril as elsewhere in Jamaica, "the brunt of lethal yellowing disease has been borne by women"(Rashford:17). While the Malayan Dwarf trees have the advantage of early bearing and increased yield, their nuts are lower in oil content than those of the Jamaica Tall variety. Increased competition for nuts has led the Government to outlaw oil boiling in an effort to reserve nuts for copra production for industrial use. The Coconut Industry Board sought to insure that growers "satisfy local copra requirements first before selling . . .to higglers, oil boilers and coconut water vendors"(Gleaner, May 17, 1976, cited in Rashford:30). Government support of large growers and export producers over higglers and oil boilers thus contributed to the loss of an important source of income for women, a loss keenly felt in Negril. For a while, some used to "go far" to buy nuts, "through it's their living."

People speculated endlessly about the cause of the disease:

> Many say the disease come from the air. Everybody was in argument---you can't tell me, me can't tell you, why they die, but the heart rotten and leaves turn yellow and drop off.
> (Negril beach resident, 85 year old man)

> It die from up there (at Rutland Point) and come right down to the river bottom. Every t'ing just lay low. About three or four years and all of them die out. People used to carry them away and test it. They tried to plant more and every one died. They say it was a disease from foreign.
> (72 year old woman, beach resident)

Others speculated that the cause of the disease was something "sprayed from an airplane."

Women wondered what they might do to replace the important income source which they had lost. Some fishermen's wives became involved in selling fish, other bought oil in Kingston and re-sold it in the local markets; one woman said she began doing hairdressing at home, and that her family had to "depend more on the sea." Many women and men, however, expressed that ultimately it was "the development" which replaced coconuts as a source of income:

> When those coconut trees die, a part of our livelihood, you see it deteriorate, going away. So I start to wonder, what are we going to do next? What will take the place of it? And finally, the development started.
> (60 year old Negril beach born man)

The connection between the death of the coconut trees and the coming of tourism is in part a coincidence in timing. Negrillians dated the "big changes" in their district from the 1950's, and it was in 1956 that plans to develop Negril were introduced and discussed in Parliament. During the early 1960's, some infrastructural development for the industry was completed. These events coincided with the sharp realization of the impact of lethal yellowing disease.

A more tangible and personal connection between the two, however, was the change in valuation of Negril land. Over and over, present and former Negril beach residents stated that the death of the trees left them "disgusted" with their land. Too sandy and wet for a lot of plants and too cold for most animals, beach land was now devoid of a source of income, beauty and possibly status. Paradoxically, land along Negril beach began to seem _less_ valuable to its inhabitants at the same time as it began to appear _more_ valuable to outsiders interested in land speculation, tourism development or both. At the same time as their taxes were being raised to pay for Negril's infrastructural development and to reflect correspondingly higher land values along the beach, residents began to recieve what appeared to them as very lucrative offers for the sale of their land:

> If the coconut trees never die, perhaps many people wouldn't sell the land. The tax raise

> . . .and the people not getting anything out of it. A lot of people take dwarf and plant, but it don't make oil. You can't make a living out of this land anymore.
> (85 year old Negril beach man)
>
> If not for the tree death, it wouldn't be so easy to sell the land, but we would have to do it. A lot of people never willing to sell . . . .but a lot had families and they was very poor . . . .If they never sell the property, they would be nowhere.
> (83 year old Negril man, born on beach)

As the latter quote implies, people were motivated to sell their land largely because of their poverty, a condition worsened by the loss of income from coconut oil. The connection between the death of the trees and the land sales associated with the earliest phase of Negril's development for tourism was such that one informant even speculated that perhaps something was deliberately sprayed from the air to kill the trees and thus reduce people's attachment to their land.

Role of Government in Negril: A Brief History

The Government plans for tourism development that sparked interest in Negril Beach land began with discussions in Parliament in 1956. The People's National Party (PNP), with Norman Washington Manley at its head, was in power at the time. It was the era of "industrialization by invitation," a period characterized by boom conditions in Jamaica, as measured by gross economic indicators. For example, between 1950 and 1962 foreign trade increased eightfold and per capita national income grew sevenfold. This growth was stimulated by foreign investment in bauxite and tourism and supplemented by expansion in construction, manufacturing and the public sector.

However, income disparity widened during this time and unemployment grew, increasing from 13% nationally in 1962 to over 24% ten years later. This joblessness was especially concentrated among youth and women. Between 1958 and 1968, the share of the poorest 40% of Jamaica's population in personal earned wage income dropped from 7.2% to 5.4%, and in 1962, about 60% of the labor force earned less than J$20 per week. Political and social tensions rose and resentment at foreign domination grew, producing a mood in sharp contrast to the tranquility promised in tourist promotion advertisements (Girvan et. al., 1980: 114, 115).

Indeed, the contradictions inherent in the "industrialization by invitation" model for economic success were perhaps most glaring when that philosophy was applied to tourism development. Governments unable to provide conditions which afforded a living wage to their own populations generously offered wealthy investors tax concessions and infrastructural development in order to create comfortable conditions for vacationing foreigners. Perez outlines the justification for this as follows:

> . . . tourism seeks exoneration by invoking the rhetoric of development. Popular indignation is assuaged, West Indian political careers are redeemed, and tourist guilt is mollified--indeed, replaced with a pious conviction that tourism benefits Caribbean societies. The industry finds a convenient rationale in the proposition that tourism contributes to West Indian treasuries through indirect taxation and duties. Increased travel to the area, it is suggested, creates job opportunities and results in widespread employment of local labor; labor contractors and workers, local materials, and local economies in general are said to benefit (Perez, 1974: 474).

Perez goes on to argue, however, that the high import content of tourism development worsens balance of payment deficits and that the employment which tourism creates mimics the unstable, seasonal and unskilled labor which plantation structures created in the Caribbean. Taylor confirms the latter in his work on the history of tourism in Jamaica (1975).

Despite the negative consequences of tourism development elsewhere in Jamaica, the government was enthusiastic about the industry's potential in Negril.

Its seven mile stretch of white sand beach had been described as possibly unrivalled in the world, and plans for Negril aimed at avoiding the creation of an enclave for white foreigners by insisting on public access to beaches.

After preliminary discussions in Parliament, the Negril and Green Island Area Development Order was confirmed in 1959. Figure 4 shows the area zoned for development under the provisions of this order. Basically, development order guidelines would apply to any activity construed as development occuring on land along the coast from the northernmost point near Haughton Hall to the Negril lighthouse. The Negril Development area thus spans two parishes, Hanover and Westmoreland. Although the development order covers land on either side of the present road along the beach, along the cliffs, which extend westward from Negril Village, the land side of the road was not officially part of the development area and remained the responsibility of the Westmoreland Parish Council.

The Development Order also specifies the requirements and procedures for any building, subdivision of property, or other change in land use which constitutes "development." A landowner or leaseholder who wants to build on, sell, or subdivide his or her land must obtain permission from the local planning authority. The Land Authorities Law was used to set up a Negril Area Land Authority (NALA), which became the local planning authority for the development area.

Besides processing applications for development, the NALA was to concentrate on both attracting capital to the area and on developing the required infrastructure for tourism. The minutes of the meetings of NALA in the early years make it clear that large scale investment was wanted, and attempts to encourage U.S. and Canadian financing is apparent. However, such attempts were hampered by the amount of work involved in providing the infrastructure for development. There was no serviceable road in Negril, just a "track" along the beach. In addition, much of the land zoned for hotel investment was swamp. By 1959, the government had spent 4.5 million dollars to provide four miles of highway, three large drainage canals to control the swamp, a water treatment plant and distribution network, and electric transmission lines. Much of this infrastructural development was completed by 1962, the year of the Jamaica Labor Party (JLP) electoral victory.

A brief description of Jamaican party politics is necessary here if events in Negril are to be fully understood. Jamaican formal political independence in 1962 was preceded by the British colonial pattern of gradual increases in political representation for the populace. Both of the two major Jamaican political parties grew out of the struggles of 1938 mentioned in Chapter One, and both have trade union bases. Full adult suffrage, granted in 1944, resulted in a victory for the Jamaica Labor Party (JLP) under the leadership of Alexander Bustamante. The JLP has been characterized as a "populist party" with a "bread and butter" appeal and a "strident anti-communist" tone (Girvan et. al., 1980: 114). In 1940 the PNP, under the leadership of Norman Manley, declared itself a socialist organization. Norman Manley defined socialism as involving:

> . . . the concept that all means of production, should, in one form or the other, come to be publicly owned and publicly controlled (quoted in Nettleford, 1969: 61).

Electoral contests in Jamaica since the granting of full adult suffrage reveal a clear pattern of a switch in parties every two elections, or approximately every ten years. (The 1983 election was exceptional in that it was boycotted by the PNP opposition.) While Western political scientists often cite Jamaica's electoral record as evidence of a strong Parliamentary democracy, Stone analyzes it as representing:

> . . . the gap between material expectation and objective conditions, and the general mood of suspicion, distrust and alienation towards those who exercise state power in Jamaica (1973:31).

These patterned changes in party and the reasons for them indicate important policy and personnel changes in the relationship of the government to Negril's development. Because the NALA is a statutory body of government, the JLP victory in 1962 meant that the board members of the Authority were changed and that the plans of the previous government were largely ignored. Negril development, considered a PNP project, was in for a long period of neglect. As Negril residents put it: The JLP locked up the area and threw away the key.[2]

The minutes of monthly NALA meetings during this period reveal confusion over the intent of the government toward the area and over the role of NALA. In 1966, the powers of the NALA to approve or reject applications for development was revoked entirely and put in the hands of the Town Planning Department. In June of 1968, a PNP senator who is now a hotelier in Negril put forth a resolution in the Senate which outlined the neglect of the area at the hands of the JLP, the difficulties of landowners and developers in Negril in selling, subdividing and building due to this neglect and the hardship which had resulted.

In 1968, a special Act of Parliament created the Urban Development Corporation (UDC), designed to incorporate the authority of Government and the resources of the private sector. The UDC handles developments of total areas, which may be too large for private enterprise to undertake. While the Town Planning Department plans land use, the UDC both plans and implements development. In addition to development projects along the Kingston waterfront, in Ocho Rios, and other parts of Jamaica, the UDC became involved in the development of the northernmost section of the Negril development area. In 1969, UDC successfully negotiated purchase of all land (2,800 acres) in its designated section of Negril, including the former coconut plantation at Rutland Point. UDC commissioned feasibility studies of projected development of this land by Adelatec and later by Bechtel. These studies included possible uses for the Negril Morass (3,000 acres of which also fall under UDC responsibility), requirements and costs of worker housing related to resort development, etc.

Following the PNP victories in 1972 and 1976, more tangible evidence of Negril's development began to appear. A community center was built and opened in 1976; in the same year telephone service was established. A national bank branch opened in Negril in 1977, and electricity was made available to more of Negril during these years as well. The West End was made more accessible by road improvements and development along this stretch mushroomed. The UDC's 250 room Negril Beach Village resort was completed in 1976 and a 30 room extension was added in 1979. While plans for UDC projects were in the works prior to the PNP victories in 1972 and 1976, residents' accounts of the milestones in development as having occurred under PNP rule seem, on the surface at least, to ring true.

The NALA, however, never again regained the power to approve development applications and became instead a political broker between the local population and the various government agencies with interests in or jurisdiction over Negril. In most cases it could only refer concerned citizens, vendors and their causes to appropriate government offices.

In contrast to the relatively smooth operations of the UDC,NALA, even during the PNP administrations of 1972-1980, appears to be in a state of confusion and disarray. Minutes of the NALA meetings during this time express a feeling of being excluded from plans of the Jamaica Tourist Board, The Jamaica Tourism Product Development Company, the UDC, etc. The Authority was often the last to find out about land purchases by the government in Negril, and there were several instances of communications with various Ministries and departments of Government which went unanswered for long periods of time. There is even the suggestion that there were deliberate attempts to sabotage Negril's development and thus embarass Prime Minister Michael Manley, who had promised quick action in the area during his election campaigns. Opposition of the national elite in Jamaica to the democratic socialist regime of Michael Manley is widely acknowledged; some refer his administration as the only one in the history of the country when business went on strike. It is possible that some events in Negril were part of this pattern.

After the election of Edward Seaga and the JLP in 1980, it was made clear that NALA would be disbanded and its functions taken over by the UDC or one of its subsidiary companies. Since the UDC has been so dominant in Negril as both a landowner and developer, it is useful to look briefly at this body and its aims.

The UDC was created as a "developer in the public interest which could combine the authority and resources of government with the expertise and dynamism of the private sector, supported by appropriate legislative powers"(UDC, n.d.:3). The Corporation is run by a chair and a board of directors, all appointees of the Prime Minister. The UDC exceeds a body such as NALA in both power and resources. It is required to own all the land involved in its projects, which must be self-supporting and eventually generate profit. In short, the UDC is a business backed by state power.

After developing its properties, UDC many retain assets in them through its subsidiary companies. For example, Negril Beach Village was managed for a time by National Hotels and Properties (NHP), a limited liability company established by the UDC in 1973. The Seaga government was also responsible for the move to divest NHP of its holdings in Negril Beach Village, and to sell this property to private investors.

The UDC can also form new companies through partnerships, as it did in 1970 when together with Adelatec, the multinational corporation commissioned by the UDC to do a feasibility study of Negril, it formed Jamaica Estates Limited. The UDC thus combines the power of business and government and exercises overriding control in the areas of its jurisdiction. In Negril, the UDC has been primarily concerned with its own land, which is located several miles distant from the main area of settlement.

The primary purpose of the UDC, as suggested by its name, is to develop urban areas in Jamaica that do not replicate the social and economic problems which plague Kingston. Thus UDC projects aim at distributing housing and employment more evenly across Jamaica and at producing urban growth without urban decay. In Negril, for example, UDC studies and plans have included housing to serve the workers at its hotel development and to ease the population growth of Negril generated by tourism. Thus far, UDC projects in Negril include: Negril Beach Village, a Club Med type resort marketed under the name Hedonism; a housing scheme for workers at Orange Bay; Coconut Cove Townhouse; Negril

Airstrip; a playfield; tourist facilities at Booby Cay, a small island off Rutland Point and the completion and management of craft markets at Negril Square and Rutland Point. With the exception of the Negril Square Craft Market, all of these projects are located on UDC properties purchased in 1969; after the 1980 JLP election victory, UDC acquired the assets of the NALA, which formerly owned the land on which the Negril Square Craft Market and the community center are located.

In addition to UDC lands in Negril, the government purchased the Whitehall property (formerly a cattle range) and built on its 2,966 acres a fire station, health center and a housing scheme. A school, library and agricultural development are planned. There are also pieces of land in Negril zoned as public beach, and areas which are the property of other government departments, such as Public Works. Taken together, all of these holdings made the government far and away the largest landowner in Negril during the fieldwork period.

Government-Community Relations

In general, relations between the various government bodies involved in Negril's development and the Negril community have been marked by distance, misunderstanding and often, hostility. At the heart of these relations lie conflicting visions of development, created and sustained by contrasting experiences rooted in class, color and gender differences.

As described above, most Negril residents prior to tourism were higglers, fishermen, oil boilers and small holders practicing primarily subsistence cultivation. Both male and female Negrillians share with other Jamaicans the ability and desire to supplement their cash income by "turning their hand" in response to any new opportunity. In contrast, board members of NALA, as well as UDC and Town Planning officals, represent the educated elite of the nation and region and have almost always been male. For example, while NALA boards have always included those with holdings in Negril and the capital to develop them, ordinary residents were never really represented. In fact, NALA members from the start were conscious of the distance between themselves and most Negrillians. This is revealed in the cautionary remark of a NALA member which preceded the first public meeting NALA held in Negril. "Remember, " he told his fellow board members, "we are not dealing with people like ourselves." This attitude likely reflects color as well as class difference; photographs of board members reveal some very pale faces, especially in NALA's early days.

The heavy hand of patronage in Jamaican party politics assured a marriage of financial and political power in the government bodies with interests in Negril. The first Chair of the NALA, for example, was a PNP party member from one of Jamaica's prominent families who had interested Norman Manley in the area. He became such a strong influence on the NALA board that even other members complained about his presence on all NALA committees.

Although party politics and class bias converged in an "old boy network" approach to Negril's development on the part of those individuals involved, at bottom the conflict between government and community resulted from the structural consequences of the kind of development envisioned for Negril. The capital intensive nature of government's plans resulted from the influence of foreign development models and from the pressure on government to stress national foreign exchange earning potential over local benefits.

The failure of government plans to include an acceptable role for those who would be displaced by its zoning requirements and building standards is illustrated by the reply of a NALA board member who was asked about the options of a small holder on beach land. He replied that there were "only three alternatives: stay on the land as is; sell out; or build a hotel." Although such landowners would have to pay the capital gains or betterment taxes levied because of improvements related to development, they would only be able to take advantage of the tourism infrastructure by erecting the kind of expensive structure mandated by the Development Order guidelines. The cost of such an undertaking clearly ruled out the participation of the small farmers and workers of Negril in development, except as a ready labor supply.

Minutes of the early NALA meetings often reveal exasperation toward Negrillians, most of whom enter discussions as people "hostile" to the development of the area (1/27/60). Difficulty in persuading the small landowners along the beach to plant dwarf coconut trees and to remove the dead stumps of the old trees is one early example of the differences between NALA board members and area residents. Given the relationship between Negrillians and the tall trees described above, such reluctance is understandable, especially when coupled with the expense of tree removal.

While those who held large portions of land and those with investment potential were treated deferentially, small holders in Negril were seen as obstacles to development. Much delicate discussion was devoted to how the NALA might go about acquiring "peasant" holdings. For example, the following resolution was put forth on 12/21/59 at a special meeting of the NALA and was discussed and amended to modify its acquisitive tone regarding land held by Negrillians:

> Whereas development of Negril/Green Island Area is designed to attract large investors and whereas a great portion of beach land within the area is owned by peasant proprietors, and whereas the duty of this Authority is to encourage investment by such large investors, be it resolved that Government be required to purchase (amended to: be it resolved that Government be required to negotiate options or purchase) some of these beach lands to be made available to investors of this calibre, so as to obviate the necessity of these investors having to bargain with peasant proprietors.

The motive behind this resolution is reinforced in the minutes of a NALA special meeting held on 1/27/60. These minutes contain a statement by the NALA chairman about the visit to Negril by a representative from

Conrad Hilton. The Chairman reported that this person and other potential investors "were experiencing a lot of difficulty obtaining information as the residents in the Negril area were preponderantly anti-development." Members responded wtih suggestions on how investors could be provided with "every assistance possible."

Given the attachment of Jamaicans to their land and the real and symbolic freedom which land ownership has meant in Jamaican history, the distrust of residents toward potential buyers, Government or otherwise, is understandable. The class and color dimensions of buyers and sellers should not be lost here either; generally, those seeking to buy land were either the light elite of Jamaica or white foreigners. Negrillians were not unalterably opposed to selling their land, but rather were cautious and hedged their bets, waiting to see what the development of the area would mean for their livelihood. As early as 1959, for example, NALA called a meeting with residents of the area in response to a letter from a Negril fisherman. Two hundred people attended, and raised questions about tax increases, requirements governing land sales, land subdivisions and building procedures, rental of swamp lands for farming, employment of local labor and the possibility of a hotel training program for the youth of the area. As the last three points particularly illustrate, Negril people were not so much _anti_-development as _for_ their own inclusion in it.

The opposition between Negrillians and the government thus poses the question: development in whose interests? Negril residents were not in an economic position to be swayed by the long-term potential of tourism to finance government projects which eventually might benefit them in some way. They were looking for an immediate replacement for the income lost from coconut oil and for an immediate return on land sales and tax payments. What did tourism of the sort proposed by planners have to offer the aging landowner, the women and youth suffering disproportionately from unemployment? While hotel work was seen as possibly beneficial for the young saving to establish themselves on land and build houses, it was not welcomed as appropriate for all. For Negrillians, as for many Jamaicans, the ultimate dream was not having to work for somebody else.

The Development

Among the narrow choices which the state alloted as their only options, Negrillians have carved out a variety of ingenious responses to the changes beginning in Negril. The result of the tension between the aspirations of the government and those of residents has been cottage,[3] rather than hotel, development and a tourist industry in which the local population is thought to acquire a much higher percentage of the tourist dollar than is typical for the island. Motivated by ideas of development which contrast with those of the government, Negrillians have helped to create a resort very different from the one originally envisioned by foreign and Jamaican planners.

Families who can trace their roots in Negril to the period before tourism sometimes refer to themselves as the "royal" families, a distinction which emphasizes the status change which many feel they have made and one which also separates them from "strangers," or newcomers to the area. The first such strangers whose presence affected Negril were the land speculators who came to buy Negril beach land. According to the Adelatec study of Negril, speculators began to appear in the 1950's, hoping that projected government development of the area would increase the value of properties purchased (1969:30). These initial buyers often returned home to Canada or the United States to sell their Negril land at higher prices. Subsequent buyers often did likewise, with the result that land changed hands many times without the knowledge of the residents. It was only after new buyers began to visit the area, and to show proof of purchase when challenged, that Negrillians came to understand that their land was being sold repeatedly, and at increasingly higher prices. Speculation drove land prices up quickly; by November 1961 the NALA board was expressing concern and surprise at the "exorbitant" prices of Negril beach land. Lots of one and a half acres were reportedly being offered for sale at 25,000 pounds each. After visiting the area in the same year, the then Ambassador from the United States to the West Indies also registered alarm at high land prices.

After the road from Montego Bay was extended through Negril, a series of circumstances conspired to prevent Negril from becoming a typical resort. The first of these was government neglect, owing to the 1962 change in party described above. In addition, most of the early land buyers were speculators rather than developers; they made their money without changing the use of land in Negril. It was also the era of "hippies and flower children" in the U.S., many of whom traveled the new road to Negril in search of a natural paradise. Enterprising Negril residents began to board these early tourists, and use the income from room rentals to build more rooms and/or separate guest houses. Along the beach, efforts to cash in on the tourist dollar by building cottages, small shops or restaurants resulted in warnings, summonses and court battles with NALA. But by 1965, even the board of NALA acknowledged that "development was taking the only trend it would for some time (i.e., cottages)." Although hippies offended local standards of morality and government ideas about the right kind of tourism for Negril, they are given credit by some for the more egalatarian relationship between visitor and Jamaican noted in Negril. Even the owner of a large hotel conceded to me that tourism in Negril started in the fisherman's home. After the election of the PNP in 1972, the road along the West End was extended to the Lighthouse, and cottage development along the cliffs mushroomed.

Currently, coastal land in Negril, along both the white sand beach and the cliffs of the West End, is the primary arena of tourist accomodation. The beach now has 6 of Negril's 7 hotels (two of these on UDC property) with a combined total of 556 rooms. Three of these hotels are at the northern tip of Negril, separated from other cottages and hotels by a long, hot stretch of empty land. The remaining two are fairly close to the town center. None of Negril's hotels were totally foreign-owned during the time of my fieldwork; two were partnerships involving Jamaicans with foreign spouses and the remaining five were owned by Jamaicans, none of whom were from Negril.

The beach had 31 cottage developments in 1984. Table 4 shows the ownership pattern for cottages in Negril.

Residences of families are still scattered throughout both developed and undeveloped beach land. Some of these families have remained on land that was sold years ago, but never used by the buyer. The West End has about 64 cottage developments; many of these, as well as some of those on the beach, are technically illegal developments by Town Planning standards. Stalls and shops seem to go up overnight on the West End, particularly on the land side of the road, for which the Parish Council is responsible. The majority of cottages on the West End are also Jamaican owned, many by members of original Negril families (see Table 4). Most of the West End developments, like those on the beach occurred after 1972, with a handful of built by pioneers in the 1960's. The town center has one large villa style hotel, owned by the current JLP Member of Parliament (MP) for the area.

Red Ground today consists of homes of its original families, plus new residents who work in the area's cottages, restaurants and hotels. A few of the market vendors also live in Red Ground. Most of these people were hired after 1972; by that time renting rooms or buying land on the beach or West End was beyond their reach. The alternatives are to live outside of Negril, which many choose, or to live in Red Ground. Rents in Red Ground are higher than those in surrounding areas, due to the fact that rooms there are often rented to tourists in season. Red Ground rooms are rented by families who have no formal indicators that they are in the tourist business, except for an occasional sign advertising a cottage name or a room for rent. However, Hermitage Road, which extends from Red Ground to the West End, has three large villa type accomodations, one cottage complex with fifteen rooms and a few smaller cottages. Household room rentals, escalating to a handful of named cottages, can also be observed in the

Westland Mountain area, which extends from a "track" along the Lighthouse Road.

The hierarchy among cottages in rental rates can be described as follows. Most expensive are those guest houses owned by wealthy Jamaicans (non-Negrillians) and/or foreigners. In tourist season (Dec.-April), these may rent for US$70 per day and above. Such places usually are equipped with air conditioners, private indoor and outdoor baths, luxurious (or fashionably rustic) furnishings and professional landscaping. Mid-range cottages along the beach and West End, which offer modest clean rooms and often shared kitchen and bath facilities rent for US$40-60 per day on the ocean side of the road and US$25-35 on the land side. Red Ground rooms rent to tourists for US$10-20 per day or J$50-60 per month to Jamaicans. These rates were obtained during my fieldwork; rates have increased considerably since then. The descriptions which accompany the rates are not rigid ones, and are meant to give the general characteristics of accomodations in each range. During off season, rates vary considerably. In general, owners will rent for any sum that will cover the expenses of running the establishment (light and water rate, wages for security and housekeeping personnel) and afford a small profit. If a tourist or a resident plans to stay a long time, the price of the room may be lowered because of the guarantee of income over a longer period.

In contrast to government plans which included a role for Negrillians only as laborers, tourism in today's Negril provides many residents an income without working for someone else, thus realizing the dream of many Jamaicans to "not have anyone over me telling me what to do."

Government design preferences, exemplified by the high-cost 250-room Hedonism complex, stress imported models of accomodation, located at a cultural and physical distance from the Jamaican population. Although the simple concrete guest houses built by Negrillians were scorned as "ugly little boxes" by tourism officials, in the eyes of Negrillians and their admiring neighbors, the proof of development lies in the quantity and quality of these durable concrete buildings. Equipped with light and running water, they are visible signs of an improved way of life. The outward surroundings of these structures hint at another important characteristic of tourism development in Negril: its integration with other income earning strategies. The fruitful trees and gardens which surround Negril's guest houses afford a source of food as well as admiration by foreigners. Virtually all Negrillians who own guest houses still practice cultivation and fishing. In a UDC checklist of facilities in the area for 1980, the continued investment in fishing boats is striking; an increase of 150% in the number of fishing boats in Negril, in 198 as compared to 1970, is recorded (Sibbles, 1980:3).

The foregoing is not meant to imply that all is well in Negril or that Negril can serve as a perfect model for the development of a grass-roots tourist industry. The cross purposes at which government and community have worked has resulted in a number of serious problems which threaten the future of Negril, economically, ecologically and socially. Lack of adherence to standards regarding building density and sewage disposal has raised the spectre of environmental pollution in Negril, and the unplanned "ribbon" development of the West End has obscured some of the natural beauty which is Negril's main tourist attraction (Hudson, 1979: 33). One can only speculate how many guest houses it will take to make Negril too urban for the tastes of the repeat visitors and their friends on whom cottage tourism relies heavily.

The mix of tourism and subsistence activity that allows many guest house owning families to sustain themselves in the off season is also threatened by the increasing numbers of cottages and residences. In Red Ground in particular, houses are being built so close together that gardens are no longer possible at the house site in most sections. Access to government land for cultivation is also reduced because of the development of the former Whitehall and Rutland Point properties and the break up of the interior bush of Red Ground, or Groveland, into plots for sale. The depletion of fish in the waters surrounding Negril is a problem recognized by both local fishermen and the national government. If access to land and fish continues to be reduced, residents will become increasingly dependent on the legal and illegal aspects of tourism income. Although Negril tourist arrivals seem to reflect the political vagaries of the Jamaican tourist industry less than other resort spots on the island, tourism is still a notoriously shaky base for self-sufficiency.

The most serious negative consequence of development has been the sharp increase in crime. In 1976, Lalor reported to the UDC that a sharp rise in crime was one of the few significant changes to have occured since his 1975 report. By 1980, Negril's crime rate necessitated additional police personnel as well as a second police station on the beach. Sibbles noted that approximately 25 criminal incidents are recorded in Negril each month, and that most of these occur in Red Ground (1980:9).

Likewise, the minutes of the Negril Community Council from 1978-1981 reveal that crime was the topic raised most frequently at meetings (see Table 5). The growth of crime in Negril not only affects the security of tourists and residents, but also serves as a constant reminder that most Jamaicans still wage a battle with poverty and unemployment severe enough to threaten the fragile truce which Negrillians have effected. In a country and in a world wracked by racism and inequality, no town is an island.

Notes

[1] During this period,development applications went) through the Land Authority only to be held up for long periods at the Government Town Planners, or at Ministries involved in their approval (for example, Public Works has to approve anything having to do with road access). Individual developers found it difficult to obtain financing for their projects as well.

[2] Basically, I have used the Jamaica Tourist Board's definition of hotel to distinguish hotel from cottage. Hotels here means establishments with 10 or more rooms with common dining facilities. However, cottages here includes a range of places that fit the official definition of cottage (an accomodation with at least two bedrooms, a bath and a kitchen, intended to be used for transient guests, including tourists, for monetary reward"), as well as what is locally called a cottage--any place where a room is available for rent, and which advertises itself with a sign.

The Interplay of Class, Color and Gender in Negril: Examples and Discussion

As Chapter Two describes, Negril has undergone a series of changes in the past thirty years which have transformed the lives of its inhabitants and their relationship to the rest of Jamaica and to the world. How did Negrillians make the change from subsistence farmers, fishermen, and higglers to small scale entrepeneurs in an industry of global scale? How does their understanding of themselves and the outsiders who descend on Negril daily reflect their new roles? How did individual Negrillians carve out their place in the tourist industry? What can their experiences reveal about the interaction of class, color and gender in Negril's development? The case studies of the three families provided below offer a microview of this process from the perspective of some of the individuals involved. Although revealing details and names have been changed to protect the identity of the persons described, these cases reflect the composite experiences of several Negril families. Their stories are followed by a discussion which concludes with data on gender patterns for both the hotel and cottage sectors. Taken together with the overview presented in Chapter 2, the cases and data in this chapter provide a basis for examining the interplay of class, color and gender in Negril's development.

The history of land ownership, purchase, speculation and development in Negril is murky. Even Government officials associated with the area admit that its story presents many mysteries. The informal and illegal nature of many of Negril's cottages and small businesses makes owners wary of discussing the extent of their earnings and investment, rates for rooms, wages for employees, etc. Even close friends do not discuss their rates with each other, but instead pump tourists for this kind of information. Where so many participate in the same business, rivalry is forestalled by this taboo on prices and costs. For this reason, even respected native Negrillians employed by me as interviewers for a detailed cottage survey were not able to collect reliable data. My problems in gathering data were worsened by the occurence of this fieldwork during a period of heated election debate and violence. A census was being conducted in 1981 for purposes of updating voter registration, and any effort that looked like a census became more suspect as the election approached.

My data for this chapter come from a very general survey of some of the cottages along the beach and West End, conducted during my first six months of fieldwork. The case studies are drawn from open-ended interviews with those Negrilians with whom I became closest. Thus, I claim neither a representative sample of residents nor a comprehensive picture of what happened to every piece of land in Negril. I offer instead descriptions of the experiences of some "royal" Negrillians, along with the evidence of what the Negril small cottage sector reveals about patterns of ownership in Negril. Taken together, these pieces of the past and present allow us to make some generalizations about the responses of Negrillians to the opportunities which development offered.

The Brown Family: From the Beach to the West End

Virtually all of Negril's royal families can point to members who have a stake in the indigenous cottage tourism for which Negril is now famous. The grand old man of this kind of tourism is now 86, and his story spans the entire history of tourism development in

Negril. Born in Negril in 1900, Delroy was one of eleven children and spent his first years on Negril beach, where he "grew with his granny." Delroy was taken away from his granny and forced to stop school at age 10, when his father hired him out "as a sacrifice" to a white man. After working for "small wages" at menial jobs for several years, Delroy returned to Negril in his late teens and worked with his uncle, a beekeeper. He also began fishing and eventually, acquired his own canoe and enough money to buy an acre of land on Negril beach. In his early twenties, Delroy married and together with his wife, who sold coconut oil, bought two more acres adjacent to this land. Here he and his wife raised four children, two of whom eventually migrated to Canada.

Delroy continued to fish and also worked for wages during the building of the road, when he used his canoe to transport men and materials along Negril beach and river. He sold his beach property in 1956 to a Canadian, and then began helping this man arrange other land purchases in Negril. He became something of a go-between, mediating between foreigners wishing to buy land and Negrillians wishing to sell.

With the money from the sale of his own land, 4800 pounds for the land and 1500 pounds for the house, he purchased several acres of land in Negril's West End. According to Delroy and other Negrillians, land in West End began selling at about 100 pounds an acre, in the early 70's could be had for about US$300 an acre and now equals beach land in price, about US$50,000 an acre. In Delroy's own words, "I bought this land in the 100's and now it's gone to thousands." Delroy built a house on his West End property and continued to fish and to plant on both this and his former beach land. According to him, the arrangement made regarding his three acres on the beach was that he would "keep and care" the property until one year from the time the owner notified him of his intention to occupy or otherwise use the land.

According to Delroy:

> I was the first person in Negril to take in people from other countries, the first one to take in foreigners.

His first guest found his way to Delroy while searching for a tourist experience off the beaten track of Montego Bay in 1959. He paid no rent for the room he occupied in Delroy's house, but shared food costs with Delroy and his wife. When this American returned to the

U.S., he told friends about Delroy, who built up his thriving cottage tourism through such word of mouth advertising, a feature his business shares with many other guest houses in Negril. [1]

In the early 70's, a search of Delroy's property netted a ganja stash:

> I was guilty to have it [the ganja] in the position (sic). I never have the experience of it until I go to prison. I go to prison and Manley set me free. The same time I go to prison they was on the election. And as soon as Manley get in, he set we free--all first offenders. I was in there eleven months and some days.

Delroy's wife died shortly after his release.

Delroy continued to plant on his beach property and even rented accomodations there in his house and camping space on the grounds. He also collected rent from a family who built a house on the same beach property. In addition, Delroy built two more houses on his property at West End, bringing to a total of 12 the number of rooms available for rent. During the time of my fieldwork, he was constructing a guest house for his son to rent out. Delroy sold some of the other pieces of West End land which he acquired, retaining property adjacent to his own for his nephew, Evan. Currently, Delroy is involved in a legal dispute about his rights to compensation for his investments in labor, plants and taxes on the beach land.

Delroy in many ways exemplifies the development of cottage tourism. Regarded by some as a "jinal" (trickster) but grudgingly admired by many, he has achieved a degree of influence on Negril's development in ways government planners never envisioned. Delroy's own view of the process of his development includes an interchange and balance between what one gives to and takes from the land and sea.

> I take my one experience and I fish and I get something out of it. Then I take from the sea and put on the land (i.e., bought land with money earned from fishing in the sea.

His expertise with plants, in turn, helped him in attracting and feeding guests, as well as his family:

> When they [tourists] come in the yard, they see all the flowers and they have to ask, "what its name, please?" They see the fruits and they have to ask, "Can it eat?"

Revealing in a different way the link between plants and cottage development is the story of Delroy's cousin, Miss Eunice. Miss Eunice grew on the West End itself, with one of the very few families who made that part of Negril their home prior to development. Although she had family land on the West End, Miss Eunice preferred to live by herself on rented land. Miss Eunice shared her cousin's love of plants and it was her expertise in this area which drew her into the process of Negril's development. Miss Eunice described in great detail the garden which attracted the attention of one of Negril's early foreign investors. She said this was a garden made from "technical plants" which she had traveled around the area to collect. She had them in a complicated stand, which sounded like a three-tiered arrangement with an iron bedstead at its base. The plants were laid out in rows of equal numbers. Miss Eunice said that God helped her to build that garden to get a job, and she doesn't believe she could ever build one like it again.

A Chicago investor whose home was so lavish it was once featured in a spread in Playboy and who purportedlv was in on the early development of Acapulco had already bought land and begun to develop some of his property. He was a fan of small thatched roof cottages and clubs, which blended into the lush surroundings of sea, cliffs and tropical foilage. Many residents of Negril, both native and foreign born, conceded this man's influential role in development and recalled his lavish lifestyle. One hotelier described him as surrounded by starlets; a restauranteur recalled seeing him leading an heiress and potential investor up the beach wrapped in her mink coat. Many Jamaicans who became important in Negril's development crossed paths with this man, who adopted one local boy, took another young man under his wing and built the Negril school as compensation for all the money he made in Negril. A handful of American women where introduced to and bought property in Negril through this man, and one, now a real estate agent in Negril, said he deserved most of the credit for the escalation of land prices in Negril.

According to Miss Eunice, this man stopped his cadillac to admire her flowers and asked to buy some. She said no, because there were tourists who used to pay just to look at her flowers, and this money helped her to buy a pig:

> "I take from the garden and buy a pig. The garden give me a pig and that pig have plenty piglets."

But she told Mr. N. that he could pick out some plants and she would set them for him. Later that day, she set two in kerosene tins which she painted herself and then set five more for him. When he came back two weeks later, he took the seven plants and pulled out a roll of money. She told him she'd accept no money because God put flowers here for us all and because she believed he had elevated the district by building on the property he bought and by bringing other Americans into the area. Soon after, he presented Miss Eunice with 12 new kerosene tins, some of which she kept and some of which she gave to others who needed them for carrying water.

One Sunday,this man met Miss Eunice and a friend and asked her to come and see him. Although the friend advised her to go right away, Miss Eunice said she intended to go to Church that day and it would keep until Monday. When she did see him, he told her that he admired the way she kept her home and that he would like her to come and take care of his adopted son. She worked as a housekeeper for him for 14 years, and said he was a fair man who paid you what you bargained for. But, she added:

> I never acted surprised just because he was an American. I was always cool and quiet. When he would hear some rumors he would ask me, 'Miss Eunice, I hear so and so, is it true?' That time maybe I hear the same thing but I don't tell him anything. He says, 'Miss Eunice, you never hear nothing.' I tell him that people will run to tell him things because he's a stranger and they tell him before they would tell me. But I never tell him anything and he has to take me like that, he can't fool around me.

After a time, Mr. N. sold his buildings in Negril and then he bought a place in Montego Bay. He asked

Miss Eunice to come and cook for him there, saying his cook there was no good and was too old to learn better. To which Miss Eunice replied:

> I bet your cook is not as old as me. I give you 14 years of my labor and I'm not giving you anymore. I have to love myself now. I bought this land and I'm building my house and I'm not leaving it.

Miss Eunice's present house has hot and cold running water, electricity and five rooms available for rent, with a steady clientele, many of whom are repeat visitors. She still loves flowers and maintains a beautiful garden. Her board house has since been surrounded by concrete outer walls, but still has the warm feel of wood inside. This is a feeling of which Miss Eunice is particularly fond, behind her house is a wooden one built with boards from her grandmother's house, without light and water, which Miss Eunice loves very much and still sleeps in on occasion.

The only child of Miss Eunice, Evan has developed cottages at two locations on the West End. Born in 1928 on Negril Beach, Evan left at 22 and migrated to the U.S., where he worked for the Army as a cook. He also spent some time working in England. He returned home in 1951 and married in 1956. He says of the half acre on which he built a house for himself and his wife:

> It was bought for "much under $100 in 1956, because it was only thicket.

Although his "Uncle" Delroy was so active in tourism, Evan did not begin taking in guests until 1973. He fished, made honey and experimented with various kinds of plants, finally settling on a particular kind of orange tree and planting many of these on his property. He and his wife had 5 children, 3 sons and 2 daughters.

Evan's first ventures into the guest house business were the result of taking in overflow tourists whom Delroy couldn't accomodate, but he says that he was not much encouraged until 1973. Business then began picking up and Evan began doing steady rentals with many repeat visitors. He built a five room guest house next to his home in 1974, and in 1976 and 1978, he built on two acres of the properties farther west bought by his uncle. There he established two separate cottages, one fronting directly on the sea and one on the land side of the Lighthouse Road, with a combined total of six rooms for rent. He has since built a second house at the seafront location, which houses an office where one of his sons works. His cousin, Delores, rents rooms in her own house, which is quite luxurious by Jamaican standards. She also manages the landside cottage for Evan. Three of Evan's five children were still in Jamaica at the time of fieldwork. One son studied hotel management in Kingston and has returned to help manage his father's properties. Evan has a motor boat and continues to fish and to plant. The sons still at home help him with these activities, as do a few employees. His wife, Brenda, manages the cottage adjacent to their home.

Beach Families and Responses to Development

Beach families who sold their land and moved to Red Ground or West End often participated in tourism by renting rooms and/or building cottages, as described in the case of Delroy above. Beach families who remained on land which had been sold but never used by the new owner have continued to fish and cultivate, but also may derive some income from tourism in season. Modest thatch stands selling sodas and beer may earn some cash for such families, or they may rent camping space for a few dollars a night. Such families are reluctant to build expensive structures on land which is not theirs. Some have already built homes elsewhere as insurance against the day when the owners of their land claim their property.

For families who have retained land along the beach, development poses the problem of acquiring capital. Because of the stricter Government supervision of improvements on beach land, the kinds of additions or structures built are more expensive, especially on the coastal side of the road. For this reason, a number of families have entered into partnerships with foreigners who have provided the capital to develop the family's land. For example, one elderly man with a sickly wife agreed to lease his property to Americans in exchange for a modest income, a full-time housekeeper for his wife and free medical care for both of them. In return, the property will belong to the present tenants when its owners die. The increased value of developed property along the beach has engendered some bitter feuds over rights to family land, in cases where one member of a family develops land in which other members feel they have a share.

The Roberts and their Neighbors

Victor and Bell Roberts returned to Negril in late 1977, after twenty-five years of factory work in the

U.S. The Roberts returned to the 3/4 acre of Bell's family land on which they had built a four room house before they left. The youngest of their six children came home with them: Cora, 12 and Edward, 16. During their time in the U.S., the Roberts' house was rented to Jamaicans. Mr. Roberts claimed that the change in Negril was so great during their absence that they passed their own home twice when they arrived before figuring out where they were.

Down the road from the Roberts live Victor's mother, Ina, and stepfather, Henry. The latter live on an acre and a half of land that Henry inherited from his father and sold in the fifties for 1500 pounds. Miss Ina has built a home in her native Lucea, which is much more modern and substantial than the small wooden home with its separate kitchen on Negril beach. The concrete Lucea house is equipped with indoor plumbing and electricity; the Negril house lacks such conveniences altogether. In fact, it still has its original entrance facing the sea, a throwback to the days when the beach was the only road. Miss Ina has been saying for years that she is ready to move into her new house, but seems reluctant to leave Negril after 40 years of residence. Her husband Henry still fishes and also sells sodas and beers from a small stand on the beach. Miss Ina's garden is renowned for its beautiful flowers and tasty pumpkins. Of her four living children, three are nearby and one lives and works in Montego Bay. One of her grandsons lives with her for part of the year. Miss Ina is beloved by Negrillians and scarcely a day goes by without generous gifts of food and fresh produce from friends and family, to which she responds in kind.

Bell and her husband have a reputation opposite to that of Miss Ina. It is said of them that they "love money." Relations are tense between Bell and her brother, Carlton, who together with other family members would like to sell the family's beach land. Carlton is a fisherman who lives with his wife and their six children directly across the road from Victor and Bell. The latter are determined to reap a profit in tourist dollars from their beach land. Bell claims to have made an agreement with her father, the terms of which were that her father would write to her in the U.S. when he needed money instead of selling the land.(Bell and Carlton's father died over ten years ago and is buried with their mother on Bell's property).

Using their savings from the U.S. and relying on the continued financial help of their grown children in New York, Victor and Bell began adding on to their small home almost as soon as they returned. A small concrete bedroom was added to the back of the house and rented out to tourists. The Roberts did not hesitate to double up in one bedroom with their three children when a group of tourists needed more than one room. The next addition was a modest restaurant/bar, from which Mrs. Roberts continued to sell the beer and soda which she had previously dispensed from her back door, and to cook meals when there was a demand. A sign advertising the restaurant was hung out in front of the house. Within a year, the Roberts had added a second story to their house, with several rooms for rent.

During all this time, family hostility raged. Every tree cut down to make room for building was noted and loudly protested by Bell's side of the family. Mrs. Roberts, in turn, complained long and loud that they had spent 25 years away, during which time they have never tasted one piece of fruit from the land. Victor Roberts remained adamant about not selling, saying that only he could set a value on his house.

Mrs. Roberts was clearly the moving force behind the frantic upward striving of the family. My field notes say that when she was gone the eye of the storm and the center of the house were missing. She hired the laborers who did the clearing and building, fiercely arguing about wages with them. She also did everything she could do herself. I recorded one day in amazement:

> Today Miss Bell washed, swept and cleaned the house, including the walls and floors. She hung new curtains and chopped and moved a small tree. She set some plants, cooked for the family and did two long lines of washing.

Although Bell had a helper on occasion, she was a hard taskmaster and none stayed long.

Bell did a brisk sideline business selling goods such as toiletries and sheets which she carried from New York. Her supply was replenished by packages from her sons. Mr. Roberts continued to fish, taking Edward out to sea with him.

The Roberts were watched with suspicion and resentment as they transacted all their business in cash. Even Edward sold fish to his mother and bought sodas from her. The Roberts children had a difficult time adjusting to life in Negril, as carved out for them by their parents and relations. Mrs. Roberts railed against them constantly for being "too soft" (not accustomed to hard work like children raised on the island) as she herself went about her Herculean round of chores. Their grandmother next door indulged them, treating them to all that is loving and giving in traditional Jamaican life. She cheerfully prepared pudding over her wood fire for her granpickney Edward, although she remarked that he had yet to bring her any fish from his catch. Edward had a particularly hard time of it, and felt himself caught in a web of class and color contradictions. Having identified as black in the U.S., he found it hard to live up to the status of a brown skinned beach family. Having enjoyed the cameraderie of New York's ghetto, he was bitter when his visits to bars and pool halls in Red Ground were the stuff of scandal. Eventually, his pleas to be sent back to his brother in the States were heeded.

The Williams of Red Ground

Rose, Lorna and Augustus Williams were all born in the Hermitage section of Red Ground in the 1920's. Their father, a fisherman, raised a few cows and cultivated food for his family. He also spent four years working in Cuba. Rose, Lorna and Augustus passed their early years with their paternal grandmother's family. When their mother died, Rose was 12, Lorna 10 and Augustus 6. Augustus went to live with his father on the Red Ground land he still occupies, and became a fisherman. He migrated to the England at age 29, returned home and married, and then went back to England with his wife.

Lorna went to live with an Aunt in another part of Red Ground. She began selling oranges in her late teens and also did some domestic and laundry work for a more prosperous cousin. At 21, she became pregnant, returned to her father's land in Red Ground and bore a daughter. Subsequently, she became "depressed" and moved away from Red Ground to get away from her baby's father. She went to live with an aunt in St. Mary. Here she again did domestic work and bore two more daughters. Leaving her girls with their paternal kin, Lorna returned to her father's land in Red Ground in 1960. In 1962, she married a man whom she met in Church. Together they built two rooms of her present house on her family land in Red Ground. When her husband died in 1972, Lorna began renting rooms in her brother's house to tourists, since Augustus was in England at the time. She used the income from these rentals to add four more rooms to her own house. Miss Lorna has had to spend a great deal of time in bed, hospital or in care of her late husband's family, due to recurring bouts of illness. Her main income during this time has come from the rental of rooms in her house. She occasionally rents to tourists who come to her through personal contacts with previous guests, but rents on a more steady basis to Jamaican hotel employees. She met her first foreign guest at the market in Sav-la-Mar while both were buying breadfruit. As she told me many times:

> Breadfruit is not a t'ing you can just put in the fire and cook. You have to understand breadfruit.

She began telling the tourist how breadfruit was cooked and this led to a rental. Lorna's house is a wooden one with six rooms, only some of which have electric light. There is no indoor plumbing, and occupants must share an outhouse, pump and shower with others in the yard.

Rose went to live with an aunt on the beach when her mother died. She helped her Aunt make coconut oil until she had her first child at 19. She then went to live with the child's father on his family land, also on Negril beach. Rose had 9 children " just quick quick.". She and her husband sold their 3 acres of beach land in the early 50's for 3,000 pounds and bought 1 1/4 acres in Red Ground for 36 pounds. They used the remainder ot their money to build a house. Miss Rose sold the beach land because the dampness there irritated her poor health. If she hadn't sold it, she believes:

> Probably I wouldn't live to enjoy anything out of it. They [the family that purchased the property] had money could build it up. But we didn't have it.
> People on the beach were saying up here [in Red Ground] was too red and they wouldn't live in Red Ground. But through I born and grow in Red Ground, I never have any remarks to pass about Red Ground.

Her husband continued to fish and both planted food. Miss Rose built a second house in the early 60's to rent to tourists, and was the first person in Red Ground to build a separate cottage for guests. Her first customers came by way of Delroy, who had more requests for rooms than he could accomodate. Rose used her income from the guest house to build a small shop, which sustains her household during the off-season. Here she sells sodas, bread, "tin" food, rice, sugar and salt.

Miss Rose and her husband were separated many years ago, and she says:

> I wouldn't like to get myself confine with another husband, you get what I mean?

Her husband is now deceased and seven children still live with her. Her sons include a chauffer, plumber, mason, carpenter and mechanic who work when work is available and sometimes fish when it is not. Her two teenage daughters are mothers of young children. During the course of my fieldwork, her son Teddy, who was in his early 20's, was stabbed in an incident related to drugs.

Miss Rose's guest house is directly across from her own. Both are of concrete and both have running water and light.

Augustus remained in England for 13 1/2 years. When he returned home for a visit in 1973 due to the death of his father, he found tourists living in his sister Lorna's house next door. Encouraged by this, he began building a new house. He described the changed Negril which greeted him on his return as follows:

> There are houses that you have to ask who that house belong to and there are persons that you have to ask who that person is.

Augustus came home to stay in 1974; his wife joined him in 1975. Then, they were able to add 3 rooms to the new house and build another one. Before the latter was completed, Negril Beach Village rented it for its employees. Although Augustus and his wife

Elaine have on occasion rented to tourists, their main and steadiest income has been from Negril Beach Village employees. Augustus still fishes, though he lacks a motor boat, and Elaine sells plantain from her garden and ice from the fridge brought over from England. There are two children, Selena, 18, and Hilton, 20, and one grandchild, Selena's daughter, born in 1980. Elaine has a son born prior to her marriage who lives in England and Augustus a daughter who recently returned to Negril to live with him. The house in which they live has six rooms and is partly wood and partly concrete. It has water, electric light and furniture bought during their stint as factory workers in England.

Augustus, Lorna and Rose belong to one of Negril's oldest and largest families and have relatives with cottages in Red Ground, West End and Negril Beach. Included among these is the legendary "Grandaunt", a woman with over 10 modest rooms in Red Ground's largest guest house. Although Negril has changed, Augustus says of himself and his close friends:

> People of my age that born and grow together, we still live together. We as landlords that have houses, we stick together just the same.

Discussion

The case studies rendered above are intended to reveal the complexity of responses to tourism by Negril residents and to serve as both examples and cautionary tales vis a vis the discussion which follows.

Although the cottage and hotel sectors of Negril can be contrasted as formal/informal aspects of Negril tourism respectively, viewing responses in terms of relationship to the means of production allows us to better categorize the variety of involvement in the industry. Those with access to large amounts of capital, such as the UDC and a small group of Jamaican and foreign elites, both bought and developed Negril land, thus creating Negril's seven hotels and some of its fancier cottages. Negrillians who, as a result of government infrastructural development and subsequent benign neglect, found themselves with land which had increased in value but without capital, attempted to wrest some benefit from tourism and to change their status with varying degrees of success. Initially, this involved primarily families with beach land who, through a combination of land sales and wage savings (especially migration earnings), were able to develop parts of their beach land for tourism or to buy and develop land elsewhere in Negril. Their initial poverty and lack of information about land sales and plans for Negril placed them at a disadvantage vis a vis land speculators and wealthy investors. Their awareness of their vulnerability and its injustice is reflected in the degree of suspicion and hostility displayed by residents toward some of the early efforts at buying land and developing the area. However, as Negrillians became knowledgeable about what development would mean, they began to seek a share in it themselves. For those who lived on and/or retained beach property, and for those who held or bought land elsewhere in Negril, responses to tourism have been firmly grounded in this property base.

By all accounts, Negrillians represent only a small number of those who are employed in cottages not owned by their own families or in hotels. Similarly, only three of the vendors in the market are from Negril and these are involved in significantly more prosperous enterprises than the majority of vendors. Even where they have not built cottages, Negrillians with a particular skill or trade tend to be contractors of the labor of others in their area of expertise.

Does this mean that all Negrillians can be viewed as moving ever onward and upward in the process called class? Have they truly changed their relationship to the means of production as these are conventionally understood? No more interesting place can be found to begin a discussion of class than with the views of people who live and work in Negril.

Community evaluations of rank were notable for the distinctions made between Beach, West End and Red Ground residents. One Negrillian even described people from these areas as "First class people, second class people and third class people " respectively. (He himself was from the West End and thus in the second class as he defined it). According to older residents, the present division in status between Beach people and Red Ground people predates foreign interest in beach land. They claim that beach land was always more expensive than land elsewhere in Negril, and they say this is due primarily to the amount of coconut trees that grew on beach land. As the value of beach property escalated with development, the economic differences between Beach and Red Ground people have intensified. While Red Ground land has also increased in value, it does not approach Beach or West End land in price. Red

Ground houses are more likely to be rented to Jamaicans than are those on the beach or the West End, as is the case with the houses of Augustus and Lorna Williams . Red Ground not only commands a much less spectacular view than do the ocean front cottages of the beach and West End; living conditions in the area have worsened as a result of development. Because of the growing exclusivity of the Beach and West End areas and the increased number of security personnel hired to police them, hustlers and prostitutes who come to the area inevitably stay or hang out in Red Ground. Consequently, it has becom a difficult place in which to live and raise children. Some Red Ground children can be observed hustling tourists on the beach, collecting empty bottles for the deposit money, selling shell necklaces,etc. instead of going to school. Indeed, the effect of this truancy on counts of pupils has resulted in understaffing of the Negril All Age School. Women in the area say they feel the necessity to stay in the yard for security reasons; for example during my fieldwork there was a rash of stealing clothes from clotheslines in Red Ground yards.

There is, as Brackette Williams points out, a moral component to community status evaluations (1984), and this contributes to negative evaluations of Red Ground, where criminals who prey on Beach and West End tourists are more likely to be found. Red Ground residents are more selective in their moral labeling, and reserve sanction for particular parts of their district, such as the intersection labelled the "out of order corner" by one Red Ground young woman. Another example of the moral dimension of status is the case of the Roberts' above. Although their migration experience, their ability to develop their beach land and their beach origins should insure the respect and admiration of fellow Negrillians, this is not the case. People expressed openly their negative opinions about this family: "Them is a nasty bunch," "a mean set a' people", "Them only love money," were some of the ways this "grovelacious" (greedy) family was described. The row over the family's land and the isolation of Bell's family from traditional yard reciprocal relations with the households of Carlton and Ina were behind the negative evaluations of Negrillians. In contrast, only praises and compliments were forthcoming Miss Eunice's son, Evan. His reputation is enhanced by his careful balance of family obligations and attendance to his male network of fishing/drinking buddies. He practices neither total "Christian" withdrawl from bar life nor the hard daily drinking pursued by some of his cronies. (Reputation and moral evaluation of women is somewhat more problematic and will be discussed below).

Class is a relative term which is used with reference to those of differing classes, however such differences are measured. The position of Negrillians vis a vis outsiders has many dimensions. Within the Jamaican class hierarchy, we have already seen the tension inherent in Negril's relationship with Government elites. An interesting commentary from a member of one of Negril's leading families who has chosen to live in the area by rather modest standards offers her evaluation of why Negril has turned out as it has:

> Everyone gave the hippies hell, including myself, but I'll tell you something. It's the first time tourists and Jamaicans met as equals. Everyone laughed at people in Red Ground who slept on the floor to rent a room. But I worked for the tourist Board in Montego Bay and millionaire type tourists alone would have eventually caused social problems and riots. After all, a man is paying $200 a day for a room and the man who works in the room makes $9 a day. The distance is too great. People would sooner or later want to raise hell. I would, you would. But here the man making $9 a day suddenly gets $15 a night for a room so he can build a better house. It might not be the kind of house I would build or you would build, but everyone has to make something out of tourism or it won't work.

Here Negrillians are seen in relation to class conflict, and cottage tourism modifyies class antagonism, through Negrillians' ability to raise their standard of living on their own terms. But this ability to achieve improvement in their conditions on terms of ownership does not effect a class transition, in the view of a Government figure who also owns a hotel in Negril:

> One unique aspect of Negril is its almost total lack of a middle class--teachers, clerks, doctors, professionals . . . .Negril lacks a middle class who are concerned about education. This problem is reflected in the difficulty of management recruitment for the hotels. The manager wants to know where he will live, what his wife will do, what schools in the area are like.

In his emphasis on the educational dimension of class, the politician quoted above echoes the work of Foner (1973) and Austin (1983;1984). In the Negril case, the absence of formal education beyond the primary school level is especially glaring because other markers of class have changed. Thus, although Negrillians have risen to positions of management and ownership of their own small businesses, they lack the demeanor and diction of those raised soldily with the middle class and are not seen as fit neighbors and companions for the latter. Preferences in house styles, furniture, clothing, home decoration, etc. remain decidedly akin to those in rural and working class communities throughout the island. For example, calendars, "postcards" (greeting cards, often from relatives abroad), religious pictures and clippings from magazines serve as wall decorations along with family photos.

Because Negrillians have so recently changed aspects of their own position vis a vis a class dynamic, their views about others more like themselves than the two Jamaicans quoted above are relevant here. The division expressed by Red Ground and Beach people is only one of the ways in which people in Negril distinguish and ally themselves. Another important distinction is between "royal" Negrillians and "outsiders" or newcomers. Complaints about prostitutes, hustlers and vendors flooding the area is sure to evoke the response: "Those people are not from Negril." Thus the category of "Negril people" can at times unite Red Ground and Beach people, and inspire acknowledgement of the kin links between them. While kinship can be used to distinguish Red Ground people from Beach people, at times it is used against outsiders with assertions like "Negril used to be one family."

The differences between those from Negril and those from "outside" is grounded, like the Red Ground/ Beach/ West End distinctions, in property. Just as beach or West End property gives its owners an edge on Red Ground people, so any property in Negril sets Red Ground people above those who come into Negril with only their bodies, their labor, or their wares to sell.

It is property ownership, rather than other characteristics of income earning, which distinguishes some of the least prosperous cottage owners from the vendors discussed in Chapters Four and Five. Indeed, many cottage developments conform to descriptions of informal sector activity: They are small scale; they may operate without government approval; income from them is uncertain and is combined with other sources within the same household; owners and workers (often family labor) are those who would otherwise find it difficult to obtain steady wage work. Even in establishments where help is employed, employer and employee can sometimes be found doing the same task side by side.

The attitudes of Negrilians toward those from outside who, like themselves, seek some income from tourism in the absence of alternatives, range from sympathy to hostility. While Negril folk often lump vendors and seekers of legitimate employment with those who come into the area to "tief" (steal), they also recognize the needs of at least the former. The same individual who remarked that there was no middle class in Negril also felt that such a class would have a less ambivalent attitude toward outsiders:

> These (the middle class) would be the people who would fight crime and the onslaught of sellers in the area--but in Negril, live and let live prevails.

Actually, a tallying of issues raised over a period of three years at Negril Community Council meetings (see Table 5) shows crime and outsiders in the area to be the most frequent causes of concern. But within the context of these discussions and in their own personal arrangements with vendors who sell to tourists at their cottages, Negrillians reveal their awareness of the inevitability of the prsence of outsiders in the context of Jamaica's economy. Statements like "Every man has a right to live" and "Every soul has to make life" are made by cottage owners, residents, Council members, and even police enlisted to curb the activities of vendors. They capture the ambivalence toward the small army of unemployed who invade Negril as vendors, domestics seeking work, ganja hustlers, prostitutes, etc. This ambivalence is based in part on the contradiction between the property edge which Negrillians have over the outsiders and the characteristics which they still share with many of these people. Their class heritage gives Negrillians a commonality with the informally employed, with whom they share the goal of creating an independent income source. Even with respect to criminal activities, the cottage sector in Negril shares involvement with outsiders; the easy movement between legal and illegal activity is illustrated by the following observation made in a report to the UDC by Lalor:

> One of the most striking things about the Negril area is that judging from the standard of living, the size and type of houses, the expensive motorcycles and so on, it does seem improbable that the economic base . . .(fishing, agriculture and tourism) . . . could support such a high standard of living. It has been mentioned by residents when questioned that some people are making their living by currency conversion and drug trafficking . . . . It seems that tourists do bring large sums of money into the region and they part with it, by fair or foul means . . . .(1975:12).

The problem of "outsiders" in Negril is, as one official in tourism put it, the problem of Jamaica. In the past years, vendors in Kingston and Montego Bay have repeatedly made news, in their attempts to cope with unemployment by selling something. The number of outsiders in Negril reflects the lack of opportunity in formal employment, as well as the long tradition of higglering in Jamaica. The majority of these vendors are black women, though men are involved in the sale of carvings, coral and occasionally produce (Chapter Five describes gender differences among Negril's vendors in greater detail). The numbers of these women in Negril is also testimony to the increased cost of providing for children, which has historically been met, for the most part, by women. Negril vendors themselves divide along the lines of those who have established stalls in the market and those who "walk and sell."

Meetings of the NACVA (Negril Art and Craft Vendors Association) and of the Negril Community Council contrast with each other in interesting ways. The vendors are mostly black women while Council meetings usually have a two-thirds male majority, mostly property owners from the Beach and the West End. While all of the latter could not be classified as "brown-skinned" or "clear" (light), those black men who regularly attend meetings have usually acquired more education and knowledge of Parliamentary Procedure than the vendors.

Social differences between Red Ground and Beach people are sometimes expressed in terms of color. While there is no absolute color difference between the two areas, beach people are sometimes described by themselves and others as "brown" or "red-skinned." Others have commented on this merging of color with other status markers in Jamaica (Mintz, 1971b: 443; Whitehead, 1978:9).

Tourist/guest house owner relationships are interesting for both the challenges and reinforcement they offer to stereotyped color and class relations. On the one hand, the Jamaican guest house owner "takes care" of foreign visitors, providing everything from clean sheets to advice and companionship. In exchange for these services, payment is rendered. However, the terms of the service and the amount of the payment is set by the guest house owner, reversing the usual power flow of this relationship.

Cottage tourism in Negril is marked by a closer relationship between Jamaican and guest than hotel tourism. Many cottages are family enterprises, located in the homes and yards of Negrillians. Conversations between guests and hosts occur often, and first time visitors to Negril in particular depend on the host family for information about Negril. With their untanned skin marking them newcomers, such visitors encounter an onslaught of hustlers and vendors when they venture onto the road or beach. Giving advice on such matters as where to eat, from whom to buy souveniers and crafts, where to rent a motorbike, etc., allows the host family an opportunity to boost the incomes of friends and relatives who offer such services. The visitor is also pressed for information about his or her life at home, and return guests are asked to "carry" everything from cooking oil to automobile parts as gifts, in exchange for rent and services, or to barter for craft items.

The ugly side of the mutual dependence between tourists and cottage owners is reflected in the "no Jamaicans allowed" rule which prevails on the grounds of many establishments. Because of the rise in crime in Negril, owners feel obliged to protect their guests and their own property. The easiest way to do this is to forbid Jamaicans from entering the premises. Guests who wish to bring Jamaicans into their rooms must ask permission of the cottage owner, who will only agree if he or she knows the individual visitor as an honest person. One of the reasons behind this rule is the perverse racism of many tourists. Coming to a black country with their own set of racist beliefs and experiences, many of these confuse lack of common sense discrimination in choosing individual companions with lack of racism on their parts. They are thus easy prey for hustlers who have learned to counter timid refusals with charges of racism. Gaining entrance to a tourist's room in this way may be an opportunity to learn the layout of the cottage property as well as the whereabouts of money and valuables. However, in protecting themselves and their guests against this possibility, cottage owners encourage an endemic mistrust of their own people.

Despite their positions as protectors of tourists, Negrillians adopt a critical vew toward the morals, beliefs and behavior of some of their guests. The "drugs and sex" mentality of hippies was a concern early on, and such tourists are credited with a rise in venereal disease in the area as well as with corruption of the young. Tourists often represent opportunities for even very young children to make money selling drugs. Many women in Negril do not approve of the dress of young foreign women; only Jamaican prostitutes in Negril parade through the streets in shorts or halter tops like some of the tourists.

Miss Eunice's attitude toward her employer reveals the complexity of Negril relationships structured by class, color and gender inequality. Although she works for him in the classic situation of black female domestic/rich white male employer, she retains, determined and aloof, the core of her identity. In her words, "He has to take me like that." She acknowledges his "elevation" of the district through class and race privelege, but she also says, "I never acted surprised just because he was an American." She does not follow everywhere he summons, delaying her response to his first request to visit him (she later refused to travel to his home in Chicago for an all expenses paid visit). She also sets limits and purpose to their relationship when she ends her employment, saying she now has her land and her house and has to love herself.

The gender trends implied in the cases of the families above seem typical of male/female differences at this level of tourism in Negril. Women are active in cottage sector tourism both as owners (Miss Lorna, Miss Rose and Miss Eunice) and as managers (Evan's wife Marsha and cousin Delores). It is sometimes the case that the woman of the household is more involved in developing and running a guest house that the man, as in the case of Bell and Victor Roberts. I never had any reason to believe that this was considered unusual or inappropriate. As Tables 6 and 7 show, the participation of Negril women at the administrative level of cottage tourism compares very favorably with that of men.

Yet, there are subtle gender patterns in the indigenous cottage sector which stem from cultural restrictions on women's behavior in Jamaica and from the home-boundedness of women which these imply. In her discussion of higglers in Jamaica, Durant-Gonzalez characterizes the difference between male and female mobility outside household and yard boundaries. Men are free to go wherever they like, offering only the explanation: "me gone." In contrast, women are expected to be about the business of their households when moving around the district (1976:176).

A Jamaican woman who idles away her time in shops, bars, or the streets will eventually be labelled a "sport." Habitual drinking and ganja smoking among women are also frowned upon. Grown women do not often frequent beaches at leisure or swim in the sea, while the occupation of fisherman entails a familiarity with swimming and diving. Since "getting high" in a variety of forms and participating in watersports are major activities among Negril's young tourists, men tend to be more involved with tourists than are women. Although women will accompany their guests to market to help them buy food, they do not usually go with them to purchase ganja, or to visit the hills where ganja grows. Nor do they pass time sitting and drinking and smoking with tourists. Few women drive or can take a day off from household activities and child care even when they have help. So it is most often men who accompany tourists on pleasure trips to Dunns River Falls, Maroon town or other places of interest.

The increase in crime in Negril which has accompanied tourism also mandates constant surveillance of one's hard-won property and possessions, as well as those of one's paying visitors. The job of always being at home most often falls to women or older female children. In the case of household room rentals, part of women's restriction to the yard, in Red Ground in particular, stems from worries over security, but doubtless the amount of labor involved in housework is implicated as well. The responsibility of women for cooking, cleaning and washing clothes means long, hard hours spent bent over the wash basin or wood fire (even families with gas stoves cook some food on wood fires to save on expensive fuel). The additional time it takes to shop in days of scarce oil, butter, flour, rice and soap also takes its toll on women, even though they get some help from children and other family members. Although many women in families who own cottages are able to hire help, all retain responsibility for at least some of these time-consuming household tasks.

Paradoxically, these gender distinctions explain both the high participation of women in cottage tourism as well as the limtations placed on their involvement in this arena. Thus, while Negril women do participate in cottage activities and income, they tend to do so as close to home as possible. For example, all of the women described manage cottages in or adjacent to their own homes. While it is certainly the case that almost all cottages owned by Negrillians are located on the same property as the homes of their owners, it is also true that where this is not so, men run the establishments farther from home. Because these tend to be in areas devoted more to tourism than to residences, they are more lucrative than the cottages run by women in the same family. In a family with a cottage in Red Ground and one in West End, for example, the man is in charge of the West End business. In the case of Evan's family above, he is responsible for the the cottages on the more desirable ocean front, while his wife and cousin run those on the land side of the Lighthouse Road. In contrast, I cannot recall a single instance of a Negrillian-owned guest house in which a woman was an owner or partner which was not on the same property as her home. This obviously allows a woman to run a cottage within the cultural restrictions outlined above. It is a surprising fact that some women have scarcely seen the cottages owned by their families in sections of Negril where they do not reside. Moreover, while the practice of allocating cottages separately to individuals, as in Evan's family above, preserves the separate incomes of men and women, women's incomes appear to be intertwined with household ones more tightly than men's. As Evan explained, the cottage next to their home was his wife's and supplied her with the money needed to run their household.

Cottage sector tourism reveals gender differences in its sexual dimension which follow from the above. Men spend more time with tourists in a relatively egalatarian setting. Consequently, situations in which Jamaican men are involved with female tourists usually follow the pattern of a "romantic" relationship or affair, with the two going out together at night and spending time together on beaches during the day. Male tour guides, taxi drivers, bartenders, guest house owners, diving teachers and boat owners are often seen in the company of foreign women. Often such men have Jamaican wives, partners or "baby mothers" at home. Many hope to emigrate through involvement with a foreigner. At best, such relationships result in real cross-cultural encounters, where each person learns from the other. At worst, both parties enter such experiences with sterotyped and exploitive views of each other and live out the ugliest personal consequences of the gender, racial and class inequalities inherent in their relationship.

Relationships involving foreign men and Jamaican women are more frequently explicit prostitute/client ones. Foreign men are often loathe to be seen with Jamaican women in public, while foreign women seem more often to value the companionship of their sexual partners in non-sexual ways. While men who walk the beach hustling women tourists differ little from prostitutes offering an exchange of sex for money, a greater variety of roles seem to exist for Jamaican men than women in the arena of sexual involvement with foreigners. Part of this results from the sexual double standard of Jamaica. Sexual encounters can enhance a man's reputation, while multiple partners for women label her a whore or prostitute. Thus, a man who exchanges money for sex stands to lose little, although men who do nothing but hustle women and who are seen in the company of a different foreigner every week eventually lose respect in the eyes of local men and women. A woman, however, more unequivically exchanges material benefit for respectability.

The onset of tourism in Negril brought prostitutes into the area for the first time, and the result has been a clear division between respectable and "Christian" women on the one hand and sports/prostitutes on the other. As a result, many young girls are kept closer to home than was necessary in the past, when Negril was a small fishing village. Families take great care that their daughters have few chances to see or be seen as prostitutes.

Gender Patterns in Employment in Hotels and Cottages

Women without access to Negril property are employed in both Negril's cottages and hotels mainly as domestics: housekeepers, maids, and laundresses (See Table 8). The cottages employ an equal number of men and women, while the hotels employ men at more than double the number of women. Both male and female workers are primarily involved in unskilled work, but women's work has less variety than men's and women have less opportunity to escape the lowest levels of employment and are not generally found in such categories as diving instructor, drivers, mechanics, tennis instructors, etc. In this aspect of employment, gender patterns in both large and small scale developments in Negril parallel those on Jamaican plantations during slavery. An important exception to this rule is office work; a substantial number of female hotel employees are classified as clerical. Although such work has higher status in Jamaica than domestic work, it also requires more schooling and some specialized training. Thus, it can still be said that unskilled men are employed in a greater range of jobs.

Conclusion

In sum, historical circumstances conspired to effect an opportunity for many Negrillians to change their relationship to the means of production. Although they became owners of small businesses and employers of labor rather than workers, subsistence farmers and higglers, along other dimensions of class they remain uncomfortably close to those whom they term outsiders. With the workers and vendors of Negril, they share a common class heritage and a lack of formal education, reflected in moral codes, work abilities and activities and in preferences for clothing and house styles. With some of Negril's hustlers, they may share involvement in illegal activities, such as drug and currency trafficking. Yet, they are divided against outsiders by their positions as protectors of predominantly white tourists and by the security of their property base in Negril.

Negrillians, Negril's workers and vendors together share an income base in a precarious industry which is at the mercy of political relationships between Jamaica and the countries from which tourists come. The

Jamaican government can readily alter the incomes of Negrillians and of the outsiders who come to their town. Recent pressure by the Reagan administration, for example, has caused ganja prices to plummet as a result of frequent police raids on growers, pickers and sellers. Government plans to regulate and tax Negril's cottage sector more heavily are also in the works. Despite their proud ownership of cottages, the political status of both male and female Negrillians has changed little. The following quote from a letter written to me by a Negril woman illustrates the vulnerability which cottage owners share with vendors who, like themselves, depend on an industry which they do not control:

> Our prime Minister had a meeting at the Community Centre and he wants $600 off every room in your house that you rent. He sent members of the Tourist Board to every house in Negril so you can't escape the tax and if you refuse to pay the fine you will be charged $10,000 or jail and he says if you are selling a orange or bottle of beer on the beach you must have a liscense or you will be taken to court and then to jail. Right now I don't know how some of us are going to manage because the season is very, very slow (1985).

Gender patterns in Negril are characterized by differential access to income and opportunity in wage employment, although the cottage sector appears to employ men and women in equal numbers. Women guest house owners/managers, in those few cases where a family owns cottages at two or more locations, tend to be associated with less lucrative cottages and to have less division between their own homes and rented rooms or houses, both financially and physically. Cultural beliefs governing women's behavior and physical mobility support and enforce these gender differences and also shape relationships between Negril women and their foreign guests. Nevertheless, women are active in the Negril cottage sector as managers, sole owners and partners of cottages and some are relieved of much of the daily drudgery of most Jamaican women by hired help. The advantage of owning property in Negril has given some women the chance to prosper without leaving the arena of household/yard defined as appropriate for their gender. Their success demonstrates that given meaningful opportunity, the underrated entrepenuerial skills of Jamaican women can rise to the task of development.

Notes

[1] In addition to such personal referrals, tourists were drawn to Negril in the 60's and 70's by the lure of cheap, but potent ganja (marijuana). Reportedly directed to Negril from Montego Bay when they inquired about buying ganja, tourists began arriving in Negril who were quite content to sleep on Negril's beautiful beaches or in the modest homes of Negrillians. With the new market for ganja began another source of opportunity for local folk. The treacherous, but lucrative, ganja business has boomed to support an army of growers, investors, middlemen, hustlers, pickers, etc. In fact, much of Negril's prosperity, though no one dare say how much, rests on a ganja base.

Hippies in search of ganja were definitely not the kind of tourists that NALA and other agencies of government involved in Negril had in mind for the area. The Jamaican press wrote scathing articles about the conditions of tourism in Negril, heaping scorn on both the appearance and demeanor of the hippies and the kinds of accomodations springing up to house them. Pressure was put on Immigration officials to carry out raids in Negril, for purposes of confiscating drugs and verifying travel documents.

You Can't Get Me Out of the Race: A History of the Market at Negril Square

Introduction

In May of 1974, a newsmagazine article described the guest house sector of Negril tourism as "a shantytown boasting more rooms and cottages for rent than any comparable place in Jamaica (Western Weekly). If accomodations in Negril called up images of shantytown for the Jamaican Press, the burgeoning market in Negril's town center had a similar effect on newly prosperous Negrillians. In contrast to the sturdy, concrete houses Negrillians were struggling to erect, the piecemeal wooden and zinc shops of the market recalled the "trenchtowns" of Kingston. The sight of these shops--crowded together on the banks of the Negril River, without running water or sanitary facilities, with gullies that filled with water when it rained, with stray goats and pigs roaming among the refuse generated by the market population--was a symbol to Negril residents of all the negative aspects of development. It represented to them the influx of strangers that jobs in hotels, guest houses and construction had lured, as well as the hustlers, drug dealers and prostitutes who now lurked in some parts of Negril. It stood for the change from a way of life in which money was not so important, in which people knew one another and shared what they had, to one in which people had to lock their doors and distrust anyone not known to them.

To hotel owners and the Government of Jamaica, the market was an eyesore, a blot on the image of the luxurious resort they were trying to create. More serious for them were the walking vendors, those who could not yet afford to set up shop, or who, as time went on, were prohibited from doing so by zoning rules or lack of space. These walking vendors can appear in groups of one or two in legion numbers--so much so that at peak season while lying on the beach I was approached every other minute with offers of food, soft drinks, crafts, and occasionally, from young men, drugs or sex. They thus totally disrupted the halcyon beach scenes promised by tourist posters, and guests complained to hotel and cottage owners of harassment.

In the year and a half I was in Negril, various measures by police and government failed to deal with the onslaught of sellers except during short periods of a week or two, when police would diligently threaten vendors with fines, confiscate their goods and send them home. The vending women presented their cases well, though, and individual police officers could not help but be moved by stories of mouths to feed at home from women whom they grudgingly respected. (On my return visit for three weeks in June, 1984, however, I had the sense that police were taking tougher, and sometimes violent action against unauthorized vendors in Negril).

Not only women with children to feed come to Negril to make money. The Sunday Gleaner in 1979 deplored the "army of hustlers" who approach Negril tourists with drugs:

> Spend a half hour in the market or near it and you will be approached four times for all kinds of drugs (offered for sale by unauthorized vendors walking through the market).

The Gleaner reported a similar frequency of drug offers on the beach.

Because of the very real dangers involved in questioning the latter kinds of sellers, this chapter concentrates on the evolution of the relationship of Negril's _market_ vendors to the Negril community and to Government development agencies. The stationary vendors in the market were more secure about their place in

Negril, and so were less wary of answering questions . They were also easy to locate and visit repeatedly and were organized into the Negril Art and Craft Vendors Association (NACVA). In my second month of fieldwork, I was invited by one of the women vendors to attend a NACVA meeting. My presence at subsequent meetings and assistance to the Association with typing helped in building rapport with these market vendors.

During the time I conducted my interviews with the vendors, there were about eighty one shops in the market. Seventy-two of these were open for business, four were locked up, and five were in various stages of construction (these shops were under threat of removal for unauthorized additions, and so their owners were either not present or were wary of answering questions). I interviewed one person from each of seventy shops, in most cases the shop owner or a family member with knowledge of the shop owner and the shop's origins. I concentrated on talking with the owner because of my interest in the market's history, and also because for most of the shops, the owner was the only person in the shop. Only one shop owner, a man, refused to talk to me; the other owner not interviewed was a man with a reputation for brutality toward women whom I did not feel comfortable approaching.

Of the 70 shops on which I have data, forty are owned by individual women, nine by female pairs, eighteen by individual men and three by male/female pairs.

Between a Rock and a Hard Place: Previous Work Experience of Negril's Vendors

The vendors in Negril market are engaged in creating economic opportunity in the narrow space between the "rock" of doing poorly paid, scarcely available wage labor and the "hard place" of living in poverty. Considering these options, selling for oneself becomes attractive.

In the following quotes, some of Negril's vendors compare having a shop in the market to other kinds of work which they have done:

> I used to work at a sugar estate before--tie cane and weed banana . . . .That was my first living . . . .This one is much better. You don't have the harassing you have in the field.
> (female vendor)

> I used to work at a hotel as a cook. I prefer this work to that. When you are on your own, you are self-employed. Nobody push you around. You come when you want to come. What you work is for you alone.
> (male vendor)

> I did domestic work before, but buying and selling I'm on my own. I can go and buy when

> I like. When you do domestic work, you have to go in the early morning. You have to beg someone to look after your children. So I started to do a little selling . . . .I went out and sold every day and in that time it could school my son. I could still care my other kids, too, by going at the time I can . . . .
> (female vendor)

> I went to training school and was first in my class as a [house] painter. I pass as A-class painter. I used to get salary a week time. But when you work for yourself, you can't get push around. You can come when you want to come, work when you want to work.
> (male vendor)

> I worked as a housekeeper in a guest house for two years . . . .I can't do it again--to work for somebody else.
> (female vendor)

> I did domestic work in my younger days. Through I grow up as a big woman, I decide to put out my own effort . . . .When you work for yourself, you're better off. I don't like people to push me. I like my own business. I'm a businesswoman.
> (female vendor)

Women who had been produce higglers in Parish Council Markets[1] also compared work in Negril's market to their former selling experiences:

> I was trading in Kingston-the people were so out of order I decide to come down here. I can sleep at my yard at night and get up and go. In the other selling, you have to go in to the bush and look your load, ride the truck, and like that. I took a chance and tried this out.

> My mother used to sell in the food market. I never liked it. In the food market you have

> to weigh yam and such and your hands get very dirty.

As the above quotes testify, vendors in Negril market value their work for the relative ease of its conditions, as well as for the sense of independence it affords them.

Another motivation for working for oneself is suggested by Peattie, who points out that the perception of potential for economic success may be different for the marginally self employed than for the low paid wage worker. She says that people involved in informal occupations "look upward at a system of enormous inequality, but one which presents itself as a ladder rather than as sharply bounded social strata (1979: 7)." This is because, Peattie suggests, aspirations are probably shaped more by "striking examples of success than by real overall chances for upward mobility (8)." The Negril market, as well as many of the cottage developments run by Jamaicans in Negril, hold out such examples to the vendors daily. Income in the market, although seasonal and often precarious, always holds out the possibility of success. Vendors could point for example, to Miss L, who now boasts ownership of two homes in Negril, two shops in Negril's market and one fruit stand near

Negril's supermarket. Or to Miss W, a woman with a prospering cook shop located near Negril's taxi stand and a well-stocked market shop. Indeed, hearing the vendors talk about their plans for their shops, or the histories of their experiences in the market, I was struck by the constant planning, scheming and hoping for success. In contrast, it is a rare domestic worker who makes a dramatic improvement in status.

While the desirability of self-employment is acknowledged by people "all over the world" (Lipset and Bendix, cited in Peattie, 1979:7), for women, such economic independence may have more meaning. Gonzalez suggests that in offering women not only a source of income but also one of control and authority, higglering figures importantly in womens' position in relation to men in Jamaica:

> This notion of a sense of independence was revealed through my conversations with higglers. My host and I had many discussions about higglering, and during these discussions she repeatedly gave this as one explanation for her continued role in this occupation: "Miss Vic, you are a woman and I am a woman. You have a hubby and I have a hubby, but we must always remember that if your hubby gives you a ten cents, you find a way of making a ten cents of your own." What my host is revealing in this statement is not solely an economic fact of having an independent source of cash, but something more. This is the position that a woman has in relation to her mate, and the fact that she has something which she controls and

> over which she has authority. This contributes as much to women's higglering as the economic pressures from lack of jobs, need for cash, and the necessity of providing for children (174).

Table 9 summarizes the previous work experience of all of the market vendors interviewed. Of the forty-five women with previous work experience, thirty-seven have been higglers, domestics or both. This identifies most of the Negril market women as part of the group of women who find it most difficult to get and keep work in Jamaica, the unskilled. While eight of the eighteen men with previous work experience had also sold before working in Negril's market, all but two of these had additional work experience of a more varied kind than most of the women.

There are seventeen former work experiences categorized as "other" for men and fourteen for women. Of the women's jobs in this category, four were the responses of the two young women from the shops owned by male/female pairs. One of these women had been both a teacher and an office worker. The woman classified as an artist is a white American woman who is married to and considers herself a Rastafarian. Along with another woman very new to the market who also runs a restaurant in Negril, these account for virtually all of the white collar or skilled work mentioned by the forty-five women with previous work experience.

For men, three kinds of work categorized as other might be classified as "trades" (painting, done by three of the men and carpentry and auto mechanics, each done by one man). Taken together with Jamaica Defense Force jobs, these are examples of relatively well-paid employment which does not require a great deal of education and which is much more likely to available to men than to women. Driving, in these cases as a tour guide, a chauffeur, or a taxi driver, is also something which few women are seen doing in Jamaica.

Of the fourteen kinds of work in the category of other for women, only child care, hairdressing and possibly office worker can be classified as "women's work." In contrast, of the seventeen kinds of jobs listed in this category for men, all would be considered "men's work," with the possible exceptions of guest house owning/managing, common laboring, and rug making.) This indicates a persistence in the gender patterns noted by Mair on Jamaican plantations; even among the unskilled, women have fewer opportunities to work at trades and a much narrower range of job possibilities. Women in Jamaica are still not generally the target of vocational training programs, and so continue to be concentrated in a few low income occupations (Jamaica Women's Bureau, 1979: 31). While both men and women in Negril's market may be responding to high national unemployment levels and the sharp bite of inflation, the data on previous work experience suggest that women have fewer choices in their range of responses.

Interesting in this regard is the age difference between male and female vendors. Table 10 shows that the largest age grouping for men is the youngest one; roughly half of the total number of men interviewed are age 19-29. For women, however, the largest grouping is the oldest one, and fully half of the women are 40 or above. For men, increasing age is associated with declining numbers in the market, while for women, every age category is represented. This supports Gonzalez' data on the compatibility of market work and the life cycle responsibilities of Jamaican women, as well as her asertion, borne out by national statistics, that women have fewer job choices than men.

> Higglering is not an occupation for which most women opt. It is one to which they are relegated due to lack of opportunities (1976: 138).

In her study of informal work in Nairobi, Nelson noted that all women and older men saw themselves as permanent in the informal economy, while the younger men saw their participation in the same kinds of activity as temporary (1979:298). While I do not have data on how the Negril vendors see their futures, or detailed longitudinal data on individuals in the market, my information on age suggests that women's presence in the market may be more permanent, and that older men may pursue their economic opportunity elsewhere. A comparative study of male and female vendors with a longitudinal emphasis would be needed to more firmly make this conclusion.

It is often assumed by tourists that vendors themselves are the creators of the craft and souvenir items which they sell. This, however, is not often the case. Negril vendors operate more in the tradition of higglers in that they are primarily sellers of the products of others.

Table 11 lists vendors who are also craftpersons, and who make or work on some of their own stock. There are two women who have sewing machines in their market shops, and from there they sew flour sack clothing on order from other vendors. The pleasure and satisfaction which craft work gives to those vendors who design and make their own stock is evident in the following quotes:

> I got a vision--the vision is one day I was in Montego Bay selling tams. I was making them from a long time ago, before I was in the tourist industry. It gave me experience towards knowledge.
>
> I was a common laborer before and I do many different kinds of work. When I do this (coral carving), I like to look at it myself. It give me more encouragement.
>
> My grandmother sent me to do sewing when they see I couldn't take education. I can hardly read. But it seems as if my gift is just that(sewing). It just come to me to try this way and when I do it and somebody praise me, I do it again.

The penchant for crafts is particularly strong among the Rastafarians in the market. In fact, with the exception of one carver, all of the male craftspersons in the market are Rastafarians. They take particular pride in crafts because of their strong preference for self-employment and their distrust of what comes from "Babylon." Drawing spiritual inspiration from ganja, and using colors and concepts from the Rastafarian belief system, Rastas turn out woven rugs, belts, tams, and carved wood and black coral. In the words of one Rasta carver: "I just smoke a good 'spliff' (a very large marijuana cigarette) and my mind tells me what to carve."

The process of learning a craft was usually described as "I just watch someone else do it and I try," or "I see somebody doing it and just work my brain and do it too."

Although there were a few women who knew how to work with straw, no one in Negril market did this to supply others or even themselves. Some women who could embroider straw, however, occasionally embellished their own stock or that of their neighbors.

Vendors were also asked to recall the work of the people in the families with whom they "grew." Table 12 shows the kinds of work mentioned and the number of vendors mentioning each type. Each kind of work was counted once for each family, though vendors could give more than one kind of work for their family as a whole. The same combinations of small scale farming and gardening, higglering, unskilled labor and some male trade work that provides income for the vendors' current households is evident in their recounting of the work in the households in which they were raised. The vendors in Negril's market thus do not differ radically in economic background from Negrillians in the pre-tourist era. Their attraction to Negril's new-found tourism and ganga based prosperity is thus understandable:

> T'rough they can't get nowhere to employ, so everybody heard about tourism and everybody try to get a likkle money, do them likkle selling to help them family. If I could get

> a living without come to Negril, I wouldn't come. But living in Grange Hill, we have nothing to do. We don't know how we'd manage. So we have to do somet'ing to help we-self. People see me now and they take the pattern off me and they start to do something to help themself.[2]

Coming to Negril Market

The network of friends and relatives through which vendors gain entry into the market is revealed by data on previous market connections. Prior to owning their own shop, ten of the seventy vendors interviewed had shared a shop with a friend or family member, while another two had stocked goods in a friend's shop which the friend sold for them. Fourteen said they were encouraged by other market vendors to sell in Negril Square, while two were inspired by the examples of family members already in the market.

The first woman who came to Negril to sell claims to have come before tourism began, in the late 1950's. Miss Desreen was a higgler in her home town, Grange Hill, when she was encouraged by a native Negrillian, one of her steady customers, to come to Negril. The strength of the original network of women friends who came via Miss Desreen is indicated by the fact that almost half of the women (22 out of 49) and one-third of the men (6 out of 18) interviewed in 1981 came from Grange Hill (see Table 13).

The general area from which the market vendors come can be seen in the map depicting the employment hinterland of Negril (Figure 5). While eight of the male vendors, eight of the female vendors and all of the individuals in the shops run by couples live in Negril, the majority of vendors must travel by bus daily to the market. Traveling to Negril on the public bus, which cost between $2 and $4 for most vendors in 1981, is described by one woman in this way:

> The big bus is cheaper to come on than the mini-bus, but you meet with too much bouncy-bouncy. I don't stay like the young what can take anything. Sometimes we are doing business and the transport costs take everything out of us again . . . .I got up at 4 a.m. this morning to get a seat on the bus because I had two baskets to carry . . . .the bus cramp until it can't take a message.

Although only one man and one male-female pair of vendors said they lived in the market and gave no other place of residence, many vendors stay in the market for extended periods both in and out of season. Some vendors regularly stay for a few days each week in the off season, to save bus fare, and during season, to maximize sales by opening early and staying late.

The Market Vendors: Three Cases

Although much detail about the Negril Square market vendors, their shops and their families is given in Chapter Five, the following cases are included here to provide a personalized sense of how and why the vendors came to be in the market.

Miss Lil

I was born in St. Elizabeth and lived with my mother until she died. I was five then, so I grew with my Aunty in New Hope. My Aunt schooled me. I have a lame foot and it cause me to stop school at 3rd Book. I went to school at age 7 and I leave in the third class. But I can read and write well. I have the brain but my aunt did poor.

I was working in the cane field like the rest of my family until 1975, when a friend told me this place was built up and encouraged me to come to Negril. I used to come then to walk and look days work, washing in Red Ground and West End. I used to stop and rest by a friend in the market. One day my friend offered me oranges to sell on the beach. I used to walk as far as three miles, stop and rest, and walk back. I used to make about $3 a day. I never did any selling before. After I sold my friend's oranges, I ask her to keep half the money and buy oranges for me. Then I used to walk and carry some for her and some for me. And I gwan and gwan until one time she was away from the shop and I kept it for her. After that I shared a shop with another friend and in 1978, I began to trust board little by little and build my own shop.

Even when the season is slow here, I still come every day. Some of the drivers are kind and understand how it is with me, so they let me ride for free or trust the fare. My daughter helps me. I don't pay her; whatever we sell, we partake of it. Some people would say it's a big girl and she can shift for herself, but she is a Christian and she don't deal with man.

We used to work in the cane field of the owner of the land we're on, but from I'm in the market I don't go back to work there, and he don't molest no one. We have a garden around the house: peas, yam, pumpkin, cassava, potato, cane, banana, papaya, coconut, sweet sop, sour sop and lime. But most of the income from the house comes from the market. For my age, I would rather stay at the shop, but I would like my daughters to get work.

Granny

I came from New Roads, so I still go there to buy straw. My mother died when I was five and I grew with my Aunty, my Uncle and their five children. My Aunt used to plait straw and make basket and so did her children. I learned to make baskets from her. My Aunt was a real higgler, just like you see me doing here. She sold food at Grange Hill.

My main habit now is the Bible. I'm a Church of God member. I can sew, make basket, but cooking is the main thing I do now.

It's ten years since I came to Negril. My maiden trip to Negril was with a contractor. My husband is a carpenter and he used to work for this contractor. He was the contractor for the Negril Villas, so he took us there to show us it. I asked him if he and I could do business together. I had three children in Secondary School at Green Island at the time. I used to cook for the men who were building the Villas just over a wood fire. I credit the things I use for the food and the men credit the food and when the contractor pays them he draws out my share. They used to take cement and use board to make the blocks and after that they throw away the boards. Well, I asked for those boards and I used it to build the cook shop. My daughter is a good cook, too. She helps me there now and I have a lady that comes to help me too. Afterwards I added on to the cook shop. I still cook over wood fire in the back. I hired the lady to help me get away from the fire a likkle.

At first, I rented a room in Negril. But even though I was sending money to the children, I didn't like to be one place and they are at another place. So I decided to rent a bigger place and then I only have to pay their transport to school. After, I built my house and rented a spot. Now I am on government land (squatting).

The main problem in the market is cooperation, no unity. Their heart is bad. I always tell them: "Oonu should learn to live with each other." Sometimes people only take what the eye sees and let that stop them from talk to a person. Like if we live in a tenement yard and we don't speak, you might be saying, "I never do Granny anything, and all the while she pass me and don't say a t'ing." But if you pass a person and take the time to say, "How oonoo doing today?", like what I would say to the children. It gives you a better feeling. If you let your heart touch a person and share, you will have friends. If I buy three straw mats, I might give two away. When this lady in shop number -- was sick, I watch the shop for her and even put some of my stock in there--make it look attractive. And she start to make more sale. What you do, God will send it back to you. How often I hear, "Oh Granny, God will bless you." God must hear that.

Miss Ellen

I used to do sewing, but my eyes get dark. I'm sick now with my nerves. And then, the younger generation now, you know how it go, they like the ready made things. Before I came to Negril market, I was just selling like this, in my kitchen in Little London. Just likkle likkle tings (a few little things) to survive. From people who were selling already in Negril, I get to understand I could just capture a place. That is what I do. In November 1979 I came to Negril market. I came with my shop from my yard in Little London. The shop was newly made. My son in law bought the board and zinc and my son who is a carpenter built it. I started with one box of beer. I buy from Mr. C. (wholesale distributor). After I sold that, I bought more, and veg and such. I used to go to Sav market a few times a week. Now I stopped buying those (vegetables) for I am not selling and it will spoil. Whatever someone is selling, I try to sell it a little cheaper. About half of my customers are market people and half are tourists.

The Goverment and Negril's Vendors: A Brief History

The hard times which poor and working class Jamaicans experienced in the 1970's were shared globally as the international repercussions of rising oil prices were felt. In Jamaica, falling export prices and rising import costs increased the cost of living dramatically. In addition, a "savage and orchestrated destabilization campaign" aimed at the democratic socialist regime of Michael Manley resulted in a decline in capital inflows and a rise in political violence, especially after 1976 (Girvan, 1980 et. al.: 118; Harsch,1981). The hard terms of IMF agreements made during the seventies reduced funding available for programs which might have eased the social costs of economic and political crises. At the same time, these loan conditions reduced the real income of Jamaicans through dollar devaluations and wage ceilings.

One response of Jamaicans to this "dread" situation is reflected in the growth of the informal economy, described in the last section of Chapter One. During and beyond the course of my fieldwork, headlines and news reports deplored the growth of "bend down plazas," impromptu markets created by legions of illegal vendors in Kingston and Montego Bay. At the same time, vendors in Negril swelled the ranks of two existing squatters markets and walked the beach and road in numbers which alarmed hoteliers, residents and tourists alike.

The UDC describes the project of developing Negril as part of a series of new towns which would relieve Kingston of some of its problems (UDC, n.d.:2). Instead, sidewalk vending has reached epic proportions in Kingston, and a similar situation threatens Negril. To the government, the vendors represent the very problems which the development of Negril was designed to solve.

The details given below regarding government action vis a vis the Negril vendors depicts the frustration and helplessness of a government in a politically and financially difficult time. The long series of attempts to get Government bureaucracy to work for or against the vendors reads, at times, like a comedy of errors. It provides, however, essential background for understanding the relationship between the vendors and the state.

Miss Desreen, Negril's first vendor, began by spreading her produce on the ground in front of a shop which stood on the land now occupied by Negril Villas. Sales were encouraging, and as time went on she told a few friends from Grange Hill about Negril's prospects. By the early 70's, she had been joined by six or seven of her women friends in front of the shop "piazza." With tourists as well as Negrillians as customers, the women now sold not only produce but straw goods and clothes as well.

When construction commenced on Negril Villas in 1974, the vendors were asked to leave the premises. According to the daughter of a woman who sold at the original site:

> They were telling us to get off the land, but in those days, people were stubborn. They said over the other side was Morass. The sargeant teargassed us to make us move.

Other vendors, however, claim to have moved voluntarily across the road to what is known as Negril Square. The new location lacked the shade of the piazza or of the tree which had protected the vendors at the Villas site. In Negril Square, in the vendors' words: "Sun come bun we, rain come wet we."Here Miss Desreen built the first shop on the new site, in order to shelter herself and her goods from the sun. It was these shops and stalls built by the vendors at Negril Square which first attracted the negative attention of the NALA in 1974.

The seventy square feet at the front portion of this "captured" market site belong to a prominent JLP politician, while the remainder of land, which lines the canal of the Negril River, is the property of the government. Although the owner of the front piece at times demanded rent from the vendors on his land, in sums ranging from thirty dollars a month to sixty dollars a year, he was never diligent in collecting it, nor were the vendors eager to pay it. The Negril community, the vendors, the politician in question, and the NALA all adopted a "wait and see" attitude. The fate of government land, traditionally considered more appropriate for "capture" in Jamaica than private land, was perceived to be tied to the outcome of the 1976 election. The private owner and politician looked to the election results for his own political reasons, hoping that his party would be victorious over the ruling PNP. At the March 1974 meeting of the NALA, the reply of this man to a NALA notice concerning the vendors squatting on his land was discussed. His response to the notice was that he had not put up the shacks and was unable to forcibly remove those who had. He concluded that it was the NALA's responsibility to remove the vendors. The NALA, however, did not want to evict the vendors until a suitable alternate spot for the market could be found. In the months following, the NALA began the long process of trying to procure such a site.

In June of 1974, the NALA asked the Town Planning Department to approve a temporary building to be erected for sheltering six food vendors. By August, Town Planning had given its consent, but reminded the NALA that the question of sanitary facilities at the present site remained unresolved. By November of 1974, the temporary building had been completed. There were now twelve vendors to be housed, however, and the NALA suggested that they share the facility and ordered them to remove all shacks thereafter. At the January 1975 meeting of NALA, it was noted that the building erected by the NALA was not being occupied.

After the victory of the PNP in 1976 under the banner of democratic socialism, more and more vendors set up shop in Negril Square and at other locations in Negril. For example, vendors at a beachfront location approximately four miles from the square reportedly turned a deaf ear to notices ordering them off the land and instead continued to erect shops. The ideology of the PNP was interpreted by the vendors during that time as supporting the "small man" and the "sufferah."

While the numbers of vendors increased, negotiations with the private owner over the sale of his portion of the Square land to the PNP government for an approved market site became mired in political rivalry. Without a new site at which ousted vendors could be relocated, the government was reluctant to forcibly remove vendors from Negril Square. Yet, they were increasingly pressured by hoteliers, tourists and the Negril community to control the numbers of vendors and to remedy what was becoming an unsightly and unhealthy concentration of people, shops, animals and waste in the heart of town. Meanwhile, as a NALA representative remarked bitterly at a Negril Community

Council meeting to which he was invited to discuss the burgeoning market in the Square, the JLP owner of the land in question "delighted" in the PNP government's predicament.

In December of 1978, Prime Minister Michael Manley spoke in Negril against the hassling of tourists by vendors, calling such harassment "one sure way to destroy tourism." Additional evidence of national attention to Negril's increasing vending crisis was the amending of Beach Control Authority (BCA) regulations to outlaw selling on the beach. This rendered vendors subject to prosecution for molestation of tourists.

Although fewer vendors were seen on the beach in January of 1979 due to the presence of wardens hired by the NALA to enforce the new BCA rules, yet another Negril location became a site for squatting vendors. The area surrounding the "roundabout" at the entrance to Negril's town center became host to a number of sellers. During March of that year, a meeting of Government officials took place for purposes of discussing the proliferation of vendors in Negril. A letter from the Negril Community Council condemning the erection of shacks at the roundabout was read at the meeting.

As I approached, along with my landlord, the first Negril Community Council meeting to which I was invited in November of 1979, he pointed to the shacks along the road reservation and said that they would be the main topic of discussion. Attending this meeting were the Police Inspector, Parish Mayor and a NALA representative. The latter was asked why Negril residents who wanted to expand or build on their own land were challenged by development regulations, while "outsiders" operated freely in Negril. The NALA representative turned the question around deftly and requested a community team to proceed with the demolition of the roadside shacks. Community members present were clearly unwilling to be the enforcement arm of the NALA, citing fear of reprisals as their reason. As the MP for the area who was elected in the JLP sweep of the 1980 elections remarked to me, whoever forcibly removes vendors becomes a very unpopular person indeed. Neither the NALA nor the Negril Community Council wanted to take this risk.

By November of 1979, NALA appeared resigned to using the land it owned between the Negril community center and the Negril River for a new market site. Parking and toilet facilities were already present at this location. Unfortunately, the money which the NALA had allocated for construction of the new market was now adequate for only half of the original number of shops planned. This meant that only twenty four shops could be built, although 65 vendors were located on the existing market site.

The new shops at the new location were completed by June, 1980, and by July, most of the shops from the old market had been moved to the new site. Ninety-eight percent of the shops from the square had been moved by August, and notices had been posted on the doors of those remaining. The owner of the front piece of the Square land was asked to fence his land but replied that he could not afford to do so and suggested that NALA take on this expense. In September, I witnessed the signing of agreements for shop and site rentals between the NALA and individual vendors. The vendors were to pay $24 per month for rental of new Government shops or $10 per month for rental of a shop site only.

In December 1980, the official opening of the new market was celebrated. Ironically, officials on the speakers platform included the JLP politician who owns the front of the Negril Square property; he said in his remarks to the crowd that he had been glad to "lend" his land to the vendors for a time. On this occasion, the Jamaica School of Drama put on several skits meant to demonstrate the cumulative effect of too much vending on tourists. Their performance ended in a crescendo scene of agressive selling.

Over the next few months, vendors complained to the NALA about problems in the market. Areas of concern included: the need for a sign to advertise the market and for landscaping to make it more attractive; problems of drainage and inadequate water supply; insufficient garbage collection.

By March of 1981, a new crisis arose. Vendors were moving shops into the market or constructing them on the premises without permission from NALA or NACVA, and some with shops in the market already were expanding them without NALA approval.The figures in Table 14 show that after the move to Negril Square, new shops were built in the market at the rate of about ten per year. One exception to this pattern occurs during 1977-1978, when the increase was close to twenty. This is in part a response to the December 1976 election results, which were interpreted by the vendors as a ruling in their favor. In their accounts of entry into the market, some of the vendors who came in during this year specifically referred to the election as a factor in their decisions. Vendors' accounts, UDC files, NACVA membership lists and NALA notes are in general agreement on these increases in market growth. Ironically, the highest increase in the number of shops occurs after the third move of the market, in 1980, to the new government approved site across the river from Negril Square. The stated expectation of the government was that the new market would not only restrict the number of vendors in the town center but would also inspire enforcement of laws against walking vendors. Growth within the new market itself accurately depicted how unrealistic this expectation was.

Confusion over rules, regulations and ultimate responsibility for the market was worsened by the 1980 change in Government and the imminent takeover of Negril development and the market by the UDC. Thus the NALA secretary, a woman personally known to and liked by the vendors, complained bitterly about sitting all alone in the community center to await payment of shop and site rentals during these months. In frustration and anger, she finally sent a messenger into the market one day with the announcement that she had come for Mr. Seaga's money. At the mention of the new Prime

Minister's name, she said, the vendors came forward to pay their rent.

Vendor-Government Relations

The relationship of vendors to the government officials who periodically descended on them was contradictory and complex. Officials attended Negril Art and Craft Vendors Association (NACVA) meetings when invited by the vendors or in order to present vendors with ideas or plans concerning matters affecting them. The description of the class status of NALA board members and other government officials contained in Chapter Two should be recalled here. The contrast between Negrillians and government officials was yet more pronounced in the case of the vendors, who could not even stand on rights of property. As squatters on land belonging partly to the government and later as tenants of the government, vendors exhibited caution in their dealings with government representatives. Meetings which were attended by such officials were marked by greater decorum and by a show of deference to these visitors. This deference was especially exploited in the weeks preceding the scheduled move from the old illegal market site to the new Government owned one. During this time virtually every elected and appointed official remotely connected with Negril descended on the vendors and argued for a speedy and smooth removal. This show of "force," coupled with the perceived inevitability of the move, did facilitate the transition from the old to the new location.

Attitudes of government personnel toward the vendors varied with individuals; the secretary of the NALA, a woman, became quite familiar with the vendors, while others remained aloof and uncomfortable with the vendors and toward the problems which they represented. Plans for the new market which did not take into account the sheer numbers of vendors in the old market exemplify government ignorance and confusion regarding the vendors, their work, their needs and their preferences. Although the President of the Vendors Association had expressed to representatives of NALA, UDC, the Ministry of Finance and Planning and the Tourism Product Development Company the importance of involving the vendors in plans for the new market as early as 1977, these plans were drawn up and presented to the vendors as a fait accompli.

Because the class dynamic of the relationship between planners and vendors could not allow a dialogue between equals as part of the planning process, the plans were modified by the vendors after the fact in several important ways.

For example, at the old market site, food and crafts had been mixed indiscriminately within the same shop. However, in all of the initial discussion and planning for the government approved version of the market, it was decreed that crafts alone would be sold at the new site, while a Parish council produce market would later be built on the government's Whitehall property to accomodate the sale of produce. The new Negril Craft Market would thus fall conveniently (for the government) under the auspices of the the Tourist Board, the Tourism Product Development Company, and the agencies concerned with Negril.

It was also thought that the sale of crafts and produce together would constitute a health hazard, as straw attracts vermin and insects which could spread disease to produce sold in the same shop. When this idea was presented to the vendors, however, they argued that they couldn't "live by straw alone," that "food is the staff of life," etc. When the President of the Association reiterated NALA's rule about selling food and crafts separately, one woman remarked angrily that she would rather go back to street vending than operate a shop according to such restrictions. Women vendors in particular need the flexibility of stocking the two kinds of goods in order to maximize earnings, and they weren't about to give this up. NALA then agreed that some shops could sell food and others crafts, and that these two kinds of shops would be grouped separately in the market, while the "cook shops" (small restaurants) would possibly be included in later plans to develop the roadside for "sidewalk cafes." While three of the Square cook shops did not move to the new market, others did and more sprang up. Eventually, the market at the new site became a replica of the Square market, with vendors in all parts of the market selling both food and crafts together:

> When they decided to move the market, the last four new shops were to be fruit shops. The Chairman from the Land Authority, said selling drinks was quite alright, if I sell fruits and drinks. I shouldn't sell carvings and clothes. Now it is all mixed up. Everyone is doing the same thing. But wait, you know the argument already. The crafts is not so bright, so if they don't sell a little fruits, they couldn't make their fare. (female vendor with a craft/fruit shop).

The government's original vision of the new market was one in which only government designed, UDC built shops would exist. Because government funding originally allocated for forty-eight shops could build only 24 in 1980, NALA suggested that vendors share the new shops. When this plan was first presented to vendors by the NACVA President, the women in particular raised a hue and cry against it. They complained that it would cause "vexation" in the market and one went so far as to declare that if she was forced to share a shop she would want an iron curtain to divide it! When the President answered that they would have to go to heaven together so they should learn to work together on earth, one of the women officers countered with: "Only the pure will go to heaven, but down here that isn't so!" Although some women finally did agree to share shops, the result was far from what the NALA Board and the UDC had hoped. Even with some shops shared, the number of vendors at the Square far exceeded the number of approved shops available. Eventually, NALA conceded that vendors would be allowed to move their own shops over to the new site, although it worried that being in their own shops would make vendors less likely to obey rules of operation for the market. Because much of the criticism of the market at its illegal site concerned the appearance of the shops, this was a significant modification.

Moreover, the number of shops at the new market actually increased with the move, because some of those who signed up for new government shops rented out or sold their old ones and moved these over, and because more vendors captured space at the new site during the confusion of the move. Among some of the old shops moved over by the vendors, illegal extensions were built as well.

Vendor-Vendor Relations: The Operation of the NACVA

The NACVA was formed after the 1976 national election at the suggestion of the NALA Chair and a Negril hotelier, who together approached a Negril vendor formerly active in the Montego Bay Vendors Association. NACVA disbanded between 1978 and 1979, due, in the words of the President and founder, to a "lack of interest" on the part of the vendors. The reactivation of the Association began with the first meeting I attended in November, 1979.

Attendance at meetings and interest in the Association waxed and waned according to the tourist season itself; if there were a lot of tourists around, attendance at meetings was low. Vendors preferred to stay in their shops in the hope of making a sale. (A similar effect of a busy tourist season could be observed at Negril Community Council meetings as well.)

Evidence of government activity and plans for the market, conversely, inspired high attendance. Thus, meetings during July and August of 1980, when the vendors moved from Negril Square to the new site across the river, had more vendors present than any of the NACVA meetings I attended or to whose minutes I had access. Sixty-five and eighty members were present at 1980's June and July meetings respectively, while an average attendance during the period from November 1979 to March 1981 was thirty five members.

My notes on the NACVA meetings which I attended reveal two contradictory processes. The first involved the fact that two meetings always seemed to be occurring simultaneously. One adhered to Roberts' Rules of Order and was conducted in the Jamaican working class version of Standard English, while the other was a constant undercurrent of patois, raising issues and concerns as they occurred to the speakers, regardless of the order of the formal agenda. These tendencies were not the properties of different individuals; rather the same person would enter the current of patois or English at will. Those recognized by the

President to address the meeting spoke in English, as did the President himself.

Although at the second meeting I attended, one woman protested that the meetings should be in "broad plain talk," and several people shouted agreement, for the most part vendors were very concerned with the "proper" conduct of their meetings and affairs. I remember an inordinate amount of time being devoted to a discussion of a "proper" book in which the secretary would take down the minutes of NACVA meetings. At the very first meeting I attended, vendors expressed a desire for a code of ethics to ensure "proper" behavior in the market. When that code of ethics was discussed at the next meeting, a rule against indecent language was formally and unanimously approved by the vendors, even as they kept up a constant banter of creative "cusses." It seemed to me that the structure of the meeting stifled discussion and participation by the vendors, especially when an emotionally presented point was ignored because it was not raised at the agenda-appointed time. To the vendors themselves, however, the formal structure of the meetings was very important.

The other contradiction apparent at vendors' meetings and during my interviews with them as well involved the relationship of the market and its vendors to other sellers in Negril. Vendors expressed the need to keep new people from coming into the market and into Negril, in order to protect their own business interests. Yet, market vendors sometimes walked the beach and the Lighthouse Road themselves when the season was slow and they became desperate to make a sale. Therefore, they couldn't consistently support strict enforcement of Beach Control Authority regulations. Moreover, many of the vendors had been walking sellers at one time and still had friends among those affected by BCA rules. Twenty four of the seventy vendors interviewed in the market had walked the beach and the Lighthouse Road before they acquired their shops, while 19 had previously sold illegally at a stationary Negril location other than the Square market. In their attitude toward laws meant to keep newcomers away, vendors behaved as they did toward Roberts' Rules of Order. They recognized the rules and the ideal reasons for their existence, but the reality of their lives often meant circumventing these and substituting others which made more sense.

The negative response of the vendors to the idea of sharing a shop highlights the competition present in their relationships. A rule of the market which was frequently broken, for example, was the rule against "stealing" customers by calling them away from the shop of another vendor. Even attendance at meetings and participation in the Association was linked to competition for customers. Those who came to meetings spent a great deal of time grumbling about losing sales to those who didn't show. Various aspects of competition were topics of discussion at virtually every NACVA meeting, and competition with other sellers in Negril, both within and outside of the market, was cited as their number one problem by most of the vendors interviewed.

Historically in Jamaica, the vendors, as higglers, as market women, fall heir to a reputation for loud quarreling, for "cas-cas." The image of a market woman is something like that of a fishwife in North American culture--a loud person who does not back down from a fight, whose stubborness in argument is grudgingly admired at times, but who is also unmistakeably lower class, uncouth, who has not the luxury of quiet debate, especially where money is concerned. I remember seeing a headline about market women in Government--and, thinking vendors had invaded the hallowed halls, I bought the paper (Jamaica News, 1981:20). The reference was a derogatory one, meaning that debate had sunk to the level of market women.

People in general express annoyance and reluctance to tangle with market women, but the other side of the coin is that market women are often older women and thus entitled to some measure of respect. This conflict can be solved by patronizing particular market women and relying on them for fair treatment. This kind of relationship existed between the first vendor who came to Negril and the man who told her to come, and to this day she rewards him with special prices or small gifts.

Competition among vendors is mitigated by friendships between individuals and by cliques of friends based on religion or district of origin. But such alliances are also the stuff of intra-market tensions and divisions:

> It's a mixed multitude. Some want to sell and doesn't want other people to sell. People from Grange Hill, a few from Negril--there's a jealousy in that (male vendor).

Sometimes vendors from Grange Hill were perceived as seeking control of the market and of sales at the expense of others, while the few Negrillians in the market were thought to feel they were entitled to special privileges. Another rift was evident between the Christian women who formed the majority of the NACVA membership and the Rastas located at the back of the market, some of whom had captured their space after the move. Among the Christians, moreover, there was another division between those who merely believed in a Christian God, as opposed to Haile Selassie, and those who were "saved." The latter eschewed dancing, drinking, wearing jewelry, etc. I remember a great deal of one meeting devoted to mediating a quarrel between a saved mother and an unsaved daughter who were trying to share a shop. Their disagreements had reached such an intensity that they caused disturbance even in the noisy market.

But there was also much that joined the vendors. Many owed their presence in the market to the advice or help of another vendor. Vendors were quick to send a customer to the shop of a friend if the customer requested an item which was not available in their own shops. Helping each other make change and sharing lunches are other examples of the daily cooperation without which life in the market would be hard indeed.

There were also women in the NACVA who tried especially hard to be peacemakers. Janet, a young woman always chosen as secretary because so many could not read and write, often calmed the almost hysterical shouting which sometimes arose at meetings. At the members' request, she began all meetings with a prayer and ended them with a hymn. Granny, described above, believed strongly in the necessity of the vendors coming together for their own good and in defense of the various forces against them. Of the more cantakerous set, there was Miss Blake, a tree of a woman, tall and unbending. Her wrath was always laced with rightousness and her causes were many--it was she who had campaigned so vigorously on the necessity of a proper book for the secretary. Her subsequent election as President of NACVA, however, seemed to bring out the wisdom and wry humor in her approach, as I discovered on my return visit in 1984. At that time, she seemed to be directing her strengths toward leading, rather than dividing, the vendors.

Conclusion

The contradictory attitudes of vendors toward both government and each other doubtless facilitated the growth of the market during its 1980 move, when the number of shops jumped from 65 to 80. At least some of these were given tacit approval by the vendors and some openly captured their space. In two instances, much to the consternation of the NALA chairman, concrete foundations were being laid for unauthorized shops, and in others, ambitious vendors were expanding their shops to sizes larger than the government approved dimensions. Nowhere are the contradictions more apparent than in cases where vendors themselves rented or sold shops in the market to others while continuing to occupy other shops themselves. One woman operated three shops for a time--one newly built government one, her old shop which she moved to the new market and rented to a newcomer, and an illegal produce stall which remained on the old market site until it was fenced and wired.

Elsewhere in Negril, the numbers of vendors also continued to increase. Unauthorized developments along the land side of the Lighthouse Road multiplied; in one pocket of these alone there were seven shops when I left in 1980 and 11 when I returned in 1984. Here enterprising squatters sold ice cream, rented and fixed bicycles and motorbikes and operated cook shops. The vendors of whom tourists had complained at the Northeast end of Negril Beach had not been driven away permanently, but continued to sell crafts in this area. Finally, the UDC built yet another officially approved market on their land across from Negril Beach Village to contain these vendors. At the close of my fieldwork in April 1981, eight months after the occupation of the new market at Negril River, there were 30 shops in this UDC market.(During my return visit in 1984, there were 51 shops in the market across from Negril Beach Village and 107 in the market at Negril River, also run now by the UDC.) Meanwhile, walking and beach vending continued and women new to Negril began to sell craft and produce in front of the two supermarkets in the town center.

With stricter rules to follow, rent to pay and a less advantageous location, Negril River market vendors found themselves the victims of competition from "illegal" vendors. They themselves were sometimes forced to walk the beach in order to make a sale in what was a depressingly poor tourist season. Not surprisingly, they felt victimized by their very cooperation with the government. In this they were not alone.

It is telling that in Kingston the government's response has also been to move vendors into new space, to know who they are and to give them numbers. This parallels the Negril "solution." But what does this really accomplish? It does not prevent new vendors from coming into either Kingston or Negril, and it does nothing to alleviate the reasons why women come in the first place. It generates no new income for the vendors; in fact, it results in some costs to them. It may provide a ready response to hoteliers or merchants who want to know what is being done about this problem, but neither the elite nor the government wants to risk the mass repression that arresting vendors and seizing their goods would necessitate.

In fact, this containment policy may do little more than create an artificial division between more and less formal segments of the market population, and in this division, from a seller's viewpoint, it is those who cooperate with government who may be at a disadvantage. By definition, the new spaces are more removed from main thoroughfares and so are less likely to attract the average passerby. The containment areas also require rent and/or other fees, thus further reducing income. In the Negril case, many of the women were able to cook, launder, eat and sleep in the old market, while such domestic activities are technically forbidden in the new one.

The government's policy of containment operates only to modify geographic and visual aspects of the informal sector, so as to make it less naggingly apparent to the middle and upper classes and less of a threat to the income bases of these groups. It does not modify the underlying dynamics of the economy. Rather, it results in an uneasy stalemate aptly described by a Kingston street vendor:

> One time black people could not even work on King Street, . . .but now we take it over. The bigger merchants are still trying to get us off the street but they cannot succeed, as the government has been forced to recognize us. But we still getting a fight (Star, 1981).

In the Negril case specifically, vendors demonstrate their determination to share in the income generated by a tourist industry designed to structurally exclude them. As in other cities in Jamaica, the areas vacated by vendors who gain entrance into formal or legitimate markets are soon repopulated with a new group of sellers, as the numbers of jobless grow and as the pressure of inflation increases.

Vendors are the unemployed who everyone wishes would just go away, whom everyone is tired of confronting on every corner. They are those of whom Bob Marley sang, "You must be tired to see we face, you can't get we out of the race."

Notes

[1] I use the term "vendor" herein to refer to petty traders in general. The term "higgler" is commonly used in Jamaica to refer to women who market foodstuff in small amounts, and so it does not adequately cover the variety of goods which are now sold by small scale traders, especially in Kingston and in tourist areas. Women who sell produce in the government approved Parish Council markets differ from the new breed of vendor arising in cities in Jamaica in the following ways: variety of goods sold; durability of goods sold; and places from which goods are obtained. Massiah (1982:98) points out that women in Caribbean economies are losing the prominence which was once theirs in local food distribution, and that the new "hustles" devised to compensate for this loss are more subject to the vicissitudes of international economics.

[2] Many of the statements quoted verbatim reflect the mixture of Jamaican creole and standard English which the vendors used when speaking to me, especially in the context of an interview. Folk in Negril seemed to me to be more accustomed to making themselves understood in this combination of Patois and English than people in the non-tourist areas of the island to which I have traveled, for obvious reasons. Thus, what may appear as inconsistency in the reporting of quotes actually reflects language use by the vendors.

Getting Sense Out of It: Gender Inequality at Home and in the Market

> A Negril vendor, a woman of fifty-one who had been in the market about eight years, was impatiently asked by her teenage daughter why she thought I'd be interested in her lengthy replies to my questions. Her mother responded: She will put it together and get sense out of it. If someone asks her [about] us . . . .she must know how to answer.

Introduction

The approach I take in this chapter to the lives of Jamaican women was suggested in part by the data on Negril's market to be discussed here. What began as a descriptive chapter on Negril's market vendors led me to re-think the entire question of gender as it has been both discussed and ignored in the region. As the struggle of women in the market to manage both their families and a shop revealed itself as key to their exploitation, I began to see the cost in comprehension of focusing on either work or family.

As vendors creating their own opportunity, Negril's market women draw on the West African tradition of economic autonomy described in Chapter One. This aspect of gender relations, the financial independence of women, has recieved much attention in the anthropological literature (Mintz, 1981; Sutton and

Makiesky-Barrow, 1981; Smith, 1962b: 45, 217, etc.). What those who laud the independence of working women who control their own incomes in the West Indies miss is that there is still inequality in both the work world and the home, so that women pay a high price for "independence" from men, whereas men's independence from women is assumed. In fact, the character of gender relations in Jamaica are such that while a woman's earnings outside the home alter her position within the household, her work may be adversely affected by her disproportionate share of domestic responsibility.

> Recall from Chapter One that the re-interpretation of African gender ideology within the contexts of slavery, imperialism, multinational domination and Western hegemony results in women having major responsibility for both economic and social aspects of child rearing. This occurs in an economic milieu of lower wages and fewer jobs for women, and of inequality within the informal sector as well. Moreover, the increasingly urban situation of such women leaves them without the important anchors of kin, community and land base which previosly made primary reliance on consanguineal kin a viable option. In addition, IMF dictates exert pressures on the national economy which further reduce the chances of men fulfilling either the

West African or the Western role of provider.

The blend of African and European gender ideology described in Chapter One has thus bequeathed a contradictory heritage to West Indian men and women. This heritage is both transformed and reinforced as men and women struggle to achieve a better life for themselves and their children within an increasingly hostile national and international context. Just as the development plans for Negril had little use for the masses of unemployed in the region, so internationally organized capitalist development has increasingly less place for the labor of their counterparts throughout Jamaica. While the restriction of opportunities for men within this broader context has long been part of analyses of the West Indian family, its direct effects on women have been overlooked until recently.

Recognition of the difficulties which an economy with few jobs and low wages creates for men has figured importantly in explanations of why men do not become resident fathers, at least during some stages in the life cycle. Inability to fulfill the expectations of a household head under these circumstances is also said to prevent men from asuming the masculine role of provider, as defined by both men and women (see for example Smith, 1956:221).

Women's circumstances, however, do not allow them to delay the responsibilities of parenthood until they feel they are financially ready. Emphasis on only the economic aspects of family form, with the explanation that the relationship of the male to political and economic structures determines his inability to shoulder the responsibility of child rearing, ignores the worse political and economic circumstances under which women do take up that burden. National statistics for Jamaica suggest that women are more likely to be unemployed than men and are concentrated into fewer and lower paying job categories when they do work. The picture is even more dismal for female heads of households, who earn far less than men in comparable positions of domestic responsibility. Jamaican women suffer as much from poverty and racism as do men, and in addition face gender structured demands on their time and energy both in and out of the household.

Only by considering the role of "gender, a long with color and class, as a determinant of power relations " (Combahee River Collective, 1982: 18-19) can the existence and poverty of female headed households be understood. Blumberg makes a start in this direction in her article The Political Economy of the Mother-Child Family (1978). Her analysis has the advantage of considering relative male and female income from all sources, rather than simply accepting male poverty and high unemployment as an explanation for male behavior differing radically from that of women in the same or worse economic cicumstances.

Market Vendors and Household Types

Blumberg's article outlines the conditions which predict a high incidence of mother-child families in diverse populations drawn from around the world, including some without a history of plantation slavery or African cultural heritage. She argues that such families flourish in populations which comprise a surplus labor pool in terms of the global economy. The position of Negril's vendors, as evidenced by their work experience described in Chapter Four and by the general economic trends in Jamaica discussed in Chapter One, can be characterized in this way.

Thus, it is not surprising that among the women market vendors, female headed households, in which one woman lives with dependent children, are as common among women as those in which a man, woman and children live together. When female headed households of both types (see Tables 15 and 16)are added together, they account for half of all the women vendors' households and over one third of all of the vendors' households combined. Among the male vendors, half live in nuclear households, and fully one third live by themselves. Only two of the forty-nine female vendors live alone. This data reflects the age differences between male and female vendors, as well as the different ways in which young men and women experience the life cycle. A young man with children is far more likely to live apart from them than a young woman, who may first reside with her children in her natal family's household and later form one of her own (Pollack, 1972).

My data on inside versus outside children support this gender difference with relation to in-household responsibility for children. Although in households with resident dependent children the average number of resident children was higher for men (4.0 as opposed to 3.35 for women), women's households were more likely to have children in them than were men's. Among women's households, 81.6% had resident children, while only 66.6% of the men's did. Moreover, 44.4% of the men had children of their own living outside their households while only 6.1% of the women did.

Although the data on household structure among Negril's market vendors support the association between position in the global economy and high incidence of female headed households, this correlation alone does not explain the growing numbers of such households in other kinds of populations throughout the world. More important in Blumberg's analysis of mother-child families is the relative access of men and women to income from a variety of sources. A pre-condition of female access to income, especially in the absence of any national provision such as Aid to Dependent Children in the United States, is the compatibility of women's earning opportunities with child care. The ability of market work to adjust to the cycles of child bearing, rearing, feeding and weaning has been shown by Gonzalez (1976:162 ff). Market and informal sector work, unlike most wage labor, also allows women to have children with them during their work day. In Negril market, children were always present.

Other pre-conditions for independent female access to income also exist in Jamaica. Women have historically been able to own, inherit, and bequeath land, as well as earn and dispose of their own income.

An important consideration, however, is the relative income earning potential of women compared to men. Recall that ideas about women's activities outside the household and the material responsibilities associated with women's roles limits Negril women's participation in the cottage sector, as described in

Chapter Three above. Is there a similar gender difference in the shops of Negril's market vendors?

Gender Differences in Market Shops

Table 17 shows the kinds of goods sold in Negril's market, and the number of men's shops and women's shops stocking each item. Most vendors rely on a combination of items, predominantly straw goods, carvings, and flour sack clothing for women, and carvings, tortoise shell and/or coral jewelry and straw items for men. Men's shops show a greater variety of uncommon items than do women's-half of the men's shops stock goods falling into the category "other," while only about one third of the women's shops stock such goods.

Table 18 classifies the shops according to the items that predominate in the shops' stock. This classification was not achieved by counting items, but by my impressions, confirmed by the vendors' own statements. In most cases, the predominant items obviously constituted most of the stock and a clear pattern of men's shops and women's shops emerged.

While most women stock some carvings, straw goods and flour sack clothing are the main items in thirty-nine of the forty-nine female owned shops. The comparable craft combination for men was wood carvings along with jewelry of black and brown coral or tortoise shell. (Some straw items were also offered by four of the men's shops.)

While the men's stock is more expensive-for example the prices of the least expensive carvings (about J$20-25 during the time of my fieldwork) are roughly equivalent to the most expensive straw and flour sack items-this does not imply that men automatically make more money. The lower price of the straw and flour sack items that women sell can be compensated for by a higher number of sales and by their lower wholesale cost. What makes this unlikely for the individual woman vendor, however, is the redundance of the goods sold by women. There are, for example, forty-seven shops selling straw; forty-three of these are run by women. While there are thirty six shops selling carving, the actual number of carvings being sold is much smaller than the number of straw products, and only five shops sell the more expensive coral and tortoise shell jewelry. Thus, for the great majority of women vendors, the items they are selling are the most common in the market. This would not be a problem if customers were plentiful, but lack of buyers relative to the competition from both within and outside the market ranked highest on the vendors' list of grievances.

This raises the question of why women sell what they do. Although I do not have systematic data on other craft markets in Jamaica, it is my impression that the division of goods along gender lines in Negril is not unique. Harrison notes that gender distinctions in the informal sector in Kingston parallel the sexual division of labor in Jamaica, so that women are most frequently associated with domestic products and services. Similarly, one could argue that gender distinctions in the selling of crafts extend somewhat to the crafts themselves. I have heard of possibly one or two men making flour sack clothing, but it is clearly something done, for the most part, by women. Men do work as tailors in Jamaica, so sewing is not exclusively a female preserve, but where flour sack is concerned women are the ones who design, cut and sew the garments, as well as prepare the flour bags for use. It may be that the laborious tasks of beating, scrubbing and bleaching the bags are seen as related to the female task of laundry. While it is not the case that all men in Jamaica scorn washing clothes, it is generally true that a man living with a woman expects her to do this work.

Carving of both wood and coral, as well as fashioning and shaping the heated coral and tortoise shell into bracelets, rings, etc. may be more associated with men because of the kinds of tools involved. In fact, one coral carver was able to use tools from his days as an auto mechanic in his new skill. There was one young woman who did carve coral in the Negril market, and who together with her boyfriend had a shop. When I asked if she had ever seen another woman carver she said no, and that this was because women would be afraid of using the knives necessary for carving wood or coral. Having been heartened by the sight of women deftly wielding machetes and skillfully using large knives in food preparation, I wondered about this, but it supports the connection between gender and tool use.

In the case of the straw products, both men and women make baskets and other items of various weaves. Here the association with women may be related to use. Women certainly use straw baskets and purses more often, and some of the other items are household goods that might be considered more the concern of women, for example, placemats, coasters, bread baskets.

The distinctions in making, buying and selling various craft items may also relate to the gender divisions that exist in the obtaining and/or marketing of the raw materials involved (see Appendix 3 for details on places of supply). Diving for coral is a male task; it is hard and dangerous work and involves cutting the hard thick growth at a depth of about fifty feet or more below the sea's surface. Men are much more likely to swim and to have and operate boats than are women. Flour bags are sold wholesale mainly by women who come to the Negril market from Kingston for this purpose. It was also my impression that most of the straw wholesalers who came to Negril market were women.

A more immediate and practical reason for the gender division in goods sold, however, is economic. As one women vendor stated: "Straw moves faster and costs less." This combination is most advantageous to a woman with countless daily expenses; it enables her to earn a more guaranteed, though smaller, amount of money frequently. Stocking mainly straw and flour sack also gives a woman with a limited income more flexibility in building up stock and lower replacement costs. She can choose to buy a few two dollar items that together don't equal the cost of a carving, for example. Especially interesting in this regard is the fact that the shops owned by two women partners all fall into the straw and flour sack combination, while none of those in which women are partners with men do so.

Men not only sell less redundant items, their shops are also less exclusively directed at tourists. Table 19 reveals that fully half of the men's shops cater to either tourists or the local populations (not necessarily Negrillians, but those who come to Negril to sell, work or look for work). Only nine of the forty-nine shops owned by women can be classified in this way.

Gender Differences in Market Income

Before discussing the gender differences in estimates of weekly profits in season, it is important to recognize the difficulty of obtaining figures on income and the limitations on the reliability of those included here. Problems in obtaining figures of this sort from the vendors are discussed at length at the end of this chapter [1] and include:

1) a general reluctance on the part of the vendors to discuss income, an attitude encountered by others researching higglers in Jamaica;

2) the political sensitivity of the fieldwork period;

3) the financial delicacy of relationships between vendors and wholesalers, vendors and customers, and vendors and each other;

4) the practice of raising and lowering prices

according to customer demand as well as the vendors' immediate cash needs;

5) the marked lack of tourists during the 1980-81 season, when interviews and observations were conducted in the market;[2]

6) the tendency to not separate cash flow into profits, costs, household expenses, etc.

The difficulty vendors had in estimating profits was compounded by trouble with the idea of an "average" in season week. When analyzing the data on this question, I discovered that I had to make three categories for the answers, one for a figure that was said to represent the "best" or the "brightest" week, one for those who gave one response and whom I assumed were responding to the word "average" as I explained it (as not the brightest and not the poorest week), and still another for those who expressed a low figure, as well as an average and a high one. For example, if someone said, "it could be $30, or sometimes $50, or even $100," the three figures would be classified as low, average and high respectively. (Because many vendors did not give a figure at all, the number who did respond is given in each category).

With all of these qualifications in mind, Table 20 provides averages by gender of weekly in season estimates of profit. It is important to realize that the tourist season is officially only five months long, so that the amounts here have to be considered in light of seven months of very low market income, or perhaps none at all. However, even if we divide the average figures given ($J135.53 for women and $J178.50 for men) by two, thus splitting income roughly between in-season and off-season weeks, we can see that the figures are still considerably higher than the national averages of $J41.06 for women and $J49.51 for men. In fairness to the vendors, it should be stated that these figures were based on a "brighter" season than the 80-81 one, and probably also represented a time of less competition from other vendors all over Negril. Still, they can be said to support the claim that own account workers stand a chance of making more than most unskilled and semi-skilled wage workers, at least some of the time. (Own account workers are those who work for themselves).

In Table 20, we see that the men's average and high figures are greater than women's by fully $50 a week, if we take the second of the estimates listed. Although the low figure for women is higher than that for men, only one man gave a low figure at all; this in itself may indicate a lower frequency of such small incomes in-season among men.

The scantiness of the data for some of the kinds of shops makes generalizations about the averages in Table 21 difficult, but the figures available do support the claim that cook shops do better than craft shops, and that men generally do better than women. Where there is a basis for comparison at all, the figures for men's shops are higher than women's. It is interesting, though, that the smallest difference is the one between the average figures for craft shops; here the men's figure is only about four dollars higher than the women's. This suggests that the higher proportion of cook shops, and possibly others not aimed exclusively at tourists, among the male owned shops is more significant for income than the gender distinction in craft items sold.

The profileration of cook shops at the present market site is related to both a realization by the vendors of the need for diversification and the entry of cook shops previously illegally located elsewhere in Negril. That there might be a difference in scale of operation between male and female run cook shops is suggested by the fact that two of the five men's cook shops have electricity and both have blenders. Only one of the four women's cook shops had current at the time of my research, and none had blenders. Moreover, one of the male cook shops expanded considerably during the move from the old site to the new one, and boasted outdoor tables, an attractive, newly painted exterior and a prominent, professional looking sign. Its owner not only gave the highest estimate of weekly profits, but his highest figures were more than triple those of any other vendor. These data suggest a difference not only in the proportion of cook shops to craft shops between men and women, but also in hours of operation, ability to attract customers, variety of drinks offered and income generated.

Market Income in Relation to Households: Some Gender Differences

Although most vendors did give me some estimate of weekly profits, several were unable to do so, and I believe their reasoning reveals important problems in assessing this kind of data. As one vendor put it:

> Let me tell you how we higglers do it. If we sell $15 today--we got to put it back. We have to buy out and can't put it down.

Another said:

> I really don't check it like that. I sell and if I want anything I buy.

A third echoed the same sentiments:

> As you sell something, you have to be looking a few straw and a few flour sack to help yourself.

Other remarks by women vendors in particular indicated that estimating shop profits was difficult not only because business expenses were so constant, but also because shop income might be spent immediately on household necessities, like food. Profit seemed to be identified in the minds of some women with what was left over after there was both enough stock in the shop and enough food in the house. (Because of the number of vendors who had trouble wth this question, Appendix 5 gives additional information on the answers given).

The hazy boundary between shop and home which this attitude indicates recalls the gender specific restriction on mobility described in Chapter Three. If women's work activities and earnings are more closely tied to household responsibilities than men's, this may mean that women make decisions about time and money differently than do men, and that they must be more mindful of others in making these decisions. If women, because of a disproportionate contribution in both time and money to child care and household responsibilities are able to invest less in their shops, this accounts for their cheaper stock and their lower proportion of investment in cookshops and specialty shops. Such a link between gender specific relationships to households and performance in the informal sector is corroborated by Nelson, who says that among petty traders in Nairobi:

> Most women with children spend more of their income on essentials and school fees than men in the same economic bracket. Men see the future in terms of building the business--women in . . .children (298).

How does the inequality structured into women's income earning activities square causally with their greater responsibility for households? Recall that Blumberg's analysis considers male and female income from all sources, and that extra-household and consanguineal kin networks figure importantly in both the tasks and financing of female headed households, as well as in definitions of household and family in the West Indies. Given that wage employment for women is scarcer than that for men and more concentrated into poorly paying job categories and that informal labor also seems marked by gender inequality, women could scarcely fulfill their obligations toward children without some assistance from kin and "baby fathers".

But how much women rely on kin and network members or baby fathers is a question without a precise answer. If we underestimate this reliance, we miss key dynamics of gender relations, family life and household operation; if we overestimate such support, we run the risk of shifting onto kin networks the burden of compensation for color, class and gender inequality.

More research on networks of women in Jamaica is clearly needed, and Powell has done groundbreaking work in this area by providing a model for analysis of Caribbean womens' multi-faceted ties to others (1982). Gussler's work on women's networks in St. Kitts points to an important difference among these according to womens' ages:

> The contrast between the rudimentary networks of teenage mothers, who are transitional between childhood and adulthood, and those fully developed networks of older women is generally impressive (1980: 204).

The fact that a woman is only beginning to build her network at precisely the time when she is least likely to have the support of her baby's father is significant. It has been assumed that the pattern of relying on kin accounts for the survival of young women in this situation. But as Whitehead reminds us from elsewhere in Jamaica:

> Although kinsmen (sic) do aid relatives, it would be misleading to assume it is always enthusiastic. In many cases, the individual needing assistance subjects herself to seemingly incessant lectures on her morality, intelligence and worth, as well as the constant reminder that she is obligated to the kinsmen giving assistance . . . .(1977:144).

For Negril's market women, a greater reliance on the contributions of others to their households than is the case for men is evident.Although information on household income would have been as difficult to obtain as precise figures on market income, and even harder to justify in relation to my work on Negril's development, I did collect lists of sources of household income from each vendor. Table 22 lists these and the number of men and women who said they relied on each source. Together, the categories of wages, remittances and occasional contributions of others accounts for thirty of the women's responses as opposed to only two of the men's.

Table 23 compares the number of sources of income in the household by gender. It appears that women's households tend to have more sources of income; roughly half of the women fall into the three and four source categories combined, while only one third of the men's households are included in these groups. The proportions are roughly reversed for one and two sources, with half of the male vendors' households having either one or two sources and a little more than one third of the women's included in the first two categories.

Although their market shops provided the most significant income source for the majority of both men and women, there are important gender differences in the relationship of household support to market income. Again, we see a tendency for women to rely more on the contributions of others; according to Table 24, 26.6% of women rely on others' income in the off-season while none of the men do. In contrast, only 20.4% of women said they could rely on another of their own sources of income, while more than twice this percentage (44.4%) of men indicated some form of self support other than the market.

Only 8.16% of women said their income did not vary greatly with the season, while 33.3% of men said this. Thus, despite the fact that income from the market may be a woman's most important and only self-generated earnings, this income is more than three times as likely as a male vendor's to fluctuate seasonally.

These data point out that, despite greater reliance than men on necessary assistance from others, the vast majority of women tend to rely primarily on themselves, while earning less and having more household responsibilities than men.

Data on assistance in the market shops both documents the advantages of women's heavier involvement in matrifocal kin networks and at the same time supports the claim that men's shops are more prosperous than women's. As Table 25 indicates, seven of the eighteen men's shops have paid employees, while only four of the forty-nine women's shops have this kind of help. Women are more likely to rely on the unpaid assistance of kin, particularly daughters. (Gonzalez has described the pattern of initiating daughters into market work among Jamaican higglers.) As Table 25 indicates, the seven male shops with paid help had eleven employees in total, while the four female shops had five assistants, two of whom were female kin (Tables 26a and 26b).

Women's greater reliance on matrifocal kin ties, as discussed in Chapter One, can be limiting as well as supportive. As Harrison has pointed out, men's access to a wider variety of ties,through male peer groups, may be a factor in their more lucrative involvement in the informal sector.

If the women in the Negril market need more familial and network support than men, there is evidence that they are also heavily obliged to both older and younger kin. Each vendor was asked the number and relationship of any partly or fully supported dependents outside the household. That 50% of male vendors' households, 46.9% of female vendors' households and two of the three pair households claimed outside dependents indicates the importance of considering these obligations for questions of household structure and support in Jamaica. Categories of kin supported by the vendors include aged parents, grown children out of work and handicapped relatives:

> My fifth child lives by himself. He is sick with his brain and I have to mind him. Sometime he will go on normal like you and me here talking, and sometimes he is mad. I have to take him for treatment at Sav. He is ambitious and tries to work, but I am response for him. He's sick and can't really do anything.
> (female vendor)
>
> My sister died the other day of a burst appendix and left four children. So I have to help them. One just pass the exam for Cornwall College. I can't have them stop because their mother died. Education must go on.
> (female vendor)

Thus, although women are far more likely than men to rely on contributions from others to their household, they are also very likely to contribute to the support of others. What this reciprocity means for women's households and their work at different stages of the life cycle remains to be explored. That researchers from Clarke (1957) to Massiah (1982) have emphasized the relative poverty of these households, especially in urban situations, cautions us against an overly optimistic assessment of network contributions to such families. Moreover, reliance on consanguineal ties or extra-familial networks does not alter the unequal relations of men and women within these groups, nor should it mask the fact that, with regard to household and child maintenance, female family and network members seem to bear the greater responsibility.

The Dynamics of Gender: An Analysis

If we assume that a combination of her own earnings and contributions from kin and baby fathers enable a female household head to at least minimally support her children, then the Negril market women and others like them in Jamaica fit Blumberg's model of a population in which female headed households will exist in high numbers. But the unstated assumption in Blumberg's reasoning, and the ideology of gender which it masks, is that given the possibility that women and children can manage to live by themselves, they will.

Why should this be the case, especially when the addition of a male to the household makes that household more solvent? Mother-child households are acknowledged as the poorest of families the world over, and Massiah documents the educational and occupational disparities between men and women who head households in the Caribbean (1982:62;70-77). In Jamaica:

> Not only do intact male headed units show higher income and educational levels, but they also exhibit more cases of home ownership, more space in the home, more meals per day and more nutritional menus (Whitehead, 1976: 142-143).

To answer the question posed above, we must examine the structural consequences of the ideology of gender. Beliefs about power relationships within the household, gender-appropriate movement and activity outside the household, and different or highly variable responsibilities for housework and child care which are assigned on the basis of gender color the responses of men and women to their particular economic situation and affect the ways raising children can be structured within their set of circumstances.

The roles of men and women in different kinds of households illustrate the differing responsibilities of women and men for child care and domestic work. If a man is not earning enough for a woman to do exclusively domestic work in her own household, and if he himself does not contribute much to doing but adds to the amount of laundry, cooking, and cleaning, he increases the work load of a woman already burdened by a double day. In contrast, Bolles documents that domestic chores in female headed households are shared by adult females and children, while in male headed households, domestic work is organized on a patriarchal basis. Thus she found that women in the latter had more responsibility for housework than women in the former (1981b:173-174). The fact that men do not share housework as readily as women should not be interpreted as their fault only; the socialization of both boys and girls by women themselves perpetuates this gender disparity (Bennet Justus, 1982; Hodge, 1977).

Added to the additional labor a woman does in a male headed household is the increased possibility that she will become pregnant if she lives with a man. Powell has shown that fertility levels of women in

Jamaica are positively related to co-residence with a man (1976:24). In today's economic context, pregnancy is more financially draining than in the past when the possibility of male support was more likely (Bolles, 1979: 23). A woman vendor from Negril graphically illustrates these current realities in the context of her own childbearing history:

> I had 11 children, 10 are living. Eight live with me still and one grandchild of school age. The father of that child went to the United States and he is not sending anything to mind the child. The father of all my children except the last one is not living with me and not supporting them.

Even if a man does have a job and earns enough to support a household without an income from the woman he lives with, she may face a choice of either less control over how income is spent or working both in and outside the home to ensure a certain amount of decison making power. As Brown points out, the factor of authority and control makes a nuclear family pattern precarious for poor women in the Dominican Republic:

> Not only can a married man use his own money as he sees fit, but also he has access to the wife's resources (1975:329).

In Jamaica, women have historically controlled their own income, yet the market woman quoted by

Durant-Gonzalez in Chapter Four implies that women feel the need for their own incomes in part to equalize their household decision making power.

If households with limited incomes are to be sustained, women's decision-making power may be particularly important. There is evidence from elsewhere that men, because of a lesser identification with home and children, spend money differently than women do. For example, Nash points out how historically and culturally conditioned gender differences in responsibility for households result in different spending patterns of men and women and notes that men in Chiapas tended to spend cash less on household and family needs and more on liquor and radios (1977:173).Durant-Gonzalez states that one of the implications of women's greater identification with the yard in Jamaica is that women away from the household are expected to be on purposive errands or business important to household welfare, and are not usually found loitering, especially in rum shops and bars (1976: 175-176). The importance of the rum shop to men in the Caribbean as a social center is noted by Wilson (1973), who, in his alignment of women with conservative, colonial values, neglects to add that the time and money which men spend there must necessarily be used by women to attend to family needs. Bolles found that even in 63% of her sample households with resident males, women workers were responsible for food, clothing, furniture, medical care, insurance, children's education, recreation, transportation, and gifts, while payment of rent and utilites alone sanctioned the right of residence for men.

Given the above liabilities associated with resident men, the wishes of women in Jamaica with regard to marriage or co-residence with men are, and are reported as, contradictory. Some researchers have claimed that women desire Christian and legal marriage (Blake, 1961:111ff), while others assert that a variety of household arrangements have cultural sanction in Jamaica and elsewhere in the Caribbean (Simey, 1946; Smith, 1956; Henriques, 1953). Marriage offers a woman Church approval and the legal right to support for herself and the children born to her and her husband. While children born out of wedlock in Jamaica now have an equivalent right to contributions from fathers, their mothers are not entitled to support (Jackson, 1982: 30-31). Nevertheless, Jamaican women are often ambivalent about marriage, as the following remark indicates:

> I have friends who are married and are not as happy as me (quoted in Massiah, 1982: 80).

However they may feel about marriage, Jamaican women are not ambivalent about their expectations of and rights to support from the fathers of their children. Jackson reports that non-support of children by their fathers is the major concern of Jamaican women who seek help from family court, and accounted for the stated problem in 70% of the 444 cases which she surveyed. If anything belies the notion that West Indian women are satisfied with their ability to singlehandedly support families on their own inadequate earnings, it is the continued efforts of such women to ensure male support by having children, despite the repeated failure of this strategy. For example, a Negril vendor said of the circumstances that led her to have her eleventh child:

> I was helping myself to look for food by starting to see another man and instead of food I get a little boy.

In her disappointment, this vendor is not alone. Massiah reports that in her study of 38 female household heads in the Caribbean, there were 76 fathers responsible for the 169 children dependent on these women. Of these fathers, 20 provided support only as they were able, 26 offered no support at all, 14 had migrated, 9 were deceased and six were ill (1982: 94). Indeed, the pattern emerging in studies of Jamaican female headed households which focus on women is similar to that found for the Negril vendors. Such households seem to primarily depend on one female wage earner, with only sporadic support, if any at all, from others (Bolles, 1981: 187-188; Massiah, 1982: 80).

Not only women express the right of mothers to financial support from their baby fathers. Whitehead's work among Jamaican men indicates that men associate sexual relationships with such support, saying that women take a man's money at the same time as they take his strength (sperm), and that both children and money serve as symbols of virility (1978: 19-21).

The importance of cash as a marker of masculine status begins early, according to Ennew and Young, and with very serious consequences for the street boys whom they studied:

> The importance of immediate cash income . . .becomes an early and stultifying influence on the child's view of himself and his life. They may start with higglering or vending, but, if the rewards are too small, they may turn to gambling or stealing . . . .Juvenile

> offenders who come before family court are mostly boys. Money is the most central and most accessible means they have of making sense of the world (1981:49, 54).

While paternity and money are both related to social status among men and dominance over women, men are conscious of the threat which too many children pose to the provider role (Whitehead, 1976; 1978:24). Hence, a man who cannot support his household lives in fear of being cuckolded, as a woman is justified in seeking support (and sex) elsewhere. Brana-Shute also reports, from Paramaribo, the right of a woman to leave a man in poor financial standing (1979: 59).

In her review of family court cases, Jackson found that:

> The most frequent reason given by women with respect to the problem of non-support is that after the union breaks down, support for the child or children concerned becomes unreliable or non-existent. This problem holds even with legal unions. According to the women, men tried to link sex with support and, as one expresses it "no sex, no support" (1982: 40).

If we consider just two implications of gender inequality, namely women's disproportionate responsibility for children and the early age at which it is assumed, the real and symbolic connnection between love and money is clear. Mothers try to impress upon daughters the consequences of relationships with men, and it is understandable that women require immediate or simultaneous demonstration of at least some financial ability along with any declaration of affection. The logic of this is recognized by men as well, whether or not they agree with or like the association. The explicit association of love/sex with money/material goods made by both men and women reflects the realities of Caribbean economic exploitation for both.

Interesting insight into class and gender is gleaned when one considers this association from different points of view. As Whitehead reports, middle and upper class Jamaican men are more able to fulfill expectations of support from wives and lovers, so their lack of sexual fidelity is condoned. Poor men, however, suffer insecurity about their relationships, since their own beliefs justify infidelity on the part of women with whom they are involved. In this scenario, however, both poor and better off women are expected to accept the infidelity of the financially able man, while they remain faithful to him. Poor women involved with poor men may have cultural approval to seek support and sex elsewhere, but they also have to bear responsibility for the children of each man who dissappoints them. Children are a likely possibility in such cases as both men and women see them as crucial to binding a relationship.

It is clear that what poor men and women offer each other in Jamaica, in the face of all that each needs and is denied by the larger social system, is limited--limited by the resources, oppression and constraints of each gender. But who else is offering poor men and women anything at all? Because of both the enormity of their needs and the limits of their options, the expectations which poor men and women have of each other are uncontrollably great and inevitably unfulfilled.

Bennett Justus tells us that both men and women in Jamaica learn contradictory ideal sex roles that they cannot fulfill (1982: 511). Girls are raised with the cultural expectation that women should bear and rear children and in this view, bearing and rearing mean providing for (Gonzalez, 1982: 1,4). This stipulation results in the management of scarce resources by women, and it is in this realm of "making do" that they exercise autonomy. Because of the paucity of the circumstances in which they do this, McKenzie dubs women "rulers in the realm of tribulation." While women may achieve status in the household domain in this way, they also actively seek male sexual, emotional and financial support. It is with reference to the latter domain of involvement with men that women appear to be weakest (McKenzie, 1982:viii).

This weak position in relation to men is established by late adolescence. Young girls who, in order to achieve adult status in the only way open to them, become pregnant find themselves shouldered with responsibilities and cut off from opportunities to finish their schooling. Thus, females are victimized by conformity to cultural expectations that reward them on the one hand and punish them on the other (Gonzalez, 1982: 18).

The life cycle view of household structure in the Caribbean, in which unions pass through a visiting and then a co-residential phase before culminating in a legal marriage may afford some relief to moralists whose main concern is that everyone eventually marry in Church. For young Jamaican women, however, it means they are left with the least support during the time when they need it most. A young women who has her first child in her teens may have the advantage of remaining in her mother's home, but her mobility and her education are severely curtailed. Moreover, as she continues to have sexual relationships with men and bears additional children, she will be strongly encouraged to set up her own household. If she does this by herself, she will be hard pressed to support herself and her children and fulfill her domestic responsibilities.

> Her only recourse may be to seek another partner who might be willing to support her but who will also give her more children (McKenzie, 1977: x).

For a young man, in contrast, fathering a child awards proof of virility but doesn't mean that the concomittant responsibility will be accepted (Bolles, 1981b:51). The fact that male vendors in Negril are almost twice as likely as women are to have their children living outside of their households suggests that men have more options about how, when and to what extent they participate in child rearing. This is supported by Sutton and Barrow's analysis of conjugal relations and domestic groups in Barbados:

> Most variable is the role a biological father plays in relation to his own children, which ranges from no contact and no support to extensive economic support and an affectionate and enduring relationship (1981: 484).

Men who feel they cannot fulfill the role of provider create another male role and identity, centered around male peer groups and extra-domestic social settings (Whitehead, 1977; 1978; Wilson, 1973).

Although some researchers see equality between the sexes in Caribbean societies with high proportions of female headed households (Sutton, 1981: 496), others disagree. Wilson and Henry, for example, challenge Henriques' assertion that Caribbean unions are characterized by equality:

> If women in such unions are not under the thumb of the patriarch, they are in a very unstable and insecure position in which support may be withdrawn at any time (170).

As Whitehead states, women appear to be powerful domestic figures by default, rather than design. This doesn't mean that individual women don't say that they value their independence and would rather be a household head receiving support from a man than be married (see, for example, Massiah, p.86). Nor does it mean that men always choose to leave women in such circumstances or to withdraw support from them. Rather, both men and women make choices within such an impoverished context that default is a better word than choice. One thinks of the concept of choice in this situation simultaneously as "no choice:"

> A lot of women in Jamaica call ours a matriarchal society with pride and then go on to say that women have always been liberated in Jamaica, anyway--it's just that nobody ever knew. Well, I think we're a matriarchal society to the extent that women head households, but they've been forced to do so. You must remember that one of the problems we have in Jamaica is that of irresponsible fatherhood. I sympathize with the fathers and know that its because of both economic and other problems that they tend to run away. But the fact is that our women have had no choice but to head those households. They have had no choice but to be both mother and father at the same time--going out to earn the bread and coming back home. Beverly Manley, quoted in Gillespie, 1979: 136).

Women are where the buck stops where children are concerned. This does not mean that men contribute nothing to households where they have children or, for that matter, to their own mother's household; it means that they have more of a choice about when and how much to contribute than women do. This choice applies not only to money, but to time invested in child care and maintenance of the household necessary to that care. Ultimately, the so-called matriarchal, matrifocal, or mother child household is a household where the man, despite and because of his own oppression and exploitation, can default on his share of responsibility. What this means in the life of a woman is that she has more responsibilities sooner and more constraints on what she can do to meet those responsibilities. Teenage pregnancies are responsible for nearly one-third of births in Jamaica and are rising. Yet:

> We must remember that in 1978, 70% of women between the ages 17-24 . . .were unemployed. Many of us wonder how do these nearly 200,000 unemployed women find money to buy milk, flour, cornmeal, mackeral-the necessities of life. And even women who are employed, getting $40.00 per week with three children, how does this stretch to buy food, pay school fee, bus fare, buy school shoes, plus pay rent? Remember one pair of school shoes sells for over $30.00-nearly one week's pay! (National Preparatory Committee, International Women's Day, 1981).

The nature of hierarchic oppression is such that those at the bottom of the class, color and gender hierarchy are left with the least options of all, and have no one to whom they can pass the buck of household responsibility. While both men and women may despair over no food on the table and no money for school fees, it is the mother who has to "find" food and cash. While both men and women may see no way out of the mire of color and class oppression, it is women who daily must find "a way out of no way (June Jordan)." One vendor's story exemplifies such women:

> I live with my eight children and one grandchild in two rooms on the Whitehall property (government land on which some

> squatters have built homes). The children's father turn Rasta and they send him to jail for gun and ganja. It's some years now. Some of my bigger children have tried to get jobs but they can't . . . .The children look after themselves while I'm in the shop. They can cook and wash. The oldest one, she turn Rasta. Is the man she put herself with. I fret over her til I don't eat and stop coming to the shop one time. . . .Sometimes I just worry worry. Yesterday I was considering so much I had a headache the whole day. Sometimes I go to the food market with a little money to buy food for all those children. A' it me a show you. Me cyan survive. I try never to go to bed without dinner. Before I do so, I get a coconut and corn meal and turn it for myself.

Conclusion

Recent work which focuses squarely on Caribbean women has sobering conclusions about their status:

> . . .our readings convinced us that Caribbean women . . .play a subservient role to men particularly in economic and social areas; that a double standard of sexuality exists; and that women are frequently forced to hide their potential talents and abilities (Wilson and Henry, 1975:165).

> . . .we can say that, at present, women have not acquired to any significant degree economic and social power and authority (Jackson, 1982: 55).

Does the foregoing discussion of gender ideology mean that the West African tradition to which Caribbean men and women are heir provides a more fertile base for women's inequality in the modern global context than other belief systems? To answer this question, we need look no further than our own backyard: white middle class women in the United States represent one of the populations in which an increase in female headed households has been detected. Although they do not share the position of Jamaican women in the global economy, they have nonetheless experienced a relative narrowing of the income gap between themselves and men of their class as well as an increased likelihood of finding themselves in the work force (Pearce, 1983). Bereft of a history of reliance on extended kin and having only recently begun to "network," such women have learned a lesson Carribean women have known for generations: the exhausting meaning of the "double day."

Encompassing the traditions of both Caribbean and Western women is a wider ideology of gender, which holds that women are ultimately responsible for rearing children, whether or not this includes working to support them financially. This ideology lays the base for greater exploitation of women when it occurs in a capitalist context. It is under capitalism that "the individual, regardless of sex, becomes the unit of accumulation" (Blumberg, 1978:529), and female individuals are seen as inextricably connected to children. Thus, where women earn income as individuals they will be called upon to support children in the absence of male willingness or ability to do so.

The world wide growth of the informal sector heralds a stage of capitalist development in which great numbers of men and women become not so much surplus labor or a reserve army *vis-a-vis* the employed, but surplus *people* and a political reserve army in the sense that their very survival demands radical change. In such populations, the jobs associated with reproduction of the next generation have become so problematic that increasingly only those with no choice, namely women, are left to manage them. It is for these women that the contradictions between propping up the beneficiaries of an unjust global economy and providing for the needs of populations suffering from IMF austerity programs become most painful. Women in the informal sector, in Negril and throughout the world, must grapple daily with the force of these contradictions. The embattled existence of each of these entrepenuers and mothers should inspire us to create conditions in which they answer with their lives the question asked by poet June Jordan: What do you think would be her surprise if the world was as willing as she's able?

Notes

[1] Although the vendors were very willing to discuss their lives and their market career histories, prices were not a comfortable subject. It is somewhat reassuring to know that others have had the same problems. Gonzalez has this to say about getting income information from her higgler informants in Jamaica:

> Higglers refused to discuss how much money they earned. I respected their privacy and did not pursue the topic . . . .(208).

Katzin also discusses the difficulty of getting information on costs and profits:

> To many higglers, a stranger in the market asking questions and recording information about expenses, costs, turnover and earnings could only be gathering material for the government to utilize in some way to their disadvantage.

She adds that such suspicions were fueled by political considerations (1971: 380).

> Both the reluctance of most people anywhere to discuss earnings with other than known and trusted persons and the special situation in the Negril market kept me from asking about income in much detail. I felt grateful for the information the vendors did give me, and I felt strongly about not prying into matters they did not care to discuss. By the time I began my interviews in the market, I was well aware of the touchiness of financial subjects. Also, the more I learned about the variability in prices from observation and the experiences of myself and others, the harder it was to think of meaningful questions. I knew, for example, that if a woman had not made a sale in a few days, she might sell something at cost or below just to earn her bus fare. It was also not uncommon to give a customer an inexpensive item for free if he or she purchased something, in the hopes that the customer's fears of being cheated would be alleviated, thus resulting in recommendations of the vendor to other tourists. There was also a fair amount of

> trading for goods which tourists had but which were difficult to obtain or very expensive in Jamaica, such as sneakers, for example. Some vendors frowned on this practice, however, and were insulted by suggestions of bartering for used things.

Because of the variability in prices accepted for the same item, it was difficult to estimate average profits on a per item basis. Furthermore, vendors and wholesalers agree never to discuss prices in front of tourists, and one vendor even felt strongly that flour bags should not be dusted and washed in the market because tourists might get the idea of buying bags and taking them home to sew. I respected the arrangement between wholesalers and vendors and was careful not to discuss prices with wholesalers. I did get some figures on cost of raw materials, such as coral, tortoise shell, flour bags and thatch, but craftsperspns with whom I spoke could not estimate labor time because of the unstructured ways in which they worked. Even if I did have wholesale cost figures, and even if prices were constant, number of sales would still be difficult to ascertain, and would vary a great deal not only seasonally but from shop to shop according to size of stock and other factors. Some shops were plentifully stocked, while others had very few things displayed.

The high degree of competition in the market caused a great deal of quarreling, and in discussing market problems, some indicated fear of envy over their success, while other expressed the feeling that vendors who made a good sale should encourage customers to look around in the shops of the others so that everyone could earn "likkle somet'ing." Vendors were thus wary not only of outsiders knowing about their income but also of other vendors hearing too many details about their business.

Underscoring all of these complications was the extreme political sensitivity of the time during which I was working. I would not consider attempting to sit down in the market and record transactions; indeed, I made a point of looking the other way if a customer came into the shop during an interview. When the market was illegally located and the vendors uncertain of their status, doing the interviews would have been near impossible. At the new approved site, people were less wary but were also thinking about their overdue shop rent and not wanting evidence that could pinpoint their income. In fact, I sat in the market many days and saw not a single sale in a whole row of shops, or only a few of very small items sold at low prices. Things were so bad during the months of my interviews that my original question of average earnings in and out of season had to be re-worded to indicate last tourist season, or the last good one the vendor could recall. When asked about out of season earnings, vendors would just indicate that I should look around and see how slow things were. On many days, the only shops that appeared busy at all were the cook shops.

[2] The National Planning Agency reports that the November 1980-April 1981 tourist season was characterized by a 20% decline in number of arrivals. By May, however, the industry appeared to be reviving.

[3] When asked how they manage in the off-season, seven of the nine cook shops, one each of the beer and soda shops and the hardware store said they did not experience much fluctuation. This supports the classification of shops according to potential market detailed in Table 19.

You Can't Get Me Out of the Race: Theoretical and Political Implications of Negril's Development

The concern of this dissertation has been to focus on the ways in which the gender, color and class characteristics of individuals and groups shape their participation in economic development. The particular development case analyzed here, that of Negril, represents a contemporary phase of the historical struggle of Afro-Jamaicans to secure a share in the wealth which they produce. The creation of cottage sector tourism in Negril, and the growth of the market at its center, demonstrate that the initiative and determination exercised by the enslaved in Jamaica are very much in evidence today. Like their ancestors, Negrillians and their neighbors make known the presence and power of those whom the hierarchy of class, color and gender seeks to render invisible and weak.

Although the role of local folk in shaping Negril's tourism challenges the conventional distribution of this industry's benefits in important ways, their roles have themselves been shaped by the structured inequality which has historically denied them their share in the rewards of the economy. Recall, for example, that those Negrillians who gained the most in the development process were those who were able to use their land as an economic base for the creation of cottage tourism. They have a clear advantage over those from outside of Negril, who come seeking limited, seasonal wage work or selling drugs, food, and craft items. Within the categories of cottage owners, wage workers and vendors, moreover, women's participation is marked by the same kind of inequality characteristic of their work in other industries, as well as by the necessity of accomodating the demands of housework and child care. Racism is clearly present in transactions in the market, on the beach, and within cottages, as Negrillians and vendors compete for and depend on the dollars of white visitors. Finally, even successful cottage ownership does not by itself insure a place in the class hierarchy accompanied by political clout; the latter is still reserved for those with access to capital and connections which the new and precarious prosperity of Negrillians does not allow.

The above contradictions result in confusion over how to interpret the actions of folk in Negril and the activity of the millions like them who have responded to structural exclusion from wage labor and social services with the creation of an informal economy. It raises again the question which I asked myself when first struck by the visual juxtaposition of luxury villas and squatters stalls in Negril Square: what is the relationship of one kind of development to the other? As I learned more about both the villas and the vendors, I was fascinated by their interconnections and by the contradictions which these suggested. Recall, for example, that the very boards which built one vendor's shop were discards from the construction site of the villas and that this vendor began by selling food to construction workers through an arrangement with their contractor. This suggests a symbiotic relationship between the two. However, at other times this relationship seemed clearly antagonistic; the first reluctant move of the market to its second site along the river, because of the completion of the villas, was one such occasion. What then, does the Negril case tell us about the co-existence of these two kinds of development? How should the relationship between formal, government sanctioned projects and the informal enterprises of those excluded by such development be interpreted?

Theory, The Informal Sector and Class Transformation

While informal sector activity may be interpreted as a political challenge to the state, as in the case of Negril developments which ignore government guidelines or vendors who operate in defiance of government laws, the relationship of the development of the informal sector to class relations is complex and is poorly understood, in Jamaica as elsewhere. Harrison points out that while linkages between the corporate and informal sectors in Jamaica are obscured, informal sector activities are closely connected to formal sector processes and organizations. Although informal sector employment is concerned primarily with distribution rather than production, it aids in the extraction of surplus value by reducing the costs of labor reproduction (Portes, 1978).

These sectors are also linked in the lives of individuals, and in the constitution of households and kin networks. As Harrison states:

> Objective classes and sectoral positions are not mutually exclusive, for actors may occupy more than a single position simultaneously, and they are potentially mobile, able to move the relatively short social and structural distances from quasi-peasant to proletarian to petty entrepenuer. In both objective and cognitive terms, classes within this domain are not crystallized; they are fluid, ambiguous and emergent (1983a: 2;6).

Perhaps because uncertainty characterizes the class designation of the informal sector, literature which interprets the significance of such activity reveals disagreement. Some scholars assert that the informal sector respresents an adaptation to a development process designed and controlled entirely by powerful forces external to this sector. For example, Portes sees the informal sector as providing low cost services which even poorly paid workers can afford, and thus subsidizing the low wages paid by those who own the means of production (1978). Others define the informal sector as entirely marginal, as outside of and distinct from the economic, social and cultural fabric of the rest of society (see Perlman [1976] for a critical analysis of this position). Neither of these perspectives allows for both an understanding of the dynamics of the informal sector as generated by the activity of its participants and as related to the rest of society. Roberts accuses both views of being elitist in their implication that the poor are incapable of exerting influence on the direction of development and thus cannot hope to change their situation (1978).

This theoretical elitism results in part from the ambiguity of the class position of the informal sector, and in part from the contradictions which this ambiguity generates in the everyday operations of the informal sector and in the beliefs of its participants. We seem to lack a language for exploring contradiction as linked to an ongoing process, a race which has not yet been won. Theories demand resolutions, dissertations must have conclusions, and within the conventional limits of these it is difficult to fit together both the reality of domination and the conflict which it engenders in the dominated. If this is a dialectical process, freezing it at a point in the present allows us to see only the victor of the moment. Although the analysis of power done by anthropologists in the last two decades offers a much needed corrective to the neglect of history and political economy by the "child of imperialism", it threatens to obscure the antithesis of the current constellation of power in its shadow. There remains the task of reconciling the circumvention of hegemonic global power, or the mental and material challenges to it which we see in the field, with the reality of its might and the disasters of its exercise.

Austin has attempted such a reconciliation based on her own work in Jamaica. Although she does not deal with the informal sector per se, she documents the creation and support of working class institutions which share with the informal sector an explicit or implicit conflict with the ideology of the national elite. She characterizes the co-existence of such indigenous institutions with the subordination of their members in the class hierarchy as "conflict contained by domination (1983:223)." In doing so, she makes a useful distinction between "culture as practical activity" and the "ideology or interpretation of that culture in the form of beliefs that promote an economic interest more or less powerful:"

> This distinction allows us to acknowledge that subordinate classes do forge their own cultural practices, not simply in response to a material environment but also to provide identity and prestige in a milieu often denigrated by the rest of society. At the same time it is optimistic, even romantic, to suggest that these forms of creative response to a subordinate postion can exist in the majority of cases unaffected by the ideologies of the powerful as propogated in the very institutions in which working class people experience their subordination (229).

Such inter-class institutions include schools, political parties, churches, etc. which penetrate the lives of informal sector paticipants and shape their interpretation of their interests and activities.

Austin's resolution of "the dilemma involved in attempts to describe domination and conflict in tandem" (229) is elegant and her separation of culture and ideology is a useful one. What is still missing is the refinement necessary to capture the contradictions which this distinction engenders in the lives and minds of people. If we are to acknowledge the process by which conflict moves from containment by, to confrontation with, dominant classes, we must leave theoretical room for consciousness which reflects a transition between these positions.

Negrillians and Negril's vendors do accept, in part, the racist, sexist and class-biased beliefs of Jamaica's elite and of their international counterparts. This is evident in the racist assumptions which lead cottage owners to be hostile to their own people, for example. At the same time, these values conflict with the behavior and ideas which foster survival within an economy and a society which reserves its best opportunities for people other than fishermen, market women and subsistence farmers. Thus, Negril's guest houses and market shops present an image of development different from, and in many ways opposed to, the structures recommended by foreign feasibility studies or government guidelines. Such "value divergence", which cultural pluralists describe as existing between segments of a society, exists also _within_ individuals and groups who do the acting and thinking in societies.

Recall the two-tiered conversation of the vendors meetings described in Chapter Four. The formal debate, conducted according to Parliamentary procedure, and the informal debate in patois occured simultaneously and individuals alternately participated in both. Sometimes the informal debate got so loud it became the formal one, thus transforming for the moment the nature of the latter. I saw this double discussion form as parallel to the outlaw actions of vendors which coexisted with their deference to political authority figures. What resulted from this coexistence was neither a revolution nor a clear victory for the hegemony of politicians. Instead, new resolutions of the contradictions between the wishes of the Government and the actions of the vendors were continually generated. For example, while the vendors did come forward to pay their rent at the mention of Seaga's name just after his 1980 election, they also continued to walk the beach, expand their shops, and do domestic chores at the market site during this time. They did these things not so much as a demonstration of "cognitive independence", which Austin chides Mintz for assuming on the part of Caribbean folk (229), but because the material circumstances of their lives did not allow them to keep laws made by those with opposing class interests and still survive. It is this material tension between the aspirations of the poor and working class in Jamaica and the increasingly diminished capacity of the state to satisfy their most basic hopes for a decent life that threatens the hegemony of local and foreign elites.

The notion of hegemony resolves the issue of conflict within domination only for an historically specific moment in the dialectic between different classes and interest groups. If it is possible for new power alignments to transform ideology in order to justify their positions, such transformation must arise from historical circumstances and their perception by the people caught up in them. Austin accuses Mintz of equating culture with class action and ignoring structures of domination (229). Yet, the other extreme of circumscribing all cultural practices of dominated classes with hegemonic ideology leaves us without a source for changing consciousness.

If the cultural forms created by informal sector participants are circumscribed by webs of hegemonic relations extending back to those described by theories of global capitalist development, they may also be seen as seeds, as parts of the potential which this new organization of work has for seeking improvement and revolution in its conditions. For example, Caulfield suggests that the survival strategies of households, such as social networks within which goods and services are exchanged, participation in informal labor, and subsistence farming, represent "important alternative ways of organizing production and reproduction." While she recognizes that these activities reduce the cost of labor in the periphery, she also sees them as counteracting the tendency of capitalist industrial development to reduce people to individual units of wage labor. She cautions:

> We must avoid seeing people who exist under conditions of oppression simply as victims. Sufferers everywhere don't simply suffer; they fight back (85)

As Leacock states:

> Determination is not a one-way process, . . . but dialectical . . . .For the three active

> determining factors in history . . .are the 'forces of production, the state of society and consciousness' and these 'can and must come into contradiction with one another.' (Marx and Engles, quoted in Leacock, 1985:80).

Between the romantic misreading of cultural practices of oppressed peoples as revolutionary and the theoretical circumscription of such activity by Western capitalist hegemony, lies enough conceptual space for the contradictions and complexity which anthropologists encounter in the field. Austin asserts that it is "optimistic, even romantic," to believe that responses of exploited groups can be unaffected by the ideologies of the powerful. The Negril case material suggests it is pessimistic, even defeatist, to assume that responses to exclusion from wage labor and government plans don't affect the thinking and behavior of developers and national elites. The potential for class transformation which the varied local response to Negril's development suggests does not rest on revolutionary class consciousness on the part of the people involved. It is, rather, rooted in the material contradiction between development in their self-interest and government plans which allow only for ther removal or their use as a malleable labor supply.

Gender and the Informal Sector

Women's special relationship to the informal sector is characterized not only by the gender discrimination which they experience in this arena, but by a close association with other aspects of informal work. Because they have often been excluded from wage work, women in Jamaica and elsewhere may have a longer tradition of income earning activity outside of the formal arena. Women in many societies are also the coordinators of social services, mobilizing kin and friendship networks in times of need. Moreover, in even the worst economic circumstances, women must struggle to accomplish child care and household maintenance, and this leads to the exploration of the many avenues of enterprise, credit and barter which characterize the precarious economics of the informal sector.

The concentration of women in Negril in smaller cottages, in the market and among walking vendors lends support to the more general association between being female and working in the informal sector:

> . . .a major thesis of the Women in the Caribbean Project . . .is that femaleness acts to ensure that a woman is more likely than a man to find work in the informal sector (Durant-Gonzalez, 1982:11).

> . . .the majority of "casual" jobs in Latin America and the Caribbean in the "informal sector" are held by women (Schmink,1985:2).

Schmink also points out that the quality of informal sector work varies by gender, with women concentrated in dead end activities which afford few possibilities for upward mobility (2). This parallels the gender distinction in the Jamaican informal sector noted in Chapter Four (above) and in the work of Harrison. Association of women with less profitable informal sector activities has also been noted elsewhere (Nelson, 1979).

Thus, while women's high participation rates in the informal sector show their enterprise, ingenuity and desperation, this in itself does not challenge the limiting effects of gender with respect to remuneration for their efforts, nor does it necessarily expand the definitions of gender-appropriate work. Indeed, women tend to be concentrated in informal sector activities which closely approximate their formal sector and household roles.

The elimination of gender distinctions in the informal sector would not only reduce the surplus value generated by the low cost of those informal sector goods and services produced by women, but would also challenge the basis for wage discrimination against women in general. The relegation of women's activities to ones of less range and value is not specific to Jamaica and the Caribbean or to the informal sector, but is a world-wide phenomenon. In a review of a recent publication which assesses gender discrimination in formal sector employment in fifteen countries, Kessler-Harris noted:

> Every country discussed here has some legislation acknowledging the special problems of female workers and declaring opposition to discrimination. Yet in no country are women in the work force not discriminated against. Although the degree of occupational segregation and the jobs to which women are assigned vary from country to country, women are everywhere underrepresented in the most prestigious jobs. Nowhere does the average pay for full-time female workers reach more than 80% of that of male workers. In most industrial countries it hovers around 70% and in the United States it is still only 62% of men's wages, according to the most recent reports of the Bureau of Labor Statistics (1985:12).

Universal gender inequality in both formal and informal employment is justified through the ideological association of women with child care and household responsibilities. Fernandez-Kelly has outlined the advantages which having such special categories of workers affords for capitalist organization of labor:

> The degree of vulnerability upon which high levels of exploitation are predicated would dissipate if women were not ousted from the majority of remunerated activities and if their participation in wage labor were legitimized through ideological mechanisms. Capitalism benefits from the exceptional. As long as women's role as wage earners may be viewed as the exception rather than the rule (even in situations where large numbers of women work outside of the home), women will continue to be liable to sexist and discriminatory policies in wages. This is a valid proposition both in highly industrialized countries such as the United States and in peripheral areas . . . .(90).

While the relationship of women to children and households underlies their super-exploitation, it also precludes a narrow identification of their interests with expanded work opportunities outside the home. The corollary of working in other than domestic settings for African women was that such work was an extension of their roles as wives and mothers. This justification of women's work _increases_ household and familial responsibilities of women, especially in the context of capitalist development which undermines the potential contributions of men to households. This occurs in peripheral economies, among groups with a historically disadvantaged postion in the labor market because of color and class, and during times of economic hardship. The North American white middle-class counterpart to this increased role for wives and mothers is the superwoman of the television commercial who boasts:

> I can bring home the bacon, fry it up in the pan, and never let you forget you're a man, cause I'm a woman (Enjoli perfume commercial).

Again, women's role as worker outside the home is used to reinforce, rather than undermine, gender distinctions. The poverty of female headed households is a result of this double whammy: the female household head is expected to accomplish her domestic tasks and work to support her household singlehandedly on earnings which are low precisely because she has such domestic responsibilities.

This will continue to be so, in Jamaica and elsewhere, unless and until some of the responsibility for children and households is shared, with men and with institutions charged and funded for such purposes. Politically, these kinds of changes require an altering of national and international priorities to reflect the concerns of women. Ideologically, they entail a long battle with deep-seated emotions and assumptions about gender, sexuality and work. Personally, they demand commitment to a new division of labor in the every day jobs of laundry, cooking, cleaning and child care. The unrecognized importance of the "politics" of housework and child care create an undercurrent of division between men and women all over the world. These divisions do little to help overcome the enormous economic and political tasks which men and women in all kinds of societies must work at if they seek a better world for their children, and the happiness of loving one another in the context of peace, freedom and economic security.

Conclusion

If the growth of informal sector activity in Negril, in Jamaica and in the world results from new contradictions between the financial needs of capital and the human needs of those excluded by formal economic development, it is for women that these contradictions are sharpest. Women's material needs are tied more tightly to those of the next generation, yet their opportunities for meeting these needs are even more restricted than those of poor men. Women's anger at this predicament can be heard in the yards and markets of Jamaica every day; these tirades of women seem, in their intensity, like the ritual protests described by Nash as "rehearsals" which "keep alive the sentiment of rebellion until a historically appropriate moment" (Nash, quoted in Leacock, 1985:82).

When that historically appropriate moment will be in Jamaica is difficult to say. Despite the fact that in 1982, the country was the third largest per capita recipient of U.S. aid, the Seaga government's revival of industrialization by invitation has not generated the economic takeoff promised in his 1980 election campaign (Resource Center, 1984: 27,34). Glaring economic differences between the investment climates of the sixties and the eighties preclude even the limited success which this strategy claimed in the past. The absence of substantial new capital inflows from U.S. private investors and the heavy indebtedness of Jamaica's economy are two of the reasons for its current failure. In fact, Girvan reports that in 1985, Jamaica's debt servicing alone will require more than the total amount of foreign exchange available in the nation (Girvan, 1985).

Negrillians have felt the crunch of this economic crisis, through new taxes on their cottage rentals, a sharply devalued dollar and a government drug policy which has changed the nature of this industry. A shift from growing and selling ganja to selling cocaine for others has reportedly taken place in Negril. Spurred by increased North American demand for cocaine and cut off from the income of the ganja trade, increasingly desperate young men have turned not only to the sale, but also to the use of cocaine.

The growing impoverishment of Jamaica, along with the increased militarization which has characterized the entire Caribbean region in the aftermath of the U.S. invasion of Grenada, has prompted speculation that Jamaica is becoming another Haiti. As one Jamaican reported after a recent trip home:

> . . . .As present Jamaican realities show, and as Mr. Seaga's vision of the country darkly unfolds, the Haitian assessment becomes not just loose rhetoric. After one hears, and witnesses, horror episodes of food shortages, malnutrition . . .hospitals experiencing severe staff shortages, the desperate situation with regard to public education (my teacher colleagues down there tell me that they have to resort to charity and fund-raising to pay for basic things like chalk and light bills), rising unemployment, and all those desperate children up at the busy Half-Way Tree intersection who literally fight each other to clean your windshield for 'a ten cents, boss,' it is not difficult to be convinced of that dreadful Haitian possibility. The picture becomes even more frightening as Mr. Seaga's security forces become increasingly more visible, and as he speaks in ever starker military tones (Headley, 1985:39).

The response of Jamaicans to this situation has begun to take shape; the January 1985 street demonstrations sparked by the rise in gasoline prices are one example of this.

An important factor in assessing Jamaica's future lies in the fact that its economic and political problems are not only shared by so many around the world, they are increasingly perceived as shared. For example, anger at apartheid in South Africa has led to demonstrations, strikes and highly charged public debate over incidents in Jamaica in which apartheid-like practices are detected. Likewise, the fuel price demonstrations of Jamaica have their counterparts in the massive public opposition to IMF austerity programs in Latin America. Budget deficits, trade imbalances, unemployment, the poverty of female-headed households and even illegal vending are now not only problems of developing countries but are also the stories behind the headlines of the New York Times.

It is not accidental that a globally shared consequence of Reagan administration policies has been a rise in both the number of households headed by women and in the poverty associated with these households. The integral relationship of gender to global economic inequality discussed in this dissertation and demonstrated by the evidence from Negril's market leads us to expect that the brunt of financial crises in all nations will be borne by women.

Into this changing world, babies are still being born; many will be fed and raised by mothers who, like the vendors in Negril's market, work at carving out a place for themselves in the race against poverty and oppression. Their limited success by no means ensures victory for women like themselves, but it says very definitely to a world which does not even count them in the running:

> You must be tired to see mi face
> You can't get me out of the race.

Table One: Wages of Skilled and Other Non-Agricultural Labour

Description	Wages in 1841	Wages in 1848	Wages in 1865
Blacksmiths	up to 6/- a day	18/ to 20/ weekly	-
Bricklayers	-	16/ to 20/ "	up to 3/- a day
Cabinet-Makers	up to 6/- a day	-	2/6 to 3/4 a day
Carpenters	up to 6/- a day	16/ to 20/- "	2/6 to 3/4 a day
Glaziers	-	16/ to 20/- "	2/6 a day
Masons	up to 4/- a day	18/ to 20/- "	about 3/ a day
Painters	-	16/ to 20/- "	3/ to 3/6 a day
Paper-Hangers	-	-	5/- a day
Plasterers	-	18/ to 20/ "	-
Plumbers	-	18/ to 20/ "	4/- a day
Shipwrights	up to 6/- a day	-	-
Slaters	-	18/ to 20/ "	-
Domestics	about 8/ weekly	-	3/ to 8/ weekly
General Labour	1/6 to 2/6 a day	9/- to 10/- weekly	9d. to 1/6 a day

Source: Hall (1957: 217).

Table Two: Distribution of Landholdings, 1938

	No.	Estimated Acreage	Average Acreage
1/2 - 5 acres	118,143	262,688	2.2
5 - 10 acres	22,819	154,559	6.8
10 - 50 acres	12,993	260,800	20.1
50 - 100 acres	1,107	78,377	70.8
100 - 200 acres	650	95,449	146.8
200 - 500 acres	573	185,093	323.0
500 - 1,000 acres	392	283,507	723.2
1,000 - 2,000 acres	269	378,629	1,407.5
above 2,000 acres	146	466,552	3,195.6
	157,092	2,165,654	

Source: Post (1978: 115).

Table Three: Estimated Net Emigration, 1881-1921

Period	To United States	To Panama	To Cuba	To other areas	To all areas
1881-91	16,000	17,000		10,000	69,000
1891-1911		26,000			
1911-21	30,000	2,000	22,000	23,000	77,000

Source: Roberts, (1979: 139).

Total Census Population

1881	580,804
1891	639,491
1911	831,383
1921	858,118

adapted from Roberts (1979: 43).

Table Four: PATTERNS OF OWNERSHIP NEGRIL COTTAGES*

Location	Total # 1979 - 1980	Total # April 1981	Total # June 1984
Beach	20	26	31
West End	44	47	64
Total	64	73	95

Cottages which had Major Expansions
(additions of rooms, buildings, restaurants)

	1980 - 1981	1981 - 1984
Beach	10	2
West End	9	11
Total	19	13

Figure 1

Ownership by Owner's Place of Birth (for 1984 total)

	Jamaican born+	Foreign born	Mixed partnership*	Negril born	Unknown
Beach	6	4	1	12	8
West End	6	13	2	32	11
Total	12	17	3	44	19

*Jamaican and foreign
+but not from Negril

Table Five: Community Council Meetings: Issues Raised and Number of Times

N = 23 meetings over three years

Issue	# of meetings in which discussed
Crime in Negril	15
Conditions in the market	13
Outsiders in Negril (beach vendors, hustlers, prostitutes, etc.)	13
Matters related to tourism	10
Planning and construction of bus shed (a project carried out by the Council)	9
Fund-raising socials	9
Cleaning of the burial ground	7
Inadequate garbage collection	5
High light and water rates	5
Construction of public sanitary convenience	4
Children hustling on the beach	4
Need for fire station	4
Stray animals in town centre	3
Nudism on the beach	3
Road repairs	3
Need for social worker	2
Decision to change from citizens assoc. to Community Council	2
Payment of teacher at Negril School	2
Request from school for toilet	2
High price of transport	1
Complaints re Post Office	1
Forming a Jamaica Agricultural Society branch	1

PATTERNS OF OWNERSHIP
NEGRIL COTTAGES

In the following tables, I show the number of cottages owned or managed by women, men and mixed gender combinations. I include cottages *managed* by gender because of the pattern described in this chapter, which involves designating particular cottages to individuals within a family. I made decisions about who to designate as owner or manager *only* in those cases where I had sufficient knowledge of the cottage's operations to know who was responsible for the following functions most of the time: Collecting and disposing of rent revenues; booking rooms and setting rates; meeting guests; and being considered the person to whom queries about rooms should be addressed.

Table Six: *Management and Ownership of Negril Cottages by Gender*

West End

	Male	Female	Mixed	?	Total
Owner's Origins:					
Negril	4	8	7	13	32
Jamaica	2	1	0	3	6
Foreign	4	6		3	13
Partners	1		1		2
Unknown				11	11
Total	11	15	8	30	64

Table Seven: Management and Ownership of Negril Cottages by Gender

Beach

	Male	Female	Mixed	?	Total
Owner/Manager's Origins:					
Negril	5	3	2	2	12
Jamaica	2	2		2	6
Foreign		2	2		4
Partners			1		1
Unknown				8	8
Total	7	7	5	12	31

Table Eight: Employment in Tourism in Negril: Patterns of Gender

Data from a survey of 45 cottages (does not include all cottages in Negril)

Total Men = 91
Total Women = 91

Job Categories

Bar		Domestic/Laundry		Kitchen		Dining	
Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Waiters	Waitresses
9	4	0	69	15	6	5	6

Caretaking/Yard		Security		Other*	
Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
43	1	12	0	1	4

*includes for women: one cashier, one secretary, one nurse, one reservations clerk; for men: one first mate on boat.

Data from 7 hotel-like establishments in Negril (includes all "hotels")

Total Men = 452
Total Women = 221

Domestic		Kitchen		Dining		Bar		Grounds/Yard	
Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
28	126	100	16	73	2	36	7	55	1

Security		Administrative		Clerical		Other*	
Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
35	1	38	16	25	44	62	8

*includes for women: librarian, storeroom, boutique sales and guest relations. For men it includes: librarian, boutique sales, drivers; sailing, dancing, diving and tennis instructors; divers, tennis pros, bellhops, boat drivers and helpers, disc jockeys, mechanics, grooms.

Table Nine: Previous Work Experience of Negril's Vendors

	Men	Women	Total
Higglering/selling of any kind	8	20	28
Domestic work	0	17	17
Farming/cultivation for oneself	3	2	5
Sewing	0	6	6
Sugar Estate work	0	3	3
No previous work	1	6	7
Factory work	1	2	3
Other*	17	14	31

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*Includes:

Men	Women
Painter (3)	Artist
Driving (3)	Work in a bargain store
Tailor	Hairdressing
Jamaica Defense Force	Craft shop owner-Montego Bay
Mechanic	Cook (2)
Common laborer	Child care (2)
Fisherman (2)	Bartending
Maintenance worker	Raising animals
Contractor and hardware store owner	Restaurant owner
Manager, then owner of a Negril guest house	Teacher
Carpenter	Office worker
Rug maker	Hair braiding

Table Ten: Gender and Age of Vendors

	19-29	30-39	40-49	50+
Women	9	14	11	15
Men	9	5	4	0

Pairs:	
Men	3
Women	3

Table Eleven: Vendors Who Are Also Craftpersons

Craft	Women	Men	Total
Sewing	10	0	10
Embroidery	5	0	5
Wood Carving	0	2	2
Jewelry (coral and tortoise shell)	1	6	7
Weaving (belts)	0	2	2
Painting	1	0	1
Rug making	1	1	2
Knitting	1	1	2
Total	19	12	31

Table Twelve: Work of Families or Person Whom Vendor "Grew With:"

	Families of Men	Families of Women	Total
Cultivation for oneself	4	15	19
Selling of any kind	4	18	22
Domestic work	1	4	5
Sugar Estate work	3	11	14
Sewing	0	7	7
No information given	6	5	11
Other*	6	18	24

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*Includes: contractor, policeman, factory worker (2), Headmistress of a school, fisherman (2), quarry work, baking (2), raising chickens, lawyers (family of American woman artist), making coconut oil, carpentry (2), electrician, bus driver, butcher, making straw products (2), common laborer.

Table Thirteen: Place of Residence of Vendors

	Grange Hill	Negril	Other*
Men	6	8	4
Women	22	8	19
Pairs (3 co-resident)		6	

* Includes: Little London, Hanover Grange, Sheffield, Kendall, Logwood, Savanna-la-Mar, Delfland, Industry Cove, Lances Bay, Green Island, Water Works, Retreat, Montego Bay, Lucea, and Bay Road.

Table 14: Market Growth

Year	# of market shops
1974	12
1975	21
1976	33
1977	34
1978	52
1979	55
1980	65
1981	81-89

Table 15: Description of Household Types Found among Vendors

Each vendor was asked to give the number of people with whom he or she lived and to state how the people in the household were related. All but two of the vendors' households were classified according to type, based on the kinds of relationships in the vendors' current domestic co-resident groups. The range of households covered among the vendors is as follows:

1. Female headed household: One adult woman and children (her own children, grandchildren, nieces, nephews or adopted children).

2. Female headed extended household: More than two generations of adults of a woman's family; or a woman with her children and their spouses, etc. A household where the oldest family member is an unmarried or widowed woman, with other adults.

3. Nuclear household: An adult man and woman, married or unmarried, not related by blood, with children who are the offspring of both or either.

4. Nuclear extended: the above, plus other adults and/or other children.

5. Couple household: a man and a woman, married or unmarried, not related by blood.

6. Male headed extended household: One adult man, some of his adult children and/or grandchildren; a household where the oldest family member is an unmarried or widowed male, with other adults.

7. Single person household-adult vendor living alone.

The above is a practical descriptive list of the kinds of households in which the vendors currently live, and is not meant to exhaust all the possible household types in Jamaica or even in the vendors' own pasts. Table shows the number of vendor's households that fall into each type.

Table Sixteen: Gender and Household Type

Household Type:	Men	Women	Pairs	Total
Nuclear	9	15	1	25
Nuclear Extended	1	3	1	5
Female Headed		15		15
Female Headed Extended		10		10
Male Headed	1	1		2
Single Person	6	2		8
Couple		2	1	3
Not enough information to classify	1	1		
Total	18	49	3	70

Table Seventeen: Type of Stock and Gender

	# of Shops Stocking:		
	Male	Female	Mixed Pair
Type of Goods:			
Produce	4	12	0
Straw Goods	4	43	0
Flour Sack Clothing	1	40	2
T-Shirts	0	12	1
Carving	5	30	1
Coral/Tortoise Shell Jewelry	5	0	1
Shells and Shell Jewelry	0	6	1
Drinks	1	1	1
Other*	9	17	2

*Includes:
1) assorted craft items: dolls, clothes other than flour sack and t-shirts coconut hair clips, tams, crochet work, etc.
2) items sold by specialty shops: baked goods, hardware, paintings, snorkel equipment, boutique merchandise.
3) cooked food sold by cook shops.

Table Eighteen: Gender and Type of Shop

	Straw/ Flour Sack	Beer/ Soda	Veg/ Fruit	Carving/ Coral	Cook Shop	Specialty**
Single Male Total: 18*	0	1	1	8	5	2
Single Female Total: 40	30	1	3	0	4	2
Male-Female Pair Total: 3	0	0	0	1	0	2
Female-Female Pair Total: 9	9	0	0	0	0	0

*One male shop was empty.

**Four of these shops are owned by people who also have other business; one has a hardware store in a nearby town and is also a construction contractor, another owns a Negril restaurant frequented by tourists and Jamaicans, and a third owns a cottage in Negril. The fourth has a trucking, as well as a boat and diving business in Negril. One of the specialty shops is run by an educated American woman from a family of professionals, who has had considerable art training and sold her paintings in Negril and Montego Bay for years. Taken together, these cases suggest that having an unusual shop requires, in Jamaican parlance, "backative."

Table Nineteen: Gender and Potential Market*

A. Shops catering mainly to tourists:

Kind of Shop:	# Female Shops	# Male Shops	# Female-Male Pair Shops
Straw/Flour Sack	39	0	0
Carving/Coral	0	8	1
Specialties (includes straw rugs, artist's shop, and snorkel sale and rental)	1*	0	2
Totals:	40	8	3

*The owner of the art shop was an American woman, professionally trained in the U.S. as a painter.

B. Shops catering to either tourists or Jamaicans:

Kind of Shop:	# Female Shops	# Male Shops	# Female-Male Pair Shops
Cook Shop	4	5	0
Beer/Soda	1	1	0
Veg/Fruit	3	1	0
Specialties (includes clothing boutique, hardware store, and bakery	1	2	0
Totals:	9	9	0

Note: Singly owned female shops and those owned jointly by women are collapsed as female shops in this table.

*When asked how they manage in the off-season, seven of the nine cook shops, one each of the beer and soda shops and the hardware store said they did not experience much fluctuation. This supports the classification of shops according to potential market detailed above.

Table Twenty: Estimates of Weekly In-Season Profits: Averages per Person

	# giving figure	High Figure	# giving figure	Average Figure	# giving figure	Low Figure
Women	(12)	201.66	(30)	135.53	(9)	30.33
Men	(4)	(687.55)* 250.00	(11)	(271.36)* 178.50	(1)	20.00
Pairs			(2)	375.00		

		Men	Women	Pair
No Figure:	1) Shop is new for owner; shop is new to market; new kind of stock	4	6	1
	2) Unwilling or unable to give figures	2	6	

*The first average given for men includes the figure of $J2000 a week as a high estimate and $J1200 a week as an average one, given by one very prosperous cook shop owner. Since these figures were so much higher than any of the others, I felt it might unfairly skew the male average. I thus include two estimates: one derived with this figure and one without.

Table Twenty-One: Averages by Kind of Shop and Gender

Cook Shops:	High	Average	Low
Women	(2) 600	(1) 180	
Men	(1) 2000	(4) 530	
Specialty Shops:			
Women	(1) 300		(1) 72
Pair		(1) 350	
Craft:			
Women (straw and flour sack)	(6) 166.66	(26) 138.69	(4) 15.75
Men (coral and carving)	(2) 325.00	(6) 142.50	
Pair (coral and carving)		(1) 400.00	

Table Twenty Two: Other Sources of Household Income/Sustenance

Source:	# Mentioning Women	 Men	 Pairs
Cultivation (ground and/or garden)	28	11	1
Animals (goats, pigs, cows, rabbits)	12	6	1
Fowl	8	3	0
Trees (breadfruit, coconut, fruit)	9	2	0
Wages/pension (each earner counts as one)	21	1	0
Remittances (each sender counts as one)	5	1	0
Occasional contribution of money from babyfathers, etc.	4	0	0
Other business/own account work*	16	7	3
No other sources	10	6	0

*Other business/own account work included above:

Women:

Craftshops in Montego Bay (2)
Cookshop in Negril
Fruit stand in Negril
Beauty shop in Negril
Vegetable selling from van in Negril and elsewhere (2)
Rental income in Negril: 2 rooms, 1 house, 1 shop in the market (4 sources in same household)
Painting
Fishing
Minister
Deejay

Men:

Skyjuice handcart in Negril
Cottage in Negril
Construction contractor for government
Sister shares another shop in the market
Mother shares another shop in the Market
Brothers sell coral in Negril (2)

Pairs

Removal business
Boat tours
Hair braiding

Table Twenty Three: Number of Sources of Income (including market shop) and Gender

	one	two	three	four	five	six	eleven
Men	7	2	4	2	1	2	0
Women	10	8	12	13	3	2	1
Pairs		2	0	1	0	0	0

Table Twenty Four: Strategies for Managing in Off-Season

	# Mentioning		
	Women	Men	Pairs
Strategies:			
Reliance on other's income (wages, remittances, pensions, cultivation, sales)	13	0	0
Don't come as often to the market	9	0	0
Come, but spend the night to save bus fare	2*	0	2 (live in market)
Borrow money	4	0	0
Other income for self	10	8	1
Not applicable/business does not fluctuate drastically (7 cook shops, 1 beer and soda shop, 1 produce stand, 1 hardware store)	4	6	0
None of the above; still come every day	7	4	0

Table Twenty Four: Strategies for Managing In Off-Season (Continued)

Other Income for Self:

Women

Includes:	sewing at home:	2
	braiding hair at a hotel:	1
	domestic day work:	1
	walk and sell in Negril:	1*
	have another business	5**

Men

Skyjuice handcart operated illegally at Negril roundabout, garment sales, cottage owned and rented at Negril's West End, personal savings, and cultivation for oneself (3).

Pairs

Removal business and boat tours.

*It was very obvious that many more pursued these two strategies; their illegality probably accounts for the low number of women mentioning them.

**Includes a fruit stand illegally operated in Negril Square near old market site; a craft shop in Montego Bay Craft Market; a cook shop in Negril Square on rented land; a shop operated at home and stocked with goods bought in Kingston; and a restaurant on Negril's West End.

Table Twenty Five: Assistance in Shops

	Paid[1]	Unpaid[2]	Other Vendors	None
Female	4	21	9	16
Male	7	4	4	3
Mixed Pairs	1	2		

Notes:

1. Assistants are counted as paid where respondent indicated a regular salary or fixed commission was paid.
2. Assistants are counted as unpaid where respondents indicated that although the helper might recieve money if sales were good or benefit because he or she was part of the owner's household, no regular wage or commission was paid.

Both paid and unpaid assistants can be family members.

Table Twenty Six: a) Detail of Shop Assistants

Paid Assistants

	Kin			Non-Kin		
	Male	Female	Sex Unspecified	Male	Female	Sex Unspecified
Male Shops				1	3	7
Female Shops		2				3
Mixed Shops						1

Table Twenty Six: b) Categories of Kin Mentioned as Unpaid Assistance

	Daughter	Sister	Brother	Son	Spouse/ Mate	Mother	Niece	Grandson	Cousin (sex unspecified)
Male Shops		2	2		1				
Female Shops	12	2		7	4		1	1	
Mixed Shops		1							1

SCHEMATIC REPRESENTATION OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF CLASS STRUGGLE IN POST-EMANCIPATION JAMAICA

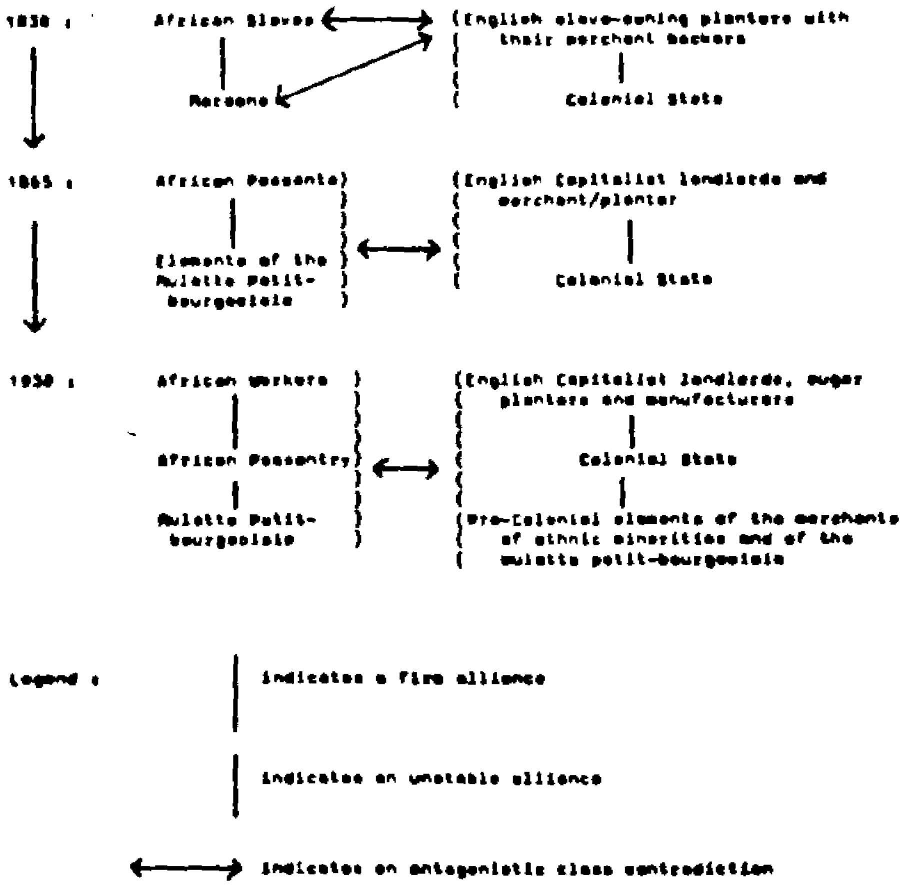
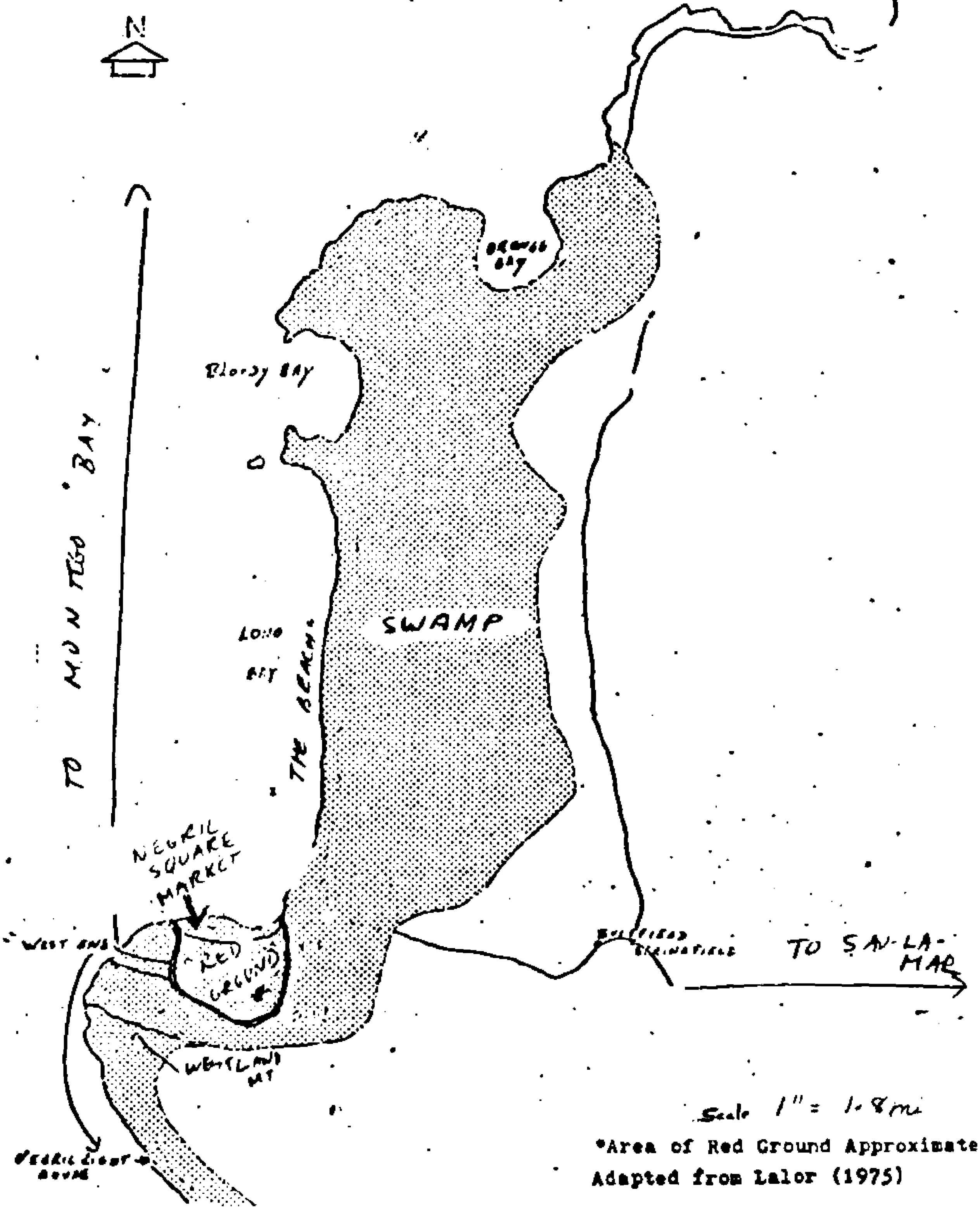

1838 :
African Slaves
Maroons
English slave-owning planters with their merchant backers
Colonial State
1865 :
African Peasants
Elements of the Mulatto Petit-bourgeoisie
English Capitalist landlords and merchant/planter
Colonial State
1938 :
African Workers
African Peasantry
Mulatto Petit-bourgeoisie
English Capitalist landlords, sugar planters and manufacturers
Colonial State
Pro-Colonial elements of the merchants of ethnic minorities and of the mulatto petit-bourgeoisie
Legend :
indicates a firm alliance
indicates an unstable alliance
indicates an antagonistic class contradiction

Diagram 5.1

Source: Beckford and Witter (1980:60)

Map of Negril Area

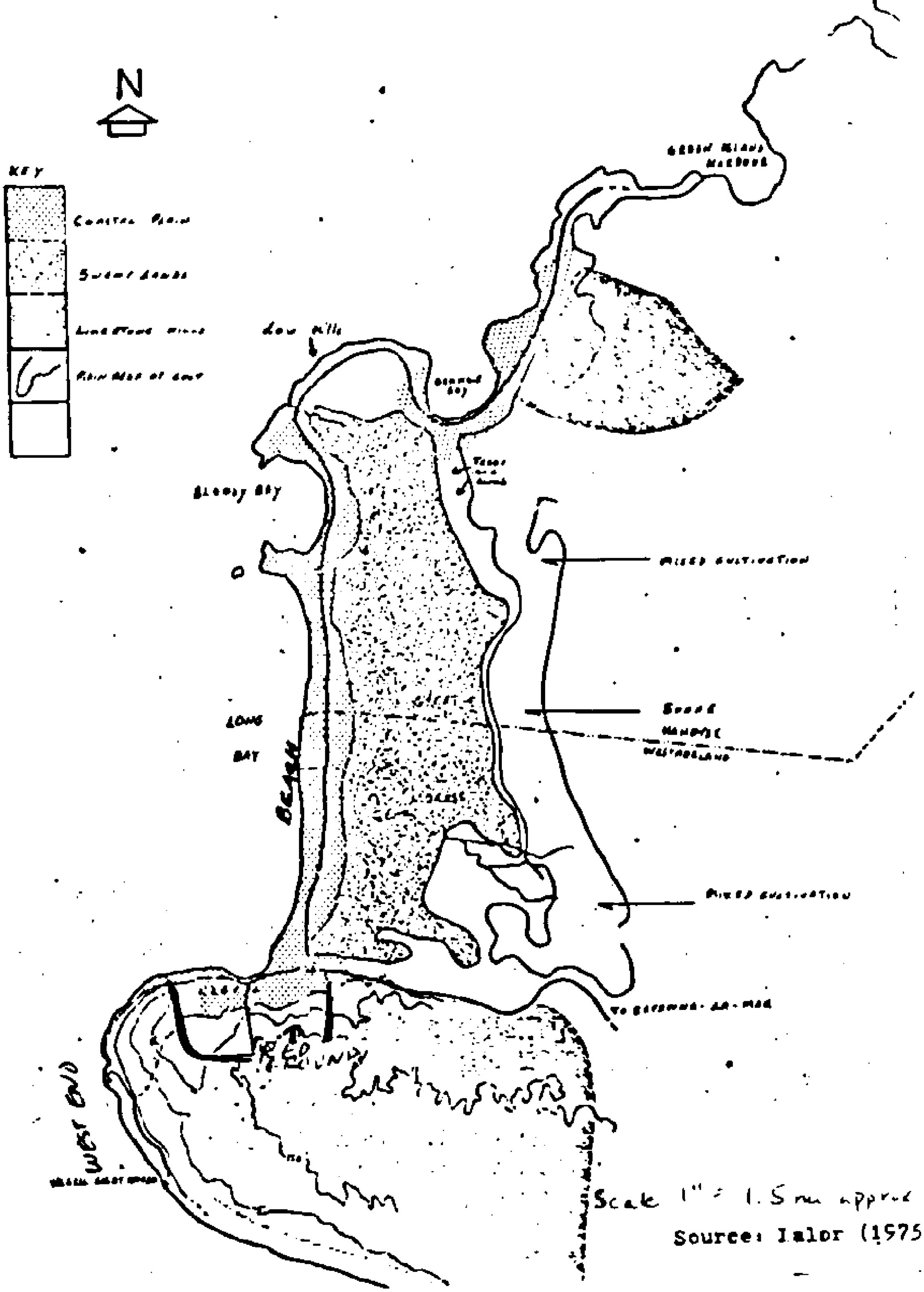

N
TO MONTEGO BAY
ORANGE BAY
Bloody Bay
LONG BAY
THE BEACH
SWAMP
NEGRIL SQUARE MARKET
RED GROUND*
WEST END
WESTLAND MT
NEGRIL LIGHT HOUSE
SHEFFIELD
SPRINGFIELD
TO SAV-LA-MAR

Scale 1" = 1.8 mi

*Area of Red Ground Approximate

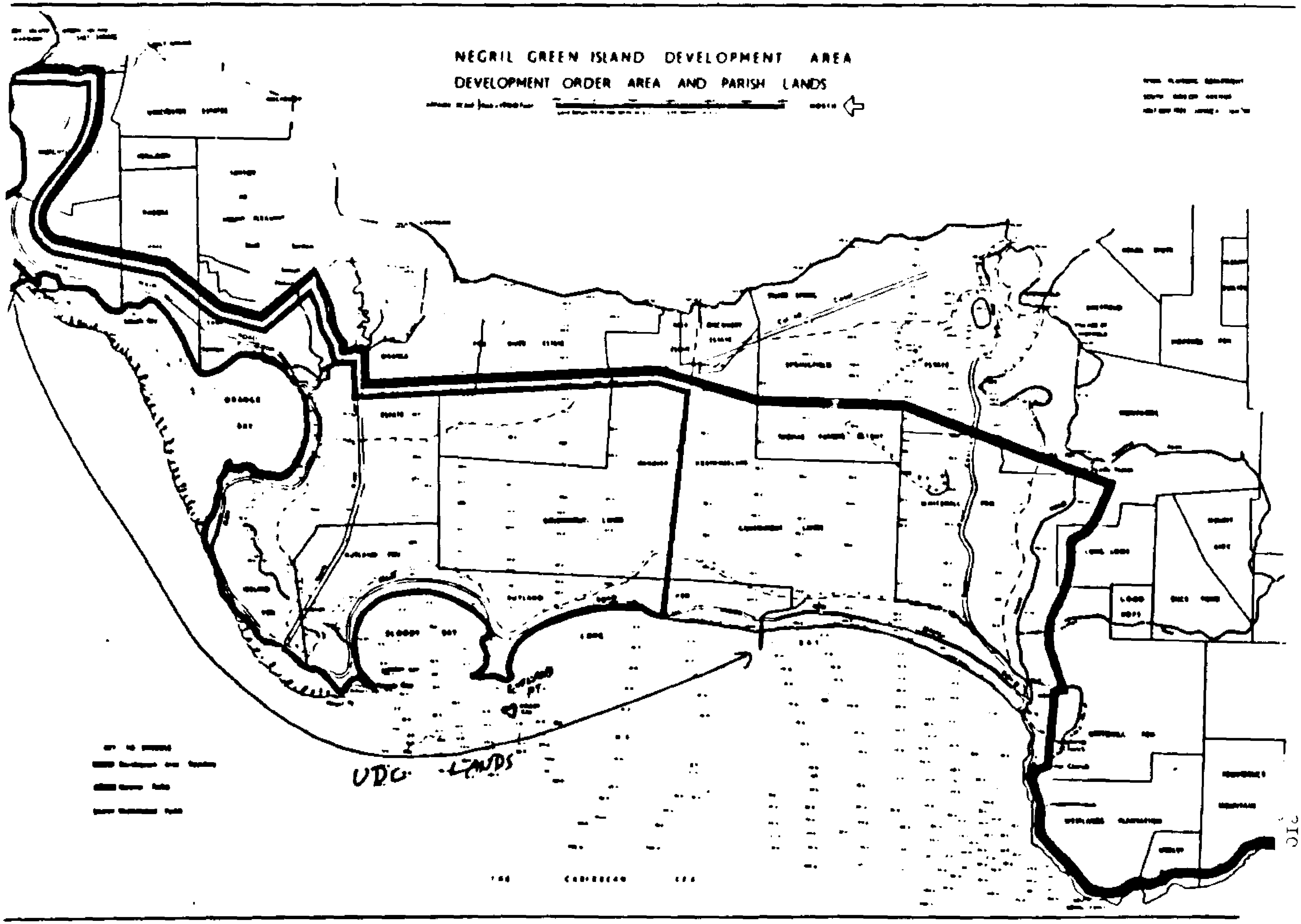
Adapted from Lalor (1975)

TOPOGRAPHIC MAP OF THE NEGRIL AREA


N
KEY
Coastal Plain
Swamp Lands
Lime Stone Hills
Low Hills
Bloody Bay
Green Island Harbour
Orange Bay
Mixed Cultivation
Border
Hanover
Westmoreland
Long Bay
Beach
Great Morass
Mixed Cultivation
To Savanna-la-Mar
Red Ground
West End

Scale 1" = 1.5 mi approx

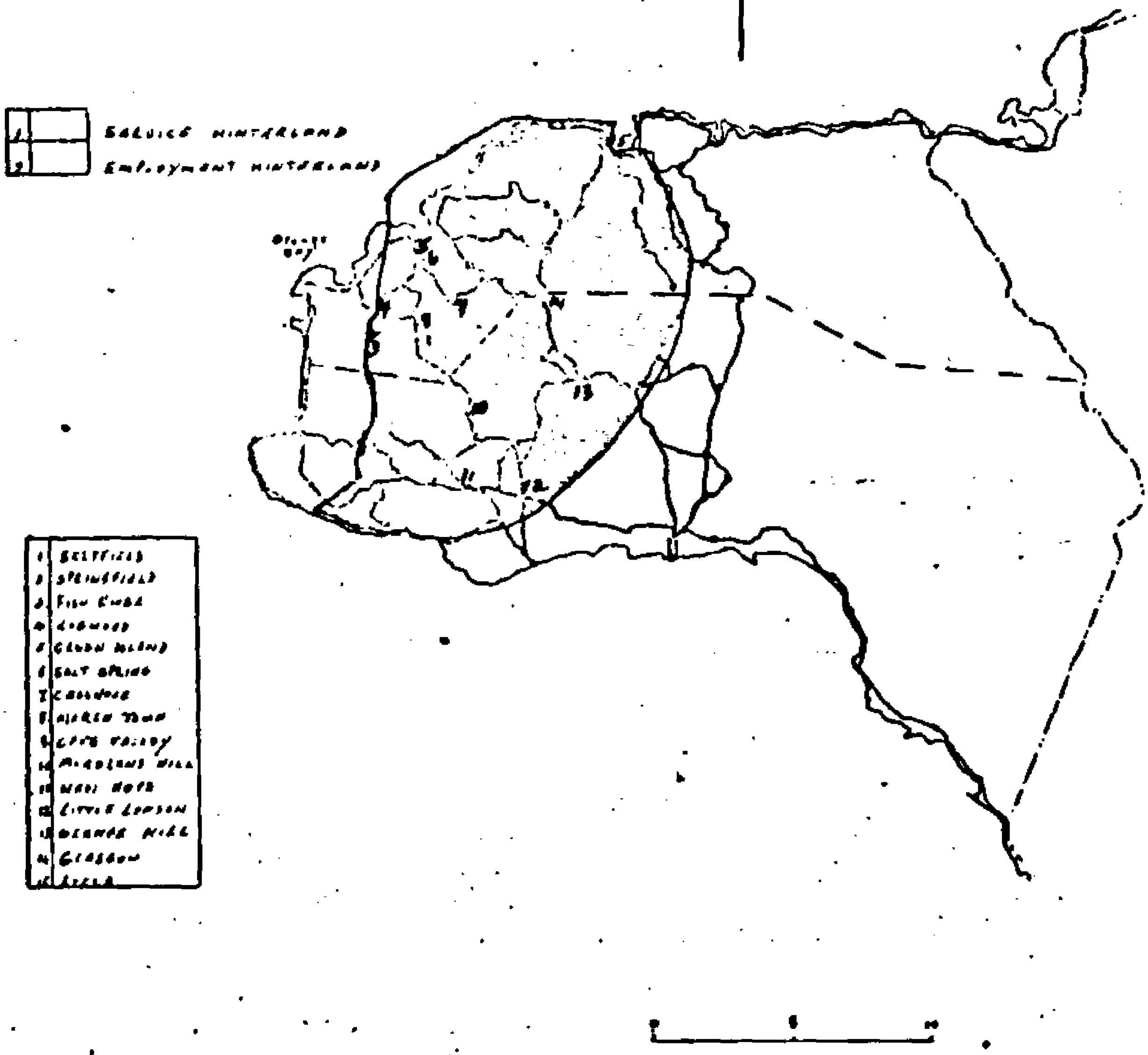
Source: Ialor (1975)



NEGRIL GREEN ISLAND DEVELOPMENT AREA
DEVELOPMENT ORDER AREA AND PARISH LANDS

UDC LANDS
Rutland PT

FIGURE 5 THE APPROXIMATE HINTERLAND OF THE NEGRIL AREA


N
1 SERVICE HINTERLAND
2 EMPLOYMENT HINTERLAND
ORANGE BAY
1 BELLFIELD
2 SPRINGFIELD
3 FISH CAVE
4 LOGWOOD
5 GREEN ISLAND
6 SALT SPRING
7 CASCADE
8 [illegible] TOWN
9 CAVE VALLEY
10 [illegible] HILL
11 [illegible]
12 LITTLE LONDON
13 ORANGE HILL
14 GLASGOW
15 [illegible]
0
5
10

SOURCE: R. LALOR (1975)

Appendix Three-Table Twenty Seven:

Places of Supply for Negril Square Vendors

Places of Supply:	Men	Women	Pairs	Total
1. Negril-vegetables, carvings, coral and tortoise shell jewelry and raw material, flour bags, coconut hair clips, shell necklaces and straw products from wholesalers who come to the market. Fish from Negril fishermen.	8	40	1	49
2. Straw products bought directly from makers, either at their homes or in the markets near to where craftspersons live. (areas mentioned: New Market, Black River, Darleston, New Roads, and St. Elizabeth parish)	0	37	0	37
3. Montego Bay and vicinity-shells and shell products, straw items, t-shirts, and carvings from wholesalers who come to the Montego Bay Craft Market to sell. Also, carvings bought from carvers in the Montego Bay vicinity.	8	26	1	35
4. Savanna-la-Mar fruits, drinks (beer and soda), vegetables, and flour bags (nearest market town to Negril).	4	15	1	20

Appendix Three-Table Twenty Seven (continued):

Places of Supply for Negril Square Vendors

	Men	Women	Pairs	Total
Places of Supply:				
5. Kingston-straw items, carvings, clay figurines, and t-shirts.	2	9	0	11
6. Dept for beer and soft drinks with branch in Negril and branch in Savanna-la-Mar (vendors who buy from the owner may buy at either location).	3	2	1	6
7. Mr. ______, a Negril baker-cocoa bread.	3	0	0	3
8. Other-Ocho Rios (straw at craft market from wholesalers); Falmouth (food bought near a vendor's original home); Frome (supply of flour bags); St. Catherine and St. Mary (palm grass for making rugs).	1	2	2	5

Appendix Four - Table Twenty Eight:

Distribution and Range of Income

Estimates of Weekly Profits: Distribution

High Figures

	10-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-99	100-200	240-350	400-600	above 600
Women					4	3	3	2	
Men					1	1		1	1

Average Figures

	10-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-99	100-200	240-350	400-600	above 600
Women		2	2	4	7	9	4	2	
Men	1		2	1	1	1	2	2	1
Pairs							1	1	

Low Figures

	10-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-99	100-200	240-350	400-600	above 600
Women	3	1	2	1	2				
Men		1							

Appendix Four - Table Twenty Eight (continued):

Distribution and Range of Income

Estimates of Weekly Profits: Range

	High Figure	Medium Figure	Low Figure
Women	50-600	25-500	3-72
Men	100-2000	20-1200	20 only
Pairs		350-400	

Appendix Five: Questionaire Administered to Vendors

1. Owner's age? Gender? Shop #?
2. What kind of goods do you stock?
3. Where do you go to buy your goods? How much is the fare to get there? How often do you make the trip?
4. Where do you live? How much does it cost to travel from your home to the market? How often do you come?
5. In an average, ordinary week-not the brightest and not the worst-what do you earn in your shop after you pay the expenses of keeping it up?
6. When season is off, how do you manage? Do you still come to the market every day?
7. Do you employ anyone to help you in the shop who gets regular wages? Does anyone from your family or home help out? Do they get paid, or how do you work it out?
8. When did you first start selling in Negril? What caused you to come here?
9. How did you start out in Negril? Did you ever walk and sell? What did you sell first? How did you pay for your stock?
10. How did you manage to build your shop?
11. What kind of work did you do before coming to Negril? Which kind do you prefer and why? How far did you reach in school? Did you get any special training for any kind of work?
12. What kind of work did the people you grew with do?
13. Who lives in your house with you? How are they related to you?
14. How many children age 16 and under live in your house? Do you have any children of your own not living with you who are under 16? Do you help support anyone living outside of your household? Who?
15. What do the other adults in your house do? Do you or anyone else in the house cultivate? Raise animals or keep fowl? Earn wages at a job?
16. How much of the money in your house comes from the market shop?
17. What are the biggest problems in the market, in your opinion? What are the problems in the Vendors Association? If you were a government official with the power to do things in the market, what would you do to improve it?

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